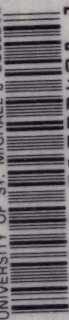


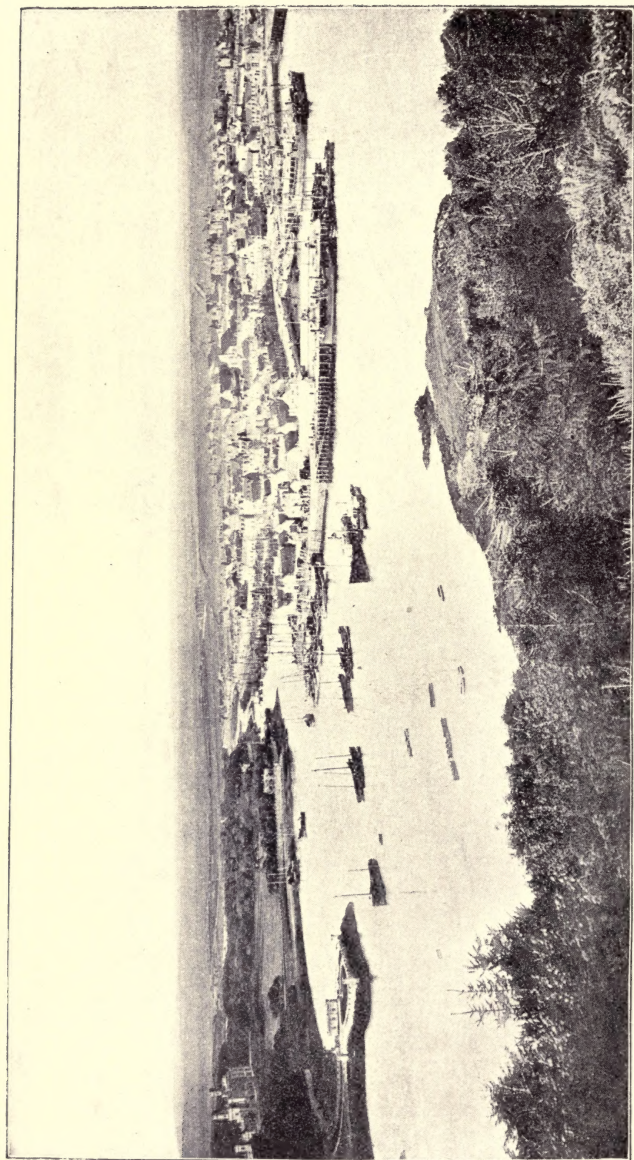
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BENBECULA, AND BARRA).

BY
W. C. MACKENZIE.

WITH A CHAPTER ON THE GEOLOGY, PHYSICAL FEATURES,
AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE GROUP,

By THE REV. WILLIAM MORRISON, M.A.,
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PREFACE.

THE present work has been undertaken at the suggestion of the Lewis and Harris Association of Glasgow. It is the first attempt which has yet been made to collect, and present in book form, existing records of past events in the Outer Isles. Obvious difficulties surrounded the undertaking, in consequence of the dearth of known material to work upon; but after careful research, these difficulties were largely overcome. It is not, however, pretended that the record is complete. The activity in historical research which marks the present day, may bring to light fresh facts bearing upon the Outer Hebrides; and these may fill gaps left by the present work. But whatever the defects of the book—in consequence either of insufficient information, or the drawbacks incidental to the breaking of new ground by an inexperienced historian—I can at least claim that an honest attempt has been made to discover all available material bearing upon the subject, and to ensure accuracy in its handling. As far as possible, I have gone to original sources for my information, and the history has been largely compiled from the national records. The chief events are given with a fulness of detail which, in a general history of the Highlands, would be, if not impossible, at least lacking in proportion; but, on the other hand, an effort has been made to avoid insularity of treatment.

In the preparation of this history, I have kept before me one main object, viz., to get at the truth. In doing so, I have had, in some instances, to face the highest test of impartiality to which a Highland historian can be subjected; and that is, to criticise the chiefs of his own clan. My conclusions may in some cases be mistaken, but the facts from which they are deduced are fairly stated.

To Mr. D. Murray Rose, whose unique knowledge of Highland historical material has invariably been placed at my disposal with the utmost willingness, and who has furnished me with one of the illustrations; to Mr. John Parker Anderson, late of the British Museum, for assistance in the collection of material; to my brother, Mr. C. G. Mackenzie, Stornoway, and to Mr. Archibald Chisholm, Lochmaddy, for statistics relating to the Outer Isles, and to the latter for the use of several excellent photographs; to Mr. John Mackay, editor of the *Celtic Monthly*, Glasgow, for information supplied in reference to illustrations and other matters; to Messrs. Jack, publishers, Edinburgh, for permission to reproduce an illustration from Keltie's *Scottish Highlands*; to Mr. Eneas Mackay, Stirling, for the loan of an illustration "block"; to Major Matheson of the Lews, for the use of photographs; and to the Rev. R. C. Macleod of Macleod, for copies of documents in Dunvegan Castle; to all these helpers, I desire to express my grateful thanks. I wish, also, to acknowledge the courtesy of Sir Arthur Mitchell, who gave me an opportunity of examining his volumes of Lewis traditions which were collected by the late Captain Thomas, R.N. The more important of these traditions appear in Captain Thomas's papers on the Macaulays of Uig and the Morisons of Ness, printed in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vols. XII. and XIV.

My thanks are due, in a special way, to my fellow-Lewisians, the Rev. William Morrison, M.A., Carr-Bridge, and Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, Glasgow. The one as a scientist, and the other as an artist, have generously contributed to whatever merits this book may possess. Mr. Morrison's reputation as a naturalist has travelled beyond his native island, while Mr. Macdonald is a talented young artist, whose marine and landscape work is full of promise.

The index, printed at the end of the book, has been compiled by my wife.

His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to accept a copy of this history, thus manifesting his interest in the remote island of his dominions which, with the Queen, he honoured by a visit last September.

W. C. MACKENZIE.

London, 1903.



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INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Lord Hailes compiled his annals of Scotland, he commenced with the accession of Malcolm III., declaring that previous to that period, historical facts were so involved in obscurity and intermingled with fable, as to render the process of elucidation and disentanglement a hopeless task. If this be true of Scotland, it is doubly true of that outlying portion of the country called the Western Isles or the Hebrides, and particularly true of the outer section of the group, known as the Long Island. The material at the disposal of the historian of the Outer Hebrides is of the most meagre description, so far as it concerns early events. When the history of Scotland emerged from the region of imagination and was placed upon a basis of solid fact, the Western Isles still remained a comparatively unknown land to the honest investigator, and in a large degree, those islands so remain even at the present day.

Who and what were the earliest inhabitants of the Hebrides? It is hardly necessary to say that in the present state of our knowledge, a conclusive answer to this question cannot be given. Were we able to state definitely to what race the primitive inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland belonged; what language they spoke; what their manners and customs were; we should probably have little difficulty in assigning a similar race, a similar language, and similar manners and customs to the pre-historic Hebrides. For satisfactory proofs, however, of Highland, as of Hebridean origins, we grope in the dark; history furnishes us with none. Those who have laboured with so much learning, assiduity, and in

some cases, acrimoniousness, to prove the correctness of their theories on this subject, appear in most instances to have reversed the only sound process of reasoning. Instead of deriving their conclusions from evidence, direct or indirect, they seem to have formed their conclusions first and selected their evidence afterwards. The result has been a partial statement of their case, involving a want of candour which fails to carry conviction. After all, an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory.

In default of historical records, we turn perforce to tradition. Tradition is not history, but when sifted with discrimination, it may, and frequently does, bristle with suggestions which are not without a certain value. But the traditions of the Hebrides which relate to pre-historic times are largely composed of myths, and there is little assistance to be derived from them.

It may be urged that we have in the Outer Hebrides, memorials of the long past which have existed through the centuries right down to the present time; books in stone; monuments which contain more trustworthy records even than written annals; relics which render the antiquary independent of the historian. True; but where antiquaries disagree, who shall decide? In the standing stones of Callernish, for example, we have a book which would do more to enlighten us on the primitive conditions of life in the Island of Lewis than all other evidences put together, were it possible to decipher its language. But the book is almost entirely sealed, and in spite of all efforts to open it, sealed it remains to the present day. The antiquary, however, has come to our aid in enabling us in a small measure to answer the question, "what do these stones mean"? We know that within the great Callernish circle,* in the year 1858, a circular cairn was discovered; that in the centre of the cairn was found a chamber, divided into two compartments, with a passage leading to the outside of the cairn; that minute fragments of human bones, which had apparently been subjected to the action of fire, were

* There are two smaller and little known circles in the same vicinity.



THE CALLERNISH STONES, LEWIS.

[To face p. xiii.]



brought to light; and that these fragments were contained in a black unctuous substance, which expert opinion considered to be a combination of peaty and animal matter. These are all the positive facts that are known about this remarkable structure—the most remarkable, perhaps, of its kind in Scotland—and Archæology has nothing further to say except to draw conclusions which may not be universally accepted. The discoveries which have been made clearly show, however, that the Callernish circle was a grave enclosure, and it is more than probable that the opinion of archæologists is correct, in assigning to this and similar circles a sepulchral origin. The Gaelic name *Tursachan* (the place of sadness or sorrow) of the remains near Loch Bernera appears to offer corroborative evidence of this view.

Modern antiquaries argue that the Callernish stones belong either to the Stone or the Bronze Age. Dr. Joseph Anderson in his *Pagan Scotland*, affirms that the circle is in Scotland the most characteristic mark of a Bronze Age funeral, and that in the case of the Callernish stones, the idea of the cairn has given way to the idea of the circle. On the other hand, the chambered grave with the passage leading to the outside is certainly characteristic of the Stone Age, to which period have been unhesitatingly assigned the “giants’ chambers” or passage-graves of Denmark, Sweden and Ireland. These graves are sometimes termed semi-cruciform, and it is conceivable that the peculiar shape of the Callernish structure may be an exaggerated representation of this idea; the form of the grave bears a certain analogy to the form of the stone-setting. Or, it may be that the cruciform shape is accidental.* It is generally agreed that it cannot possibly be a symbol of the Christian religion.

It appears to be well-authenticated that the custom prevailed among early nations of raising around the graves of noted warriors, a specific number of stones,

* The author gathers, from a conversation with Dr. Anderson, that he holds this view.

representing, according to some writers, the number of men whom they had slain in battle during their lifetime. Wormius mentions this custom as appertaining to Scandinavia, and according to Olaus Magnus (who was Archbishop of Upsal about the middle of the seventeenth century), the shape of the stones, whether long, square, round, or wedge-shaped, had a signification which differed with the form. Hector Boece says that Reutha, who, according to Scottish chronology, lived in the second century B.C., was the first Scots king to "put nobill men for their vailyeant dedes in memory" by commanding that "mony hie stones" be set about the sepulture of "every nobill man as was slain be him of Britonis." "In memory hereof," he goes on to say, "sundry of thaim remain yet in the Hielands that the pepill may know sic men were vailyeant in thair dayis." He adds that these sepulchres were consequently held in great reverence by the people. If the custom to which allusion has just been made, regulated the number of stones of which the Callernish remains are composed, the warrior whose bones were found in the "black unctuous substance" must indeed have been a mighty man of valour. Lewis traditions connect these standing stones with devotional worship, and in some instances with magic: "men converted into stone by an enchanter."

When we go a step further, and try to ascertain—and this, from the historian's point of view, is really the important point—what manner of people they were who built these tombs, with their stone enclosures, we find ourselves hopelessly nonplussed. Modern research has endeavoured to identify them with a Finnish or Ugrian race of the Bronze Age, who preceded the Celts in these islands. The tombs are just as likely to have been the work of a neolithic race, whose origin is lost in the depths of antiquity. The aboriginal inhabitants of Lewis were almost certainly a pre-Celtic people and spoke a non-Aryan language. Dr. Beddoe, the well-known ethnologist, who visited Lewis some years ago, traced three distinct

types in the island, two of which are easily recognisable as, respectively, Celtic and Scandinavian. Beddoe (*The Races of Britain*, page 240) describes the third type as a "short, thick-set, snub-nosed, dark-haired, often even dark-eyed, race, probably aboriginal, possibly Finnish, whose centre seems to be at Barvas." This ethnologist also discovered traces of an Iberian type, which suggested to him that the view held by Professor Rhys, that the Picts were Iberians, was probably correct. Whether Finnic or Iberic, the aborigines of the Long Island probably spoke a Turanian tongue. Tradition supports the view that a race of low stature—so-called fairies and pigmies—inhabited Lewis in pre-historic times, and the underground Weems of the Long Island, like the "Picts' Houses" of Orkney, which bear a curious resemblance to the Lapp huts of which travellers tell us, may conceivably have been their dwellings.* The "bee-hive" houses are probably of a later date.

Stone circles are found in various parts of the world: Scandinavia, India, and even Australia, all furnishing examples. In this country, to take the most notable instances, there are Stonehenge and, coming nearer home, Stennis in Orkney. The Lewis tradition about enchanted men finds its counter-part in similar stories about Carnac in France, the Rollrich stones in Oxfordshire, and the Dance Maine in Cornwall. But observation of the customs prevailing at the present day in India, leads to the irresistible conclusion that the main purpose of all these circles was inhumation, combined with religious rites, the latter being a corollary of the former. Ancestor-worship, in its different phases, is practically universal.

It has been suggested that the Callernish Stones do not date further back than the Norse occupation of Lewis. When the excavations were made, it was observed that the growth of peat-moss over the grave averaged about six

* Train, the Manx historian, states that when Magnus Bareleg invaded Man in 1098, he found the people living in underground huts "like the Fírbolgs" of Ireland. These "burrows" were obviously hiding-places.

feet. The rate of the growth of peat-moss is said to be about one foot in a century, upon which basis, the date of the structure would be about the thirteenth century. The name Callernish—if derived from *Kjalarr*,* one of Odin's many names, and *ness*, a cape or headland—would seem to suggest that the circle was used by the Norsemen as a temple to their supreme warrior-god; but that it is only six hundred, or even a thousand years old, is an idea which antiquaries consider to be untenable. It is likely, however, that the Norsemen used the structure for religious exercises, and more than probable that it was their *Tingvöll*, where the freemen held their solemn assemblies for judicial and legislative deliberations. In Scandinavia, similar enclosures were used for such purposes, and sometimes as duelling-rings.

Whether or not the Callernish and the other circles in the Long Island were used by the Druids—if the cult of Druidism ever flourished in the Hebrides—is a point which there is no means of deciding. The popular belief which connects these remains with Druidism, is simply a variant of the tradition which ascribes the erection of the structures to enchanters or magicians, for whom the word "Druid" is a generic term. But even tradition supports the view that the single menhirs, such as the Thrushel Stone at Barvas, were erected, like the bautastones of Scandinavia, as memorials of battles.

The apotheosis of the Callernish stones was reached when Toland, an Irishman and a Presbyterian, who was born in 1670 and died in 1722, wrote his *History of the Druids*, a famous work in its time, and one which is still occasionally quoted. Toland had been reading Martin's account of the Callernish remains, and seized upon that description as yielding strong proof of his pet theories about the Druidic cult. He found no difficulty in believing that the "temple stood astronomically" (a

* This is, perhaps, a more likely derivation than "Keel" Cape, the root of which is *Kjölr*. There was a Kjalarnes Thing in Iceland and a place of the same name in Greenland. The Greenland headland is derived from *Kjölr*, and was so named in commemoration of a particular incident.

view also held by modern antiquarians), "denoting the twelve signs of the Zodiac, the four principal winds subdivided each into four others, by which, and the nineteen stones on each side the avenue, betokening the cycle of nineteen years." He goes on to say that he "can prove it to have been dedicated principally to the sun, but subordinately to the seasons and elements, particularly to the sea and the winds, as appears by the rudder in the middle." The resemblance of the central stone to a rudder was a fancy of Martin's, who little foresaw that it would be seized upon by a prophet of the Druids to guide his reasoning faculties into an abyss of conjecture. If Toland made so much of the fanciful rudder in the Lewis circle, one wonders what he would have made of the ship-form graves in Scandinavia, where in some cases the position even of the mast is distinctly indicated. But Toland went further than enumerating mere generalities. He convinced himself, and probably convinced others, that the Callernish stones are neither more nor less than the remains of the Temple of Apollo in the Hyperborean island so celebrated in Greek literature. He claimed Hecateus as an authority for this theory, and perhaps had as much reason on his side as those who have located the Hyperborean temple of the ancient Greeks at, respectively, Anglesea and Stonehenge. According to Toland, then, the Hyperboreans of the Ancients were Lewismen, and Apollo's arrow was hidden in the island of Lewis—a legend which recalls the story of Thor and his lost hammer in Scandinavian mythology. Was it not in the Hyperborean island that Apollo's temple made of wings stood? And what clearer proof can there be that this temple was at Callernish, when one considers the number of seabirds that swarm in the neighbourhood of Loch Bernera? So Mr. Toland argued. Lest, however, this application should appear to the critical somewhat far-fetched, he suggested that the temple of wings might have meant a "winged" temple, in which case, the shape of the Callernish structure would obviously supply the allusion. In the same strain

of reasoning, Toland did not hesitate to make the Druid Abaris a Lewisman ; Abaris who paid a visit to Pythagoras, by whom he was taught the mysteries of the number seven. It is unkind of Archæology, with its contempt for romantic speculation, to demolish so pretty a theory, but the honour of appropriating the Callernish remains as the famous Temple of Apollo ; of adding the name of Abaris to the list of celebrated Hebrideans ; and of claiming descent from the Hyperboreans of old, who lived "in a land of perpetual sunshine, where the swans sang like nightingales, and life was an unending banquet" must, one fears, be denied to Lewismen alike by fact and by reason. Life in Lewis at the present day, far from being an "unending banquet," is too frequently an unending want, and the sunshine, far from being "perpetual," is too frequently of a fitful character, both from a climatic and a material point of view.

No less elusive, from an historical standpoint, than the Callernish stones are those peculiar erections on the Long Island which are indifferently called Pictish forts, or brochs, and Danish burghs. They are a puzzle alike to the antiquary and to the historian. Who built them, and for what purpose they were erected still remains a mystery, and in all probability the problem will never be solved with absolute certainty. The nurhags of Sardinia, which, it has been suggested, may have been used by the Phœnicians for sun-worship, bear a certain resemblance to the Scottish brochs and Irish round towers, but it is sufficiently clear that the brochs were not intended for religious exercises. The generally accepted theory is that they were used for defensive purposes ; perhaps as watch-towers to guard against a surprise, and garrisoned against attack. It has also been suggested that they may have been utilised as places in which to keep military arms, and Dr. Johnson thought that they may have been used for securing the cattle, when an attack threatened from the outside. According to the Lewis tradition, Dun Carloway, the principal broch in the island, was built in the fourth



PICTISH BROCH, CARLOWAY, LEWIS.



century by a giant named Darg Mac Nu-Aran. It was utilised as a fort during a feud at the end of the sixteenth century between the Morisons of Ness and the Macaulays of Uig. We know also that Moussa in Shetland, which is the most notable example of these brochs in Scotland, was used on two different occasions by Norwegian chiefs, once about the year 900, and again in 1153, as a place of refuge. It is not clear that the brochs could, under any circumstances, have been effective fortresses for active hostilities, but they seem to have been sufficiently well-adapted for passive resistance, and that, for want of a better explanation, may be accepted as the most plausible theory of their use. But even assuming the correctness of that supposition, we are no nearer a solution of the difficulty of ascertaining when, and by whom, these brochs were built. Dr. McCulloch and those who agree with him have contended that they were constructed by the Norsemen, while others have held, just as confidently, the contrary view. No such remains have been found in Scandinavia, but on the other hand, the Scottish brochs are confined to localities where Scandinavian settlements are known to have been formed. The necessity for building forts of this kind did not exist in Northern Europe, but on the hypothesis that they were built by the Norsemen for protection against the attacks of the natives, or against the depredations of their own countrymen, the Norse pirates, there is something to be said for the Scandinavian theory, which the traditional giant-origin also supports. The fact, however, that tradition gives them the name of Pictish, as well as Danish forts, is suggestive. It is, perhaps, after all, more reasonable to suppose that the Norsemen were the aggressors, and the Picts the defenders, than the contrary view. This likelihood is particularly applicable to the Long Island, where there is every reason to believe that the Scandinavians met with little or no resistance in effecting their permanent settlements. In all probability, the Outer Hebrides, at the time of the Norse occupation, were sparsely peopled, if indeed they had not been practically

depopulated by the constant incursions of the Vikings, or by other causes. An explanation more or less plausible of the different designations "Pictish" and "Danish" (the latter word embracing Scandinavians generally), is afforded by the suggestion that the forts may have been built by the Picts as a means of repelling, or at least offering passive resistance to, the hordes of Northern pirates who, there is evidence to show, must have swarmed in the Hebrides long before the strong rule of Harold Harfager forced them, in the ninth century, to form permanent settlements there. Subsequently, the brochs may have been used by the settlers as means of defence against the rovers from the fiords of Norway who, when in search of booty, were not always accustomed to exercise a nice discrimination between their own countrymen and foreigners. But all this is pure conjecture, although the known facts are not opposed to its acceptance as a working hypothesis.

When we turn to etymology for assistance in groping our way through the darkness which surrounds early events in the Long Island, we find ourselves on more solid ground. Etymology is always an interesting amusement, but it is also capable of proving a valuable handmaiden of history, and the place-names of the Outer Hebrides emphatically belong to the latter category. We find here a set of circumstances which is perhaps without parallel elsewhere in the British Isles. The language of the great bulk of the people is Gaelic, but the place-names are chiefly Scandinavian. In Lewis, for example, there are about four times as many Norse names as there are of purely Gaelic origin, and in Barvas and Uig, the preponderance is overwhelming.* But this fact, remarkable in itself, is rendered still more noteworthy by the circumstance that the Scandinavian names are not confined to the coast, where they might reasonably be expected, but extend to the interior, and embrace rivers and mountains, the names of which—more particularly of rivers—in accordance with the recog-

* Captain Thomas states, as the result of his investigations, that in Barvas the proportions are as twenty-seven to one, and in Uig as thirty-five to four.

nised rules of etymology, generally afford a clue to the origin of the primitive inhabitants of a country. What, then, are we to understand from the conditions which apply to the place-names of the Long Island? It is generally assumed that the Celts of the Outer Hebrides were partially or entirely extirpated by the Norse invaders, and that a general re-naming of places thereupon took place. These assumptions, however, rest upon the further supposition that there was a pre-existing Celtic race to extirpate, but the evidence in support of that belief is by no means conclusive, unless we accept the theory that the Picts (*Cruithnigh*) were Celts.

We have the assertions of John of Fordun, reiterated by later Scottish historians, that the Hebrides were in the possession of the Scoto-Irish for many centuries before the Norse settlements took place. Fordun is most emphatic in his statement that the Hebrides passed into the hands of the Scots in the time of Ethdacus or Ethacius Rothay, great grandson of Simon Brek, 500 years before Fergus I., son of Feredach, came over from Ireland at the instigation of the Caledonian Scots. As this Fergus is stated to have commenced to reign 330 B.C., we are consequently asked to believe that the Scoto-Irish came into possession of the Western Isles about 830 B.C. But Fordun's early annals are admittedly such a mass of fiction as to be perfectly valueless ; and Hector Boece, and even George Buchanan, are merely echoes of Fordun in their treatment of this period. Edward I., of England, the Hammer of Scotland, had carried off and destroyed the ancient records of Scotland, thus paving the way for his subsequent claim to the Scottish throne. From the fragmentary records which remained, Fordun, a Scottish priest who lived in the fourteenth century, strove to construct a chronology of Scottish kings, which he fondly hoped would establish the antiquity of the Scottish nation, and enable the patriotic party to refute the arguments trumped up by the English king and his successors in support of their preposterous claim. Fordun is believed to have travelled in Ireland

for the purpose of consulting the ancient records of that country, and his chronicles bear ample evidence of the mythic qualities by which the early history of the sister island is so flagrantly characterised. To his patriotic zeal were subordinated all considerations of accuracy, and modern historians are unanimous in rejecting as baseless that portion of his chronicles which is now under consideration.

We may, however, accept with a greater degree of confidence, the historical accuracy of the accounts given of the friendly relations which existed, prior to the third century of our era, between the Pictish tribes who occupied the parts of modern Scotland (or Alban as it was then called) nearest to the coast of Ireland, and the Milesian Scots of the latter country; and we may readily believe that this intercourse led to more or less unimportant emigrations of the Scots to the Southern islands of the Hebrides, as well as to the adjacent mainland. Probably these occupations were accomplished, sometimes by friendly treaty, sometimes by force, but they do not in any case appear to have been of long duration; and the accounts of this early colony show that the settlers were finally forced, by the jealousy of their Pictish neighbours, to relinquish their possessions and return to the parent country. It is related, with what degree of truth it is impossible to determine, that about the middle of the third century, a band of Scots under the leadership of one Cairbre Riada, landed in Argyllshire, where they formed a colony which was called Dalriada after the name of its founder. This colony, if founded, probably received accessions at various intervals from Ireland, but once more the enmity of the Picts led to the disruption and the final abandonment of the settlement. About the beginning of the sixth century, however, a determined and successful effort was made by the Scots to effect a permanent footing in Alban. Under the joint leadership of Fergus, Lorn, and Angus, the three sons of Erc, the invaders settled on the coast of the modern Argyll and the adjacent islands. From Fergus son of

Erc sprang the race of Scottish kings which, in the person of Kenneth MacAlpin, crushed the Pictish monarchy in the ninth century, gradually established the predominance of Scottic power in the whole of Alban, and imposed on the country its modern name of Scotland.

It may be safely assumed, therefore, that the Southern Hebrides were in the possession of the Dalriadic Scots prior to any permanent occupation by the Scandinavian invaders who subsequently brought those islands, equally with the Outer Hebrides, under their sway. But the incidence of the place-names in the Southern section, as compared with those of the Outer Hebrides, induce the belief that a different set of conditions existed in the two groups. In Islay, for example, the proportions of place-names are as one Norse to two Gaelic, whereas in Lewis, as we have seen, the proportions are as four Norse to one Gaelic; and as Chalmers points out in his *Caledonia*, these place-names are of such a character as to indicate that the Norse settlements in the Northern Hebrides preceded those in the Southern islands. We may reasonably deduce from the fact that in the middle of the ninth century a mixed Gaelic and Scandinavian race of pirates (the *Gall-Gàidheil*) was paramount in the Southern Hebrides, the conclusion that a considerable period of time must have elapsed between the first appearance of the Norse rovers and their piratical coalition with their Gaelic predecessors. Time alone could weld into this unholy alliance two peoples so diametrically different in racial and religious instincts as the pagan Scandinavians and the Christian Gaels. There is nothing in the Irish annals, or any other records, to support the belief that the Gall-Gael, when they first appear in history, exercised dominion over the Outer Hebrides. The facts seem to support the conclusion that they were confined to the Argyllshire coast, together, probably, with Galloway (which at that time extended from the Solway to the Clyde) and the islands nearest to Ireland. It is reasonable to believe that the Norsemen who conquered, and

subsequently coalesced with, the Gaels of the Southern Hebrides worked their way South from the Orkneys and the Outer Hebrides.

The Sagas distinctly state, that long before the permanent settlements of the Norwegians in the Orkneys and Hebrides were effected, those islands were the *rendez-vous* of Vikings, and one account says that prior to the formation of Norse colonies, the Hebrides were uninhabited. This statement, if applied to the Outer section of the group, appears to suggest that the Pictish population, sparse as it probably was, only existed as the thralls of the ferocious sea-rovers. We know that there were in Norway regular slave markets where the captive Picts and Scots were bought and sold, and it is probable that a considerable proportion of the Picts in the Outer Hebrides had been thus disposed of from time to time. It is tolerably clear that the Saxon confederation which gave so much trouble to the Roman arms in Britain included the Scandinavians. According to Boece, the Danes were in Scotland at the time of Agricola. The Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, tells us of incursions by the Northmen to these islands long before the eighth century, which is the period usually assigned to the first appearance of the Scandinavians on our coasts. Irish tradition relates, that centuries prior to the commencement of the Christian era, the Hebrides were ruled by the Fomorians or sea-kings, who are generally believed to have been Scandinavian rovers, although, from some accounts, they might have been Phœnicians. We read of a great expedition to Ireland under the two Fomorian chiefs, Balor of the Evil Eye, "King of the Islands," and Tudech son of Dé-Domnand, who collected all the men and ships lying from Scandinavia westwards, "so that they formed an unbroken bridge of ships and boats from the Hebrides to the northwest coast of Erinn." This expedition, we are told, ended in the defeat of the Fomorians at the great battle of Moytura. We may believe as much or as little of this as we choose, but the

tradition tends to confirm the belief that the Hebrides were overrun by Scandinavian pirates at a period long anterior to the eighth century. Pinkerton, who wrote his history of Scotland a hundred years ago, and who was the great champion of the Teutonic origin of the Picts, believed that the latter came from Norway about 300 B.C. and established a monarchy in the Hebrides; that the Pictish kings down to 400 A.D. were merely princes of the Hebrides, Drust being probably the first Sovereign of all the Picts; and that the Hebrides were left almost desert when the Pictish inhabitants moved into the more fertile parts of the mainland. Without accepting altogether Pinkerton's arguments as to the origin of the Picts, and making due allowance for his pro-Gothic and anti-Celtic prejudices, there is reason to think that his conclusions as to the scanty nature of the Pictish population, at the time of the Norse occupation, are in the main correct.

The foregoing considerations, which are strengthened by the geographical situation of the Outer Hebrides, appear to offer a satisfactory explanation of the remarkable preponderance, and the no less remarkable incidence, of Scandinavian place-names in those islands. If the arguments which have been stated are accepted, it will not be difficult to believe (1st) that the Norsemen found the Long Island inhabited by a Pictish people, few in number, whom they speedily reduced to a state of thralldom; and (2nd) that the Scottic influx, carrying with it the Gaelic language, which subsists in many of the place-names, and in the common tongue of the majority of the inhabitants of the present day, came perhaps partly during, but chiefly subsequent to, the Norse occupation. That the language of the Picts was not Gaelic is suggested by the fact that St. Columbus was compelled to employ the services of an interpreter when seeking to convert the aged Pictish chieftain Artbranan in the Island of Skye, as well as from other facts that might be adduced. The few place-names in the Long Island which are neither Scandinavian, Gaelic,

nor English, may belong to the Pictish vocabulary, but the nature and classification of that language are still a puzzle to philologists.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion of place-names in the Outer Hebrides, other than those of the islands which compose the group. The word "Hebrides" itself is puzzling, etymologists not being in agreement.* In the best editions of Pliny and the manuscripts of highest authority, the name appears as "Haebudes" or "Hebudes," the modern form having, however, been also used both by Pliny, and in an edition of Solinus. From "Hebudes" was evolved the form "Ebudae," used by the writers of the first and second centuries. If one more guess may be added to the list of origins, it is that the word "Hebrides" may mean the Islands of Brude, Bruidi, Bridei, or Buidhe. There are no fewer than thirty Brudes in the first series of Pictish kings, and six Bruidis or Brideis in the second. The islands have also been called Beteoricae, Inchades, Ebonides, and Leucades. They were known, too, as Iniscead, and Innis Cat, *i.e.* the Hundred Isles, and the Islands of the Catani.

"Lewis" is a hard etymological nut to crack. The surmises which have been made about the derivation of the name are almost as varied as the forms in which, at different times, it has appeared.† The most satisfactory explanation appears to be that it is of eponymous origin, a theory frequently falsified in connexion with other place-names,

* Boece derives the name from Hibernia, or from King Hiber; Camden, from Ebeid, signifying without corn; Dr. Macpherson, from Ey-budh, the islands of corn, or from Saint Bridget; Pinkerton and Laing from Ey-Bud or Ey-Buth, island-habitation.

† John Major derived "Sky and Luys" from "twilight and light"; Martin, Captain Thomas, and Sir Herbert Maxwell derived Lewis from "Leog" a marsh; Pinkerton, from the "less" or low parts, in contradistinction to Harris, the "heights"; Dr. McCulloch, from "Loda the Scandinavian deity" (Odin); Johnstone, from "the residence of Liot" (Earl of Orkney); Taylor, from "wharf or landing place"; and Baxter, from "Claunis," meaning an arm-shaped island. The name has appeared in such varied garbs as Leodus (the earliest form), Ljódús and Ljódhús (during the Norse occupation), Lodoux (1292), and Lewethy (1335). Later it assumed the forms of Leogus, Leoghuis, Leoghas, Leoghys, Luis, Loise, Loyvis, Looyss, Louiss, Leuissa, Luys, Levisia, Lewys, and Lewes. In the *Chronicles of Man*, it appears as Lodhus, Lodws, and Leodus.

but sometimes, as in the present instance, the only theory tenable. The earliest known form is "Leodus," which appears in a Gaelic (Irish) account of the battle of Clontarf (1014) supposed to have been written by a contemporary, and the same form appears in an Irish manuscript of 1150. Camden, dropping the Latin termination, called the island "Leod." Naturally enough, the Norse form "Ljóðús" or "Ljóðhús," has given rise to the suggestion that the word means the residence of Leod, the progenitor of the Siol Torquil. Seeing, however, that Lewis was called "Leodus" about two centuries and a half before the time of Leod, the eponym must be sought elsewhere.

In the *History of the Picts*, written by Henry Maule, who lived during the reign of Charles I., or by Sir James Balfour, Lyon King-of-Arms—it is doubtful which—the existence is mentioned of an account by "ancient monkish and abbay writers," which declares that the eponymus of Lewis was one Leutha, the last of three Pictish kings who ruled in Orkney. Leutha, they state, conquered Lewis from the Cornani, and named the island "Leuthes" after himself. The Cornani may be identified with the Caronacae or Carini, the tribe which possessed the west coast of Ross-shire at the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. It is probable that there is a basis of fact for this supposed invasion of Lewis, and that a chief named Leutha—perhaps Elatha, the Fomorian pirate of Irish tradition who ruled over the Hebrides—actually gave his name to the island. "Leutha" and "Leod" are practically identical, the dental aspirate "th" being the equivalent of "d," while "Leodus" is simply the Latin form of "Leod"; and the "Ljóðús" of the Norsemen is "Leodus," with the difference of one letter. The efforts made to derive a plausible signification, other than that already mentioned, from the literal meaning of *Ljóðús* or *Ljóðhús*—which may be translated as "song-house," or "sounding-house," or "suffragan house"—have been unsuccessful for the same reason as it has been impossible to derive any

sense from the Norse name for Skye, viz., "Skid," which means, literally, "a piece of board." In both cases, these forms were obviously the Norse rendering of pre-existing names.*

The modern "Lewis" is not a corruption of the earliest form of "Leodus"; it is, in point of fact, its English (or Welsh) equivalent. The name of the Pictish King Loth, who is supposed to have given his name to the Lothians, appears in the Welsh annals as "Llew," and "Lothus" is thus "Lewis." Loth or Hlod, Leodus or Leod, Lloyd, Ludwig, Louis, and Lewis, are all identical names. Is it possible that Ossian's "streamy Lutha" had an existence in fact after all, and that the Island of Lewis was the home of the fair Malvina, Toscar's daughter? The only other place-name in Lewis which need be noticed is that of its capital, Stornoway, and there need be little hesitation in deriving it from the Icelandic *stjórna* = to govern, and *vágr* = a bay, thus denoting that the centre of the Norse administration lay at Stornoway.

"Harris" is unquestionably of Scandinavian origin. Just as Birsay and Harray in the Orkneys formed, until modern times, one parish under the name of Bergishérad (meaning hunting-territory), and just as the topography of Iceland furnishes similar examples, so were Lewis and Harris combined during the Norse occupation, and known, probably, by the appellation of Ljódúshérad, the abbreviated form of Ljódús comprehending both. "Harris" is therefore a corruption of *hérad*, and *hérad* means a province or territory ruled by a *hírsir* who was not only the hereditary head of the community, but its "prophet, priest, and king." In the charters relating to Harris, it is called "Ardmanach in hérag (a corruption of *hérad*) de Lewis," and occasionally "Ardmanach de Lewis," the name "Ardmanach"—which was also the old name of the Black Isle in Ross-shire—being probably derived from the monastery at Rodil. In the *Red Book of Clan Ranald*, Harris appears

* The Sagas mention a place-name in Sweden named "Ljódús," but it would be rash to assume that it had a common origin with "Leodus."

as "heradh," which is the most correct form of the old name to be found anywhere.*

"Uist" is either of Pictish or Scandinavian derivation. The name of Uist or Vist occurs in the first series of Pictish kings, and may furnish an explanation of the name of the two Hebridean islands. The Norse and earliest known name was "Ivist," which may mean *Ey-vist*, the Island of Vist (the Pictish King), or may be literally translated as "dwelling-place." Munch, who translated the *Chronicles of Man*, took the latter view, and inferred from it that Uist formed the seat of the Norse government in the Long Island. Pinkerton and Dr. McCulloch believed that Uist meant the "West" island, with reference to its geographical position in the group, and a charter by David II., where the name appears as "Ywest," would appear to support that contention. Captain Thomas thought that the name might have come from *Ifheirste*, Uist thus signifying "crossing" island. All these derivations are more or less plausible, and it is impossible to say positively which is right; but the first-named seems, on the whole, the most likely.† Originally Uist may have comprehended not only Benbecula, but Barra as well.

The origin of the word "Benbecula" is difficult to determine with certainty, but it appears to be a hybrid, composed of Gaelic and Norse roots. The name of the island appears as "Beanbeacla" (1495) and "Buchagla" (Dean Monro in the sixteenth century), the latter being probably derived from the Gaelic *beinn-na-faoghail* = mountain of the ford. It figures also in such garbs as Benbekielaw, Benvaigha, Vynvawle, Bendbagle, Beanweall, and Beandmoyll. The last word offers some explanation of the origin of the present form. It is obviously derived from the Gaelic *beinn* = a mountain and the Gaelic *maol* = bare or bald. A relic of the latter

* Harris appears in the forms of Heradh, Haugh, Herrie, Herries, Herreik, Herag and Herage, Harrych, Haria, Hary, Haray and Harray, Hareis, and Harries.

† Bishop Leslie calls Uist "Eusta," Camden "Wust," and Blaeu "Evst." In the Scottish records and elsewhere, it appears in such forms as Ouyst, Owiste, Ovyte, Wyoist, Huwyste, Guiste, Wistus, Vistey, Ywist, Ywst, Ewyst, West, and Ust.

yllable is discoverable in the "ul" of the modern name, which may thus be a compound of four syllables, Ben-bec-ul-a, signifying the island of the small bare mountain, the Norse element in which consists of the last syllable only. Ruaival is the only hill in the island, and this circumstance readily suggests the derivation just noticed.

It is probable that Barra is derived from the Icelandic *bàra*, a wave-billow, or a wave raised by the wind, Barray thus signifying the "storm-tossed island," a singularly appropriate designation. Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh historian, tells us that his family name of de Barré was derived from the Island of Barra, and thus from its patron saint, Bishop Finn Barr of Cork, who died in 623. The place-name is popularly believed to be connected with Saint Barr, but it is much more likely that Burray in the Orkneys, Burra in the Shetlands, and Barra in the Outer Hebrides, have all a common origin, each of them being, in point of fact, a "storm-tossed" island. This derivation is more satisfactory than Colonel Robertson's "island of the extremity" which is from the Gaelic *barr*, a point; and Canon Taylor's Norse *bar-ey*, "bare island," is hardly more convincing. Still less convincing is the derivation from *borgarey*, "the island of the burgh or fort." Early forms of Barra are Barrich, Barreh and Barre; and Barray was a very common rendering.

From these excursions into the tangled region of etymology, the predominance of Norse influences in the Long Island, a thousand years ago, will be apparent. Even at the present day, ethnological traces of the Norse occupation are so obvious as to confirm in no uncertain way the teaching of etymology. Worsaae, the Danish antiquarian, states that when he visited Lewis, he was struck by the difference of racial types represented in the island. At Ness, he says he could have fancied himself in Scandinavia, were it not for the language and the dwellings.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

OUTER HEBRIDES.

CHAPTER I.

SO far as is known, the first Greek writer who gave any account of the British Islands was Pytheas, who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and our knowledge of that account is chiefly derived from the writings of hostile critics, notably Strabo, who regarded his descriptions as a mass of fables. Pytheas mentions the Island of Thule, which subsequently became so fruitful a source of speculation to the geographers and historians of old. This island has been variously identified with Iceland, the Shetlands, and the Orkneys, while one topographer and antiquary, Robert Gordon of Straloch, has stoutly maintained in a dissertation on the subject, that the ancient Thule was no other than the Island of Lewis ; an opinion which, Bishop Leslie states, was held in his time (sixteenth century). The fact seems to be that the ideas of the Greek and Roman writers as to the whereabouts of Thule were of the vaguest description, and that the name was applied indiscriminately to the most northerly island known to them at different historical periods. It is conceivable, therefore, that the Island of Lewis may have been the earliest Thule of the Greeks, and that with the extension of geographical knowledge, the name may have been subsequently applied to Orkney, to Shetland, and finally to Iceland.

The first to mention the Orcades (the modern Orkneys) was Pomponius Mela, a Spanish writer who flourished about the middle of the first century. He also refers to a

group of seven islands, to which he gave the name of Haemodae, a corruption, possibly, of Haebudes, the modern Hebrides, although Pliny the Elder differentiates between the two. Pliny, who lived about the same period, was the first to enumerate the Haebudes, consisting, according to him, of thirty islands. Ptolemy, who wrote a century later, gave the names of five Ebudae, two bearing the name of Ebuda, and the others the names of Ricina, Maleus, and Epidium. Ptolemy also mentions Scetis, which is almost certainly Skye. The identification of Ptolemy's Ebudae has led to a difference of opinion. In Dr. William Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, Rum is Ricina, Mull is Maleus, Islay is Epidium, Lewis is Ebuda, and Skye Ebuda *Altera*, while Arran appears as Regaina ; but it is only necessary here to examine the identification of Lewis with Ebuda. Starting with the assumption that Maleus must stand for Mull, Dr. Skene proceeds to show, from the relative position of the islands on Ptolemy's map, that West and East Ebuda must have been Islay and Jura. The position of the Hebrides in Ptolemy's map is ludicrously distorted by his configuration of the North of Scotland, which is placed much further to the east—the result, it has been suggested, of an accident—than its true situation. Making allowance for this error, it will be found that one of the Ebudae of Ptolemy occupies a position in relation to the other islands, which would warrant the supposition that Lewis may have been meant. But it is idle to speculate on the geographical knowledge of a writer who probably derived his information from the Romans who had circumnavigated Britain. Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, mentions five Ebudae, which have been identified with Lewis, Skye, the two Uists, and Coll, with Tiree. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Ptolemy described Thule as an island of not less than 55 geographical miles from north to south, which approximately agrees with the length of Lewis-with-Harris. But Bunbury thought that his description showed that the Shetland group of islands must have been meant.

We have no evidence, direct or indirect, that the Romans visited the Long Island. We know, however, that in the first century, a Roman fleet, by the direction of Agricola, sailed northwards on a voyage of discovery, stopped at the Orkneys, and proceeded by the Hebrides round the west coast of Britain, arriving at the point on the east coast—probably the Firth of Forth or Firth of Tay—from which it started. This is the first recorded voyage that proved Britain to be an island. It is not improbable that the Long Island was visited during this voyage, but with that probability we must rest content. We learn from Bede that the Orkneys were added to the Roman Empire by Claudius during his expedition to Britain, but there is nothing said about the Hebrides.

Solinus, who wrote in the third century, gives an interesting account of five Ebudae, which Camden thought were Lewis, the two Uists, Benbecula, and Barra—the Long Island in fact. Skene, however, is not of that opinion, but there appears to be cumulative evidence to bear out the hypothesis that the name Ebuda may have been applied to Lewis. According to Solinus, the government of the Ebudae was a curious mixture of monarchy and communism. "The King," he says, "has no property; all things belong to the community; and there are certain laws to oblige him to do justice. And that avarice may not depart from truth, he is taught justice by poverty, having nothing of his own but living on the public." It is curious and significant to notice that the King, according to this historian, practised a degraded form of polygamy, and was not succeeded by his son, thus affording an illustration of the peculiarities of the Pictish form of succession to the throne. Solinus further states that the inhabitants of those islands lived entirely on fish and milk, the use of corn being unknown to them. From the latter circumstance, Camden derived his meaning of the word "Hebrides," which has already been noticed. It is not unlikely that the account given by Solinus is, in the main, correct, although, as Dr. John

Macpherson points out,* an author who, like Solinus, wrote about men and women whose feet were like hoofs and whose ears were big enough to cover their whole bodies, is hardly entitled to unquestioning belief.

After the time of Solinus, there is a long gap in the history of the Hebrides which there is no possibility of filling in; records of any description are non-existent. An active imagination can readily enough supply the missing *data*, and probably the ancient historians of Ireland would have experienced little difficulty in supplying a list of kings and a chronology of events which would have enriched our fancy, if they did not enlarge our knowledge; but modern history does not permit of such excursions into the realms of the fabulous.

One event of surpassing importance took place in the Hebrides during the sixth and seventh centuries, and that was the conversion to Christianity of the Northern Picts. In the year 563, St. Columba (Colum Cillé) came from Ireland to minister to the spiritual wants of his fellow Scots who were settled in Dalriada. But the great apostle had also a higher end in view: he determined to be the missionary of the Northern Picts, as St. Ninian had been of those in the South. He was not content to be merely the instructor and the ecclesiastical Superior of Christians; he aimed at proselytising Pagans. In the monastery which he set up in Iona, he gathered around him a band of devoted missionaries, who were destined to plant the banner of the Cross throughout the length and breadth of the Pictish territories in the North.

The monastic order which he instituted was better fitted for that object than the diocesan authority which ultimately superseded it. The Columbans were simple, earnest men, whose aims were not shackled by ecclesiastical fetters, and whose missions were not marred by priestly pretensions. Abbas and Presbyter—such were the titles of St. Columba and his successors. Disclaiming equality with episcopal rank, the Abbot of Iona nevertheless exercised an influence

* *Dissertation on the Ancient Caledonians.*

to which no Bishop could lay claim. Ordained by episcopal authority, the monks rendered conventual obedience to the Abbot, to whose jurisdiction the Bishop himself was subject. From this monastic society in the lonely Hebridean island, there streamed forth a purer flow of religion, a clearer radiance of primitive Christianity, than was possible in the Anglo-Saxon Church, with its pretentious hierarchy and its subserviency to Rome. While the Church in England laboured over theological subtleties, the monks of Iona erected huts and built wooden churches; while the Anglo-Saxon priesthood received instruction on trifling and even immodest subjects, the Columbans taught the heathen the Word of Life. Puerilities were far removed from these earnest men—their work was too pressing, their aims too important, to admit of them. Their tonsure was not orthodox, neither was their observance of Easter—yet they converted the Picts. Their methods were unobtrusive, their mode of living was simplicity itself—yet their names are held in veneration to this day.

St. Columba himself struck at the roots—the fast withering roots—of Druidism, the religion of magic, by proceeding boldly to the Court of Brude, the Pictish King, on the banks of the Ness. His mission was entirely successful. The power of Paganism was broken, and the Picts became a Christian nation. Planting a monastery here and another there, with judicious care, St. Columba left behind him schools of Christian instruction, from which issued missionaries filled with apostolic fervour, who carried the Gospel to the remotest parts of the Highlands and Isles. We need not stop to discuss the point whether it was Conall, the King of Dalriada, or Brude, the Pictish monarch, who gifted Iona to St. Columba. Bede is our authority for the latter statement, and we must assume that the Picts laid claim to the sovereignty of the South, as well as the North, Hebrides.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that either St. Columba himself, or his immediate disciples, established churches in the Outer Hebrides. In Lewis, there were

no less than three churches called after him, the walls of one of which, at Eye (originally *Ui*, a peninsula), are standing at the present day. In Bernera, close to North Uist, and in North Uist itself; in South Uist, and in St. Kilda, were chapels similarly named; and in Benbecula there are strong evidences of a close connexion with the central monastery in Iona.

In Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, which was written in the seventh century, there are frequent references to an island named "Ethica," which appears as an adjective, coupled with the substantive *insula* or *terra*. It is described as being at a considerable distance from Iona, and accessible by the open sea, or by a course along the lesser islands. It had a monastery at a harbour called *Campus Lunge*, over which Baithene, St. Columba's chief ecclesiastic, and subsequently his successor, presided, and to which penitential cases were sent from the mother church. Besides this monastery, the island contained several other religious communities under various presidents, and one in particular called Artchain, which was founded by a follower of St. Columba, named Findchan. It resembled the Columban model in having a Presbyter as Superior, who, in that capacity, exercised jurisdiction over a Bishop, although incapable of performing episcopal functions. By Colman and Innes, this description was held to apply to Shetland, but Pinkerton states that Ethica was probably Lewis, and this view has been adopted in Black's *County Atlas of Scotland*. Skene, however, endeavoured to prove that the island meant by Adamnan was Tiree, and Reeves in his translation of Adamnan, agrees with this opinion.

It may be safely assumed from the known character of the pagan Northmen, that they made short work of the religious communities which they found in the Outer Hebrides. The men who plundered the mother church in Iona, and ruthlessly slaughtered her monks, were not likely to spare the daughter churches wherever they found them. It has been suggested with a good deal of reason,

that the merciless ferocity with which the Norsemen pursued the ecclesiastical establishments of Britain and Ireland, was of a retaliatory character. It has been shown that they never interfered with the Christian religion until the persecution by Charlemagne of the pagan Saxons, and the destruction of their temples and idols, had aroused within the breasts of Odin's followers a feeling of implacable hatred towards the Christian name. The "great and good prince" Charlemagne had ordained that the Saxons should choose between Christianity and death—a form of conversion, which, in subsequent years, was imitated by the Northmen themselves in dealing with their pagan countrymen. In pursuance of this militant spirit, the Royal missionary is stated to have beheaded no less than 4,500 recalcitrant Saxons in one day, thinking, perhaps, to obtain the favour of Heaven by so meritorious an act. Such was Christianity as exemplified by this pious Emperor of the West, and such was the spirit in which "conversions" were effected in those days. The smoking ruins of many a sacred building; the expiring groans of many a devoted monk; the despairing shrieks of many a violated nun; these were the prices paid for the summary methods of converting the heathen which Charlemagne, the pillar of Christianity, adopted. And it is not too much to assume that the Outer Hebrides paid a portion of the prices in the destruction of the Columban churches, and the slaughter of the officiating clergy. But the probable disposal of the native Christians, some to the slave marts of Norway, and others to the condition of thralldom which their conquerors doubtless imposed upon them, may have led to the seeds of their religion being planted in new soil. In process of time, these seeds may have brought forth part of the fruit which so abundantly ripened towards the close of the tenth century.

About the end of the eighth century, the Scandinavians made their first recorded appearance on the coast of Ireland. The Irish Annals indicate that immediately before this event, which marked an epoch of great impor-

tance in the history of Ireland, the Northmen had devastated "all the islands of Britain." From this we may conclude that the tide of invasion proceeded from the Orkneys along the line of the Hebrides, and perhaps the Isle of Man, until finally it reached the shores of that fertile country which was the goal of the Northmen's desires. In the year 794, Sci, or Skye, was pillaged and wasted, and it is highly probable that at the same period, stirring events were taking place in the Outer Hebrides. It is almost certain that previous to the eighth century, the Long Island was a resort of Vikings, but whether or not before that period any permanent settlement by Scandinavians had been effected can only be conjectured. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that the Northmen who first appeared on the Irish coast were bands of piratical adventurers from the Orkneys, and, perhaps, from the Long Island, bent on finding richer booty than those lands afforded.

The Irish Annals are full of records of the mischief wrought, during the ninth century, by the Scandinavians, who are indifferently styled "Gentiles," and "Galls," or foreigners. We find a distinction made in the year 850 between these Gentiles and Galls. The Annals of Ulster record "the coming of the Dub-gennti to Ath-cliath (Dublin) who made great slaughter of the Finn-gallaib." And in the following year, according to the same authority, "eight score ships of Find-gentib came to fight against the Dub-gennti at Snamh-aigneach," when a great battle took place, which lasted for three days and three nights, resulting in the ultimate victory of the Dub-gennti. These opposing bands are usually described as "Dubhghoill" or "Dugalls," and "Finnghoil" or "Fingalls": the dark and the fair foreigners. The Norsemen have been identified with the Fingalls, and the Danes with the Dugalls. It is difficult to see on what grounds this distinction has been made. If we assume that "Fingall" really means "fair foreigner," and Dugall "dark foreigner," we must discover satisfactory reasons for associating the idea of fairness with the Norwegians, and that of darkness with the Danes. Various

explanations have been hazarded to account for the distinction, but they are all purely conjectural, and therefore, as proofs, valueless. The suggestion that the Norwegians were a fair race—which we know—and the Danes a dark race—which we do not know—will hardly be accepted. We read of Northmen called “Gorm-glasa” who fought at the battle of Clontarf. If the same argument be applied to them that is sought to be applied to the Fingalls and Dugalls, we must believe that the Gorm-glasa were a race whose distinguishing characteristic was the possession of greenish-blue hair, a colour which finds no counterpart in these days. Equally unsatisfactory are the suggestions that the distinguishing marks of the Norwegians and Danes lay in the colour of their clothing, their shields, or the sails of their ships. Pinkerton states that Mr. Thorkelin, “a learned native of Iceland,” informed him that the old dress of the Norwegians, and especially of the pirates and mariners, was black, as in Iceland. But this statement is in direct opposition to the generally accepted theory, which makes the Danes the black foreigners, and the Norwegians the fair foreigners. In later Irish history, we find frequent references to the Danes and Norwegians, and Keating writes of “the Normans,” as distinct from both, but gradually all sections of the Scandinavians became merged in the generic name of “Danes,” which probably denoted, in process of time, any foreigners hailing originally from the North of Europe.

The seanachies tell us that Somerled defeated “a large army of Lochlans and Fingalls, and cleared the whole west side of Alban from the Lochlans, except the islands of the Finnlochlans called Innsegall.” But in the *Red Book of Clan Ranald*, the Lord of the Isles is termed *Rìgh Fiongall*, or King of the Fingalls; a statement which implies the subjection of the Fingalls to his rule. The term “Lochlannaigh,” or “Lochlans” (sea-warriors), originally applied to the Scandinavian rovers, appears to have received a wider signification in later years. The Dugalls figure on several subsequent occasions in the Irish Annals

and always as piratical adventurers ; now at York, where they defeated the North Saxons, again in Alban, where they slaughtered the Picts, and—later than either event—in Ireland, once more battling with their old enemies, the Fingalls. We read of one Ragnall, or Reginald, who, early in the tenth century, was King of the Dugalls ; after which, Dubgall, and later, Dugall, appear only as the names of persons ; and in the tenth century, Fiongall also appears as a personal name.* The modern names of Dugald, MacDougal, and MacDowell, are probably derived from Dubgall. Similarly, the Lochlans of the past re-appear in the modern garb of MacLauchlan in Scotland, and McLoughlin in Ireland. On the whole, it seems probable that the Fingalls and Dugalls were rival tribes of Norsemen who had a standing feud. Their names appear to have been originally derived from the Celtic appellatives of their chiefs.

The Rev. J. Johnstone, who was Chaplain to H.M. Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Denmark in 1782, gives us a rehearsal by a Scandinavian pirate (seventh century) during his dying moments, of his marauding exploits in the Hebrides. This warrior describes how he and his comrades went “ spoil to seek,” but apparently they were disappointed in the extent of the resistance with which they met, “ until in Skye, soldiers we found, brothers in valour, and wrought their doom ” ; a generous tribute to foemen worthy of their steel, notwithstanding the pithy allusion to the outcome of the encounter. The death-song of the semi-mythic Regnar Lodbroc also refers to the “ delightful ” strife of Scaia (Skye).

The first King of the Isles of whom there is mention was one Godfrey MacFergus, whose name suggests a Norse-Celtic origin. His death occurred in 853. Two years afterwards, there was a great war between the “ Gentiles,” and Maelsechnall, an Irish king “ with whom were the

* In the *Annals of Ulster*, Dungall (Donngal) and Gormgal appear as personal names as early as the eighth century. The name “ Donald ” is probably derived from the former.

Gall-gaidel," the mixed race of Norwegians and Celts who inhabited the South Hebrides. The Irish called the Hebrides "Innsigall," or Islands of the Foreigners, thus indicating the predominance of the Norsemen. Up to this period, the Northmen had come to the Hebrides chiefly, if not entirely, as roving bands in search of plunder, but we find them soon afterwards as exiles from the Mother-land, seeking permanent settlements in a new country.

The Battle of Hafursfiord, which was fought in the year 885 (or according to some historians in 872), was fraught with important issues. The results of that great sea-fight were the invasion of Russia and Normandy, the depredations on the coast of Britain, Ireland, and Spain, and the colonisation of Iceland, the Faroe Islands, the Shetlands, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, by Norwegian adventurers. By the victory which he gained over the coalition of petty kings who had rebelled against his absolutism, Hårald Harfager consolidated his sovereignty over the whole of Norway, and established a monarchy which brooked no rivals. The piratical-patriarchal era in Norway was for ever past ; the iron hand of the conqueror pressed heavily on ancient institutions ; the system of government was revolutionised ; the independence of the *Fylki*-kings was for ever broken ; and the reins of supreme power were grasped by a man whom, if tradition is to be believed, the sneer of a woman launched upon a career of ambition and despotism, which had previously no parallel in Norwegian history. A strong man was this fair-haired Harald ; but so were the piratical princes whom he dispossessed of their ancient privileges. Disdaining to lick the hand that had smitten them, they preferred, like the Pilgrim Fathers—to if the irony of the comparison be permitted—to leave the land of their forbears, and carve out for themselves fresh fortunes in the land of the stranger, where their intense love of liberty—and, it may be added, their predatory instincts—were to receive freer play than was possible under the new monarchy. And so it came to pass that the rebellion against Harald, which culminated in the

decisive sea-fight of Hafursfiord, gave an impetus to Norse colonisation which marked a new era in the history of the Hebrides. These islands were admirably adapted for the purposes of the colonists, whose means of livelihood during the summer months was of a character which, in those days, was considered to be not merely eminently respectable, but the only fitting occupation for him who aspired to the name of warrior. The whole of the islands extending from the Shetlands to the Isle of Man were dominated by the Scandinavians, and the Celtic inhabitants of the Hebrides appear to have proved apt pupils in the Norse school of piracy.

The successive immigrations of the Norsemen to the islands soon constituted a source of annoyance, if not of danger, to the monarch whose iron rule had forced them from the mother-country. Gaining confidence with their increased numbers, they openly harassed the coasts of Norway and, eluding pursuit, retired to the Scottish islands, which afforded them ample security and protection from attack. It was in vain that King Harald searched among the isles and outskeries of the Norwegian coasts for his tormentors; the wary Vikings managed to escape his vengeance by putting out to sea on his approach. The King at length determined to extirpate these pests once for all. Fitting out a powerful expedition, he set sail for their haunts. The Shetlands were the first objective of his attack. There, according to the terse phraseology of one of the Sagas, he "slew all the Vikings who might not flee from him." Proceeding to the Orkneys, he "cleared them utterly of Vikings." Thereafter, the same account goes on to say, "he sailed to the South Isles (Hebrides) and harried there, and slew many Vikings who were captains of bands there. There had he many battles, and ever gained the day." After his clearance of the Hebrides, Harald appears to have done some freebooting on his own account, for we are told that before proceeding to the Isle of Man, where the expedition terminated, "he harried in Scotland." From this expedition of Harald Fairhair (or

Hairfair) arose the assumption of sovereignty, by his successors on the throne of Norway, to the Shetlands, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. The exact date of the expedition has not been clearly established, but it was probably about 888.

Among the Norwegian kinglets who became the implacable foes of Harald, was one Ketil, son of Bjorn Buna, called in the Sagas Ketil Flatneb or Flatnose, who was a famous hersir in Norway. The Sagas disagree in describing the circumstances under which Ketil left his native country. According to one account, he was despatched with an army by Harald to suppress the unruly Vikings of the Scottish islands, and having established his authority, he formed alliances with "the mightiest chiefs in the West," sent back the army to Norway, and threw off his allegiance to the Norwegian King. The other, and the more probable version, is that he was one of those whom the high-handed proceedings of Harald drove into voluntary exile. It is stated that he summoned a Thing of his kinsmen and took counsel with them, placing before them the choice of resistance to the yoke of Harald, or of leaving the country. His sons, Bjorn and Helgi, wished to go to Iceland, as they had heard that the land was good, "with plenty of game and fish." Ketil was opposed to this suggestion, preferring to go westward, "where he knew many places, as he had ravaged widely there." Westward accordingly he went.

It is not difficult to identify Ketil Bjornson with Caitill Find, or Cathal Finn, chief of the Gall-gael, who was defeated in Munster in 857 by Olaf the White. The author of the *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, an ancient and apparently authentic Irish tract translated by Dr. Todd, states that Caitill Find was killed at the Munster fight, which would at once dispose of any attempt to identify the leader of the Gall-Gael with the Norwegian Ketil. The *Annals of Ulster* offer no corroboration of the statement in the tract, and the evidences of identification are too strong to be ignored. Ketil's daughter, Aude, or

Autha "the deep-minded," was married to Olaf the White. Here we have a clear intimation that the former rivals had patched up their quarrel in the usual way, matrimony being a convenient means of reconciliation and the seal of an alliance. When forced to exile, the aged pirate looked back with a pathetic interest on his adventures in the West, where he had "ravaged widely" in his younger days, and in establishing an independent monarchy over the chain of islands extending from the Shetlands to Man, he doubtless received both the countenance and assistance of his powerful son-in-law, the King of Dublin. Ketil's sovereignty, however, was of short duration, for he appears to have died soon after its establishment.

He was succeeded by his son Helgi, whose dominions afforded a welcome refuge to his sister Aude and her son Thorstein the Red, after the death of Olaf the White. Helgi the Lean, who had married Ketil's daughter Thorun, also found, with his wife, a safe asylum there. The *Eyrbyggja Saga* states that Helgi's brother Bjorn, whose lands had been forfeited by Harald Fairhair in retaliation for the revolt of Ketil Flatnose, came "west-over-the-sea" for protection, and was warmly welcomed by Helgi." The latter, with some of his relatives, appears to have been converted to Christianity. Seeing that they had cast off the faith of their fathers, Bjorn "had no heart to dwell" with them, and stayed the winter with his sister Aude and Thorstein, her son, who had probably not come under the same Christianising influences amongst the Dublin Ostmen as had her brother Helgi in the Hebrides. From the Hebrides Bjorn proceeded to Iceland, where he was followed by Helgi the Lean with his wife and family. This Helgi had been fostered for two winters in the Hebrides, where he seems to have been half-starved (whence his *soubriquet*), and had to be taken to Ireland to complete his fosterage. He is described as a Christian settler in Iceland, but his creed was a mixed one: nominally a believer in the Founder of Christianity, he nevertheless invoked Thor for aid in sea voyages and difficulties;

a hybrid creed which was very common among the Norwegians in the early days of their Christianity. Aude, the widow of Olaf the White, was another emigrant to Iceland ; it is clear, indeed, that Iceland was colonised by its first settlers chiefly from the Hebrides, rather than from Norway. The emigrations of Ketil Flatneb's descendants show that the sovereignty established by that powerful Viking fell to pieces soon after his death. It is probable that his son Helgi and all his relatives were chased out of the Hebrides by Harald Harfager during his punitive expedition ; and thus the dynasty of the flatnosed warrior, which he set up in opposition to the despot of Norway, ended abruptly in the person of his son.

One of King Harald's principal commanders in his expedition was Rögnvald (Ranald) Jarl of Moeri, a man remarkable for bravery and wisdom, and a staunch adherent of the King, who trusted him implicitly. It was one thing to conquer the islands : it was another thing to secure the conquests and maintain the authority of Norway. Ivar, son of Rögnvald, having fallen in one of the fights which occurred during the expedition, Harald decided to recompense Rögnvald for his loss, and at the same time secure his newly acquired dominions, by offering to appoint the trusty Jarl as his Viceroy over the islands. Rögnvald, however, declined the offer, preferring his Norwegian Jarldom, but he recommended his brother Sigurd to the King as a fitting substitute. To this Harald agreed, and Sigurd was appointed first Jarl, or Earl, of the Orkneys.

There is reason to believe that this Jarldom carried with it supreme authority over the whole of the islands from the Shetlands to Man, and that lieutenants were appointed to govern the Hebrides, who acknowledged Sigurd as their Superior, and paid him tribute as representing their Royal master. One Jarl Tryggvi was appointed governor of the Western Islands, and after him, Asbjörn Skerjablesi, both of whom were killed by the Vikings, who swarmed back to their old haunts as soon as King Harald returned to Norway. Asbjörn was attacked and slain by two

relatives of Ketil Flatneb, who captured the governor's wife, and daughter, and sold the latter as a slave. It is highly probable that after their expulsion from the Hebrides, the adherents of Ketil betook themselves to a life of piracy, possibly under the leadership of Ketil's son-in-law, Thorstein the Red, a man of commanding abilities, who was destined to cut an important figure in the history of Scotland.

The Outer Hebrides must have lain under the domination of Thorstein the Red until his death about 900, when the ties which bound them to the Orcadian Jarldom began to weaken, and the overlordship of Norway was suffered, temporarily, to fall into abeyance. The Irish Annals relate incursions during the tenth century of a powerful tribe of Norwegians from the islands whom they call "Lagmans"; in other words, the followers of the lawmen, the chief judges of the islands, and the presidents of the General Assemblies. These Lagmans are referred to as allies of Magnus, son of Harald, a leader of the Danes of Limerick, who ultimately became King of Man and the Hebrides. About the end of the tenth century, Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, successfully re-asserted the claims of the Jarldom over the Hebrides, and appointed his brother-in-law, Gilli, his lieutenant in the South Isles. The Orcadian domination, however, was of short duration, and the Hebrides, or their southern portion, once more became linked to the sovereignty of Man, Gilli being defeated by Kenneth, brother of Reginald of Man. Kenneth's son, Suibne, described in the Irish Annals as "son of Cinaedh, King of the Gallgaidhel," succeeded Reginald in the government of Man and its appendages.

Both Sigurd and Suibne took part in the battle of Clontarf (1014), which broke the Scandinavian power in Ireland. Clontarf was the culminating point of a racial contest for supremacy between the subject Celts and the dominant Teutons in that country. It was the Bannockburn of Ireland, and, like the great battle which sealed the independence of Scotland, victory lay with the patriots.

The Scandinavians throughout the British Isles flocked to the assistance of their countrymen. According to an Irish annalist, who is thought to have been a contemporary of Brian Boromhe, Sigurd, "Earl of the Orc islands and of other islands," was among the first to lead in person to the field of battle, "an assembled army of ignorant, barbarous, thoughtless, irreclaimable, unsociable foreigners of the Orc islands, and of the Cat (Caithness) islands; from Manann (Man), and from Sci (Skye), and from Leodus (Lewis), from Cenn Tire (Kintyre), and from Airir-gaidhel (Argyll)." There was also "an immense army from the Innsi-gall"; a distinction which seems to imply that the North and South Hebrides were under separate lordships, the North Isles being still, apparently, subject to the Orcadian Jarldom. Both Sigurd of Orkney and the patriot King, Brian Boromhe, were killed at Clontarf; and among the slain was also one Amlaff (Olaf) "King of the Hebrides," who was apparently Suibne's lieutenant in the South Isles.

In 1034, the whole of the Hebrides again came under Orcadian supremacy, Thorfinn, son of Sigurd, the most powerful of the series of Jarls, having wrested Suibne's Scottish possessions from him. In the contest between the rivals, Suibne was probably slain, for his death coincides with the acquisition of the Isles by Thorfinn, who is generally supposed to have made himself master of Scotland as far south as the Firth of Tay.* Upon his death, in 1064, Norse domination on the Scottish mainland was dissipated, and Thorfinn's possessions reverted to their original owners.

The dynasty of Godred Crovan, King of Man and the Hebrides, was established between 1075 and 1080. This adventurer, who was a son of Harald the Black of Iceland, repaid the hospitality of Fingal, the reigning King of Man, by wresting the island from his possession. Turning his attention to Ireland, he subdued Dublin and forced a great part of the province of Leinster to submission. The

* Dr. MacBain, however, believes that his conquests did not extend beyond Beaully Valley.

conquest of the Hebrides followed. From Arran to Lewis the whole of the islands fell under his power, and his conquests may have extended to the Orkneys and Shetlands. He is described by Torfæus, the Norwegian historian, as "King of the Nordereys," from which we are to understand either the Orkney and Shetland groups, or the northern islands of the Hebrides. It is not easy to discover whether the name "Nordereys," or North Islands, was originally applied to the Orkneys and Shetlands, and the word "Sudreys" (*Sudreyjar*), or South Islands, to the whole of the Hebrides. Torfæus makes a clear distinction between Orkney, the North Isles, and the Western Isles, and refers in a certain passage to the "North Isles such as Lewis." The truth seems to be that the name "Nordereys" was applied originally to the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and later, to the Northern Hebrides; while the name "Sudreys" was, by the Sagas, used to denote the whole of the Hebrides. As we shall see later, a division of the Hebrides took place in the twelfth century, and from that period there can be no doubt that the designation "Nordereys," or North Isles, was generally applied to the northern section of the Hebrides, including the Long Island, Skye, and the other islands which were included in the northern division; while the "Sudreys," or South Isles, embraced the section lying to the south of Ardnamurchan. We shall adopt this distinction for the sake of convenience. But to return to the conquest of the Hebrides by Godred Crovan.

That conquest was no half-hearted affair: it was thorough. The governorship of the Northern Hebrides was entrusted to his eldest son, Lagman, who had his seat in the Long Island, for he is called by the Sagas "Ivistar Gramr," or Prince of Uist. He was Godred's lawman, and it is probable that the name by which he is known to history was his official title, not his personal name. The Scots of the West appear to have harassed Godred's territories, for he was obliged to equip a fleet for the purpose of chastising them. So thoroughly cowed

were they by his onslaught, that they were forced to submit to his decree which, if the Manx tradition is to be believed, provided that no Scot should build a boat above three streaks high ; or, according to Camden's version, should drive more than three nails in any boat. By this means, the islands were secured against the attacks of the mainlanders.

In the year 1093 occurred the first of the three expeditions of Magnus Bareleg, King of Norway, to the Hebrides and Man. The confusion in the accounts of the first two expeditions (the second of which took place in 1098) and of the events which succeeded them, is so great as to render almost hopeless any attempt to reconcile them. But it is possible by a process of selection to arrive—at least approximately—at the main facts in their chronological order. The third expedition of Magnus in 1103, in the course of which he met his death, was directed against Ireland, and has only an indirect connexion with the Hebrides. But it was otherwise with the two which preceded it.

It is evident that Godred Crovan had renounced, if he had ever acknowledged, the claims of Norway to the suzerainty of Man and the Hebrides. The time came for Magnus to enforce his claims, and compel the Islesmen to submit to his authority. This he did in the usual drastic manner of the Norse Kings. Proceeding to the Long Island, he encountered little or no resistance there. Lagman fled before him, thinking to reach Ireland, where alone there was a chance of safety. He was caught on the coast of Skye and loaded with chains. Magnus then proceeded to the South Isles, bringing them under subjection, and finally the Isle of Man was reached. But the terror of his arms had preceded him : the inhabitants had fled to Galloway ; and when the Norwegians landed, unopposed, they found the island almost deserted. Godred Crovan disappears from history at this point. From the Irish Annals, we learn that he died of the plague, in Islay, in 1095.

The old Scottish historians, Fordun and his successors, assert that the Hebrides were given to King Magnus by Donald Bane, the brother and successor of Malcolm Ceanmore, as a reward for services rendered by Magnus. It appears certain that during the expedition of 1093, Magnus assisted Donald in his usurpation of the throne of Scotland. The explanation of their friendship may perhaps be found in the fact that Donald, who had lived among the Norwegians of the Hebrides for a considerable time, may have been regarded as being, in a sense, a subject, temporarily, of Norway. To render active assistance to Donald in seizing the vacant throne of Scotland, would, under these circumstances, have been an enterprise after Magnus's own heart. But it is barely credible that his motives were absolutely disinterested, and that his offer of help was dictated by friendship alone. What form the gratitude of Donald Bane took, is not quite clear. Fordun's explanation is unsatisfactory. His contention that the Hebrides were at this period, and had been from time immemorial, under the Scottish Crown, will not bear examination. We have seen that Magnus entered upon his expedition with the object of restoring the supremacy of Norway in the Isles, a supremacy which, since the time of Harald Fairhair, had at intervals been allowed to become inoperative, but had never been surrendered. If the Isles, therefore, were ceded to Magnus by Donald Bane, the barren nature of the gift must have appealed to the recipient's sense of humour, if he had any; for it was virtually a present to the Norwegian King of what already belonged to him. Doubtless, however, the continued friendship of Donald Bane—the King with the anti-foreign policy—was of importance to Magnus in preserving the integrity of his island-dominions. There may have been assurances given on the part of Donald, that the suzerainty of Norway over the Isles would be respected, and perhaps actively maintained, by the Scottish Crown. In any case, it is impossible, from the evidence before us, to admit the assumption that the Norsemen derived

their right to the Isles from a grant by the Scottish King.

The expedition of 1093 was entirely successful in its results, and Magnus returned to Norway, leaving, apparently, the ex-governor, Lagman, now a vassal of the Norwegian Crown, to rule in Man and the Isles as his Viceroy. The Northern Hebrides, being so far removed from the seat of government, appear to have soon become troublesome, for we find that Magnus sent from Norway, in 1097, a governor named Ingemund to rule over them. He could not have made a worse selection. No sooner had Ingemund arrived in Lewis, than he sent messengers to the chief men of the North Isles, commanding them to appear before him and acknowledge him as their prince. Clearly, he had not come from Norway to serve his Royal master, but to enjoy himself. The worst governor who ever mismanaged a colonial possession of Great Britain, in the days when England used her colonies as a dumping ground for convicts, was an angel of light compared with Ingemund. He and the kindred spirits who accompanied him from Norway, behaved like a band of pirates, instead of a company of duly-accredited law-givers. They gave themselves up to revelry, robbery, and rape, and respected no law, human or Divine. But they had inflammable material to deal with, and the smouldering rage of the dishonoured Lewismen soon broke out into a fierce flame of terrible vengeance. The Hebridean chiefs had come to submit, but they remained to slay. They planned to slaughter the Norwegians during the night, and thus rid themselves of their oppressors. Ingemund and his retinue were caught like rats in a trap; their house was set on fire; escape there was none; the vengeful swords of the islanders despatched those who fled from the merciless flames; and not one of the licentious crew survived. Thus perished ignobly the governor whom Magnus had sent to attend to his interests in the Outer Hebrides.

Magnus of Norway was not the man to submit tamely

to this summary treatment of his representative. Things had not been going well in his island-dominions. Paul and Erlend, the Jarls of Orkney, had not been giving satisfaction to their liege lord; Lagman had apparently not shown the gratitude which the clemency of Magnus might have been expected to produce; and to crown all, his deputy had been burnt alive by the contumacious Lewismen. Nothing short of a clean sweep would satisfy him this time. And so, the great expedition of 1098, consisting of 60 large well-built ships, and manned by trained warriors, left the shores of Norway on a punitive and re-organising mission.

Hakon, son of Jarl Paul of Orkney, had visited the Court of Norway, and urged Magnus to undertake the expedition, hoping doubtless to reap some material benefits for himself, while venting his jealous spite on his uncle, Erlend, and his sons. But whatever the ulterior motives of Hakon, it is evident that Magnus needed no extraneous inducement to undertake his great scheme of revenge and re-conquest.

On arriving at the Orkneys, Magnus deposed the Jarls Paul and Erlend, and sent them to Norway, appointing in their stead his own son Sigurd, with a Council of advisers to assist him in the government of the Orkneys and Shetlands. From the Orkneys he sailed to Lewis, where he took a gruesome revenge for the slaughter of Ingemund and his companions. A *skald* named Bjorn Cripplehand, who accompanied Magnus on this expedition, has left the following account of the devastation wrought by his master in the Long Island:—

"Fire played in the fig trees of Liodhus (Lewis); it mounted up to heaven. Far and wide the people were driven to flight. The fire gushed out of the houses. The liberal King went with the fire over Ivist (Uist). The buendar (chief men) lost life and property. The King gained much gold."*

* This is the version given in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*. The version of Morris and Magnusson is more ornate.

There is a tragedy in these few terse statements. With pitiless ferocity, Magnus harried with fire and sword the unfortunate Long Islanders, leaving a desolated country and a slaughtered people to tell their silent tale of his memorable visit. It is not too much to say that the whole face of the Long Island was changed more completely by the massacre of 1098 than it had ever been by any previous event; and it is certain that no subsequent invasion of the Outer Hebrides had such far-reaching results.*

Magnus pressed southwards, leaving behind him a track of blood and fire. Skye, Tiree, Mull, Islay, and Kintyre all felt the weight of his heavy hand, and the deposition of Lagman formed the culminating act in his campaign of vengeance and spoliation.

While engaged upon his great expedition of 1098, Magnus succeeded in obtaining from Edgar, the reigning King of Scotland, an acknowledgment of his right to the Hebrides. He had already acquired that right, not only by virtue of the long subjection of the Isles to Norway, but by reason of the most cogent argument that could be advanced, viz., conquest by fire and sword. Confirmation by the Scottish Crown, however, obviated the risk of awkward questions subsequently arising, and sealed the vassalage of the Isles to the Crown of Norway. King Edgar "ceded" all those Western Isles, between which and the mainland, the Norwegian King could go in a boat with a rudder. The story is told, that Magnus took advantage of this loose stipulation, to add Kintyre to his dominions; accomplishing that stroke of business by means of a trick, which savours of a pettifogging attorney rather than of a warlike King. It is said that, seating himself at the helm, he caused a boat to be dragged across the isthmus of Loch Tarbert, thus fulfilling the letter, but not the spirit, of Edgar's incautious offer. This story bears a remarkable resemblance to

* The Lewis tradition, which connects the burning of the trees in the island with the Norwegians, has reference, doubtless, to this incident.

one mentioned in the Sagas, where we read of Beiti, a mythological Sea-King, having acquired certain islands which lay on the port side of his galley, by means of a trick identical with that said to have been played by Magnus on King Edgar. We must believe, therefore, that the Sagaic account of Beiti's exploit has been transferred to the credit of Magnus, in order, possibly, to explain the severance of Kintyre from the possessions of the Scottish Crown; or that Magnus, taking a leaf from the book of the mythic Sea-King, actually emulated his feat and imposed upon the trustfulness of the amiable Edgar. We know that Robert Bruce afterwards performed a similar exploit at the same place; and Tarbert in Harris derives its name from similar methods of bridging the narrow neck of land which divides North from South Harris. What is more to the point, as a matter of history, is the fact that during his journey of blood and fire in the South Isles, "men in Cantire bowed beneath the sword edge." This simple statement is of itself sufficient to account for the incorporation of Kintyre with the Hebridean possessions of the Crown of Norway.

But the Scottish Highlanders have at least one reason for keeping a warm corner in their hearts for this Norwegian monarch. Having subjugated the Isles, he passed the winter of 1098 in the Southern Hebrides, where he and his men adopted the native dress. Thus did Magnus gain the name of "Barefod" (Bareleg or Barefoot), by which he is known in Norse history. Highlanders may forgive much to the man who discarded his accustomed attire in favour of the so-called "garb of old Gaul." It is a practice which has been followed in modern times by visitors to the Highlands, with more or less striking effects; but this is the first, and perhaps the only instance on record, of a foreign King having worn the Highland dress while sojourning in the Scottish islands. Who, with this august example before him, shall deny either the antiquity or the picturesqueness of the kilt? It is easy to retort that Magnus was, after all,

a semi-barbarian. But as his martial feats proclaim the warrior, so his sartorial instincts proclaim the artist. Magnus introduced the use of the kilt to Norway, where it appears to have been worn for a century afterwards. Holinshed, who lived in the sixteenth century, informs us that during the great expedition of Magnus, he ordained laws and constitutions which were used by the inhabitants "unto these days"—an interesting statement alike to the historian and the jurist.

On the death of Magnus, the feeble Lagman seems to have once more (in 1103) resumed the sovereignty of Man and the Isles. But his brother Harald proved a thorn in his side. Suspecting Harald of plotting against him, Lagman seized his brother, put out his eyes, and otherwise mutilated him in accordance with the barbarous practice of those times. Repenting of his cruelty, he resigned the Crown and proceeded to Jerusalem to expiate his offence. On arrival there, or, according to some accounts, while on his way to the Holy Land, he died in the year 1110, after an inglorious reign of seven years.

Godred Crovan's youngest son, Olaf or Olave, who is known by the name of "the Red," also as "Kleining," and "Bitlingr" from his small stature, was a minor in 1111 when his dominions fell, either by conquest or popular choice,* into the power of Donald, son of Taidg, an Irishman who proved a despot, and was soon deposed. In 1114, Olave assumed the reins of government, after a useful training in the field and at the Courts of William Rufus and Henry I. of England. For forty years he governed his possessions wisely and well, his diplomatic relations, not only with his Superior of Norway, but with the neighbouring countries of England, Scotland, and Ireland, being of the friendliest character. He was treacherously murdered in 1154 by his nephew Reginald,

* The Manx historians say he was selected by King Murtough of Ireland at the request of the people of Man. The *Annals of Innisfallen* state that he "acquired the kingdom of Inseball by force."

who, with his two brothers, took possession of Man, massacred Olave's adherents, and divided the island among their own followers. From this state of anarchy, deliverance came by means of Godred, Olave's son, who was called from the Court of Norway by the chiefs of the Hebrides and his maternal grandfather, the lord of Galloway, to take possession of his inheritance. The usurpers were deposed and punished, and Godred commenced his career with everything in his favour.

Godred's influence and power gradually increased, and with them, his vanity. He began to be overbearing in his manner and despotic in his rule. He made enemies of some of his most powerful supporters in Man, by turning them out of their estates, and he estranged the affection of the common people by the harshness of his rule. A spirit of deep discontent was the inevitable result, and his enemies, headed by Thorfinn son of Ottar, an old competitor of Godred for the throne of Dublin, carefully fanned the flame of resentment. In order to enlist the sympathy and the active assistance of Somerled of Argyll, Thorfinn paid a visit to that ambitious chief. By a cunning appeal to Somerled's cupidity, he induced him to support the conspiracy against Godred. The fatuous policy pursued by the latter gave a handle to his enemies, which they were not slow to seize; the toils were now gradually closing around him. Somerled appears to have already been in possession of Bute and Arran. Dr. Skene states that these islands were conquered by David I. of Scotland in 1135, and were added to the dominions of Somerled, who, according to the seanachies, had previously expelled the Norwegians from Morvern, Lochaber, and Argyll. Once Somerled had obtained a footing in the Isles, he determined that the whole of the Hebrides should be his. But he lacked the power to defy the King of the Isles, and had to bide his time. His marriage with Ragnhilda, daughter of Olave the Red, was a part of the diplomatic means by which he sought to strengthen his preparations. But his ambition in another direction

temporarily interfered with his designs on the Hebrides. Setting up a claim, into the merits of which we need not enter, to the Earldom of Moray, on behalf of his grandsons, his plans were frustrated, and he himself was obliged to take refuge for a time in Ireland. Peace was at length (in 1153) concluded between him and Malcolm IV. of Scotland, an event which was considered to be of so much importance as to form an epoch in the dating of Scottish charters. And now came Somerled's great opportunity for seizing the whole of the Hebrides. It was arranged that his fellow-conspirator, Thorfinn, should conduct Somerled's son, Dugall, throughout the Isles, proclaim the latter King, and call upon the people to acknowledge his authority and to give hostages for their allegiance. But the majority of the Hebridean chiefs remained faithful to Godred, and among the faithful, was one Paul Balkasson, described as "Sheriff" of Skye, who, as events showed, was Godred's best friend. Well was he named *Balk*—the beam or supporter—for he proved a veritable tower of strength in the time of need. This is perhaps the earliest reference in Scottish history to the existence of the office of Sheriff. The first notices on record are contained in the Acts of David I., about the middle of the twelfth century, the period now under review. The Sherifffdom of Inverness appears to have at that time included the whole country north of the Grampians, and it might be inferred that the Sherifffdom of Skye was then, as it is at the present day, subsidiary to that of Inverness. But as this assumption would imply that Skye was, at the middle of the twelfth century, subject to the jurisdiction of the Scottish Crown—which we know was not the case—we must conclude that the office of Sheriff, as held by Paul Balkasson, was different from that to which the modern name attaches. In all probability, Balkasson was the military, as well as the civil governor of Skye, holding his office as the representative of Godred.

On his refusal to swear allegiance to Dugall, Balkasson fled to the Isle of Man, where he acquainted Godred with

the alarming nature of the plot which had been formed to undermine his authority. Godred immediately set sail for the Hebrides, determined to crush Somerled and nip the conspiracy in the bud. Somerled, with a fleet of eighty galleys, was ready for him. When the fleets met, a battle was fought which was maintained with dogged determination by both sides. Godred, conscious that he was fighting for his very life, refused to acknowledge defeat; Somerled, with the Hebrides at stake, offered an equally stubborn resistance. Night fell on the exhausted combatants with victory still hanging in the balance. Morning brought reflection and terms of peace. Sturdy fighters both, Godred and Somerled had learned in that hard-fought battle to respect one another; and mutual respect paved the way to mutual concessions. By a treaty which constituted a landmark in the history of the Isles, the rival leaders, who had many common characteristics, agreed to divide the Hebrides, Somerled's share comprising the islands south of Ardnamurchan, while Godred retained those north of that point. This notable agreement was made in 1156, from which date, the South Isles passed permanently from the dominion of the Kings of Man.*

* The Highland seanachies relate that Aula Ruadh (Olave the Red) invaded the West Highlands, and was repulsed by the natives under their leader, Somerled, who received the Western Isles as a reward for his great services. The tales of the seanachies, however, cannot always be accepted as history. Somerled met defeat and death at Renfrew in 1164.

CHAPTER II.

ON the death of Somerled, the sovereignty of Man and the Norderneys—from this period the application of the latter word to the Northern Hebrides is indisputable—was seized, during Godred's absence in Norway, by Reginald, a natural son of Olave the Red, the Sudreys falling to the share of Dugall, Somerled's son. Godred hastened from Norway, and deposed and punished, with the usual cruel accessories, the usurper. Before his death, which occurred in 1187, Godred made a tour through his Hebridean possessions—where his presence was much needed—and was absent from Man for about two years. That the Long Island was at that time a nest of pirates seems to be suggested by the fact that Ljotolf, a powerful chief in Lewis, was the bosom friend of Sweyn Asleifsson of Gairsay, one of the last, and certainly one of the most famous, of the Vikings. Sweyn's brother, Gunni, took refuge with Ljotolf, after a quarrel with Harald, Jarl of Orkney, and we find the rover himself at a later period enjoying the hospitality of his friend in Lewis, where he stayed "a long time." He repaid this hospitality by seizing a vessel belonging to Fogl, Ljotolf's son, who was on his way from Lewis to join the retinue of the Jarl of Orkney. Sweyn of Gairsay was a remarkable personality. He was a warrior and a seer; a pirate and a courtier; a powerful friend and a dangerous foe. Notwithstanding his reputation, he was warmly welcomed at the Court of the pious King David I., who compensated the rover's victims, and offered to bestow upon Sweyn himself whatever honours he might desire. But according to Sweyn's philosophy, it was better to reign at sea than serve on

land. About 1160, this famous freebooter, with all his men, was killed in an ambuscade at Dublin, which he had captured and looted.

Before his death, Godred of Man nominated as his successor, his son Olave, who is known as Olave the Black. But the Manxmen elected Olave's natural brother, Reginald, to act as Regent during his minority. The first campaign of the Regent, undertaken in 1205 on behalf of his patron, John de Courcy, against his enemy, Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, ended in disaster. About 100 vessels, most of them from the Hebrides, sailed for Strandford Haven, where the invaders landed and besieged Rath Castle, but being attacked in the rear by Walter de Lacy, with an army of Gallow-glasses (*Gilleanglasa*) they were forced to retire with heavy loss. Five years after this defeat, Angus, the third son of Somerled the Great, made a bold attempt to snatch the Nordereys from Reginald's rule, but was repulsed in Skye, and was afterwards defeated and killed in Man.*

The looseness of the ties that bound Norway to the Isles is exemplified by the fact that Reginald had become a vassal of the English King, whether for the Hebrides as well as for Irish fiefs which he probably held, is not quite clear. In recognition of his homage, he was to receive an annual knight's fee, payable at Drogheda, of two tuns of wine and 120 quarters of corn. He was also appointed "Admiral of the Seas"—which may mean the Irish Channel—and on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, probably no better choice could have been made for the suppression of piracy. In 1219 he surrendered the overlordship of Man to the Pope, agreeing to pay as the reward of his protection by the all-powerful See of Rome, the sum of 12 merks annually to Furness Abbey, an institution of which Olave the Red had been a liberal benefactor. This submission to the Papacy may have been a temporary expedient, but it served its purpose of

* According to some accounts he was killed in Skye.

securing safety at the expense of independence.* In 1211 King John of England sent Fulko de Cantelupe to Man for the purpose of punishing Reginald for his share in the rebellion of De Courcy. Reginald fled to Lewis for safety, returning to Man after De Cantelupe's departure.

We now return to Olave, the rightful heir to Man and the Nordereys. Youth was a fault which time removed, and Reginald had not occupied the throne many years before he realised that his half-brother—who is described by Sacheverell as “a master of refined qualities, mild, just, sedate, pious, liberal, and handsome—the darling of the ladies”—would soon prove a thorn in his side, if not put out of the way. A man of all the virtues and all the talents, such as Olave was pictured by the historian of the seventeenth century, was indeed a formidable rival in any case, and was doubly dangerous by reason of his undoubted right to the throne. Not daring to take the shortest, the most obvious, and from his standpoint, the most desirable means, of ridding himself of his brother, Reginald determined to get him as far away from Man as possible. With that object, he made him a present of Lewis, and sent him north to govern the island. That Olave did not appreciate the Island of Lewis is clear from the *Chronicles of Man*. Camden describes the gift and its reception in the following terms, viz. :—

“Reginald gave to his brother Olave the Isle of Lodhus, which is counted larger than any of the other islands, but thinly peopled, because it is mountainous and stony, and almost unfit for tillage in all parts. The inhabitants live generally by hunting and fishing. Olave thereupon went to take possession of this island and dwelt there in a poor

* The following extracts from the *Syllabus of Rymer's Foedera* illustrate the subserviency of Reginald to the King of England and the Pope.

Feb. 8, 1205. The King (of England) takes into his protection Reginald, King of Man, his lands, and men.

May 16, 1212. Reginald, King of the Isles, notifies that he has become the King's liegeman.

Sept. 21, 1219. Reginald, King of the Isles, surrenders the Isle of Man to the Pope to be held by him in fee.

Sept. 24, 1219. Letters of protection for Reginald, he having done homage to the King.

condition. But finding it too little to maintain him and his army, he went boldly to his brother Reginald, who then lived on the islands, and addressed him thus to him: 'My brother and my sovereign, you know very well that the Kingdom of the Isles was mine by right of inheritance, but since God hath made you King over it, I neither will envy your happiness nor grudge to see the crown upon your head. I only beg of you so much land in these islands as may honourably maintain me; for I am not able to live upon the island Lodhus which you gave me.'"

Reginald's reply to this touching appeal was characteristic of the man. Promising to consult his Council and give an answer on the following day, he quickly made arrangements to dispose of his troublesome brother permanently. If Olave found Lewis too small for him, he would find him a still more confined abode. Besides being a vassal of the English Crown, Reginald appears to have cultivated friendly relations with William the Lion of Scotland. Believing in the principle of making use of one's friends, he bethought himself of utilising the good offices of the Scottish King, in connexion with his designs upon Olave's liberty. And so it came to pass that the unhappy younger brother found himself immured as a prisoner in Marchmont Castle, that being Reginald's form of reply to his complaint. For seven years (1207-1214) Olave was kept in chains in his Scottish prison. His release coincided with the death of William the Lion and the accession of Alexander II., who, to celebrate his coronation, ordered that all prisoners in his kingdom should be set at liberty. On gaining his freedom, Olave paid a visit to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, where he offered up thanks for his deliverance; he then proceeded to the Isle of Man. Once more, therefore, Reginald found himself confronted by his brother and a recrudescence of his old fears.

Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, and readily lies the tongue that claims it unlawfully. Reginald dissembled his fears and professed his love. The ingenuous

Olave, untaught by experience, accepted his contrition, and for a short time the brothers lived on terms of affection, apparently real in Olave's case, certainly assumed in the case of Reginald. That crafty ruler soon devised a fresh plan for ridding himself of his incubus. Olave was a mere child in the hands of Reginald, and it was without much difficulty that his consent to marry Lavon (or Lauon, or Joan), sister of Reginald's wife, was obtained. According to Sacheverell, the father of the sisters was the lord of Kintyre, from which statement it may be inferred that they were daughters of Somerled, grandson of Somerled the Great. Reginald's wedding present to Olave was a fresh grant of the Island of Lewis, with the empty title of King to glorify his possession. Olave had learned by this time that life in Lewis was preferable to confinement in a prison, and had no desire to re-awaken his brother's resentment. To Lewis, therefore, he repaired with his bride, reserving the accomplishment of whatever larger aspirations he may have entertained until a more convenient season.

Soon after his arrival in Lewis, he received a visit from his sister's son, Ranald, Bishop of the Sudreys, who was then engaged on an episcopal supervision of the churches in the Isles.* Olave received his relative in a manner befitting a king, and invited him to a sumptuous banquet which he had prepared. But the Bishop declined his hospitality, on the ground that his marriage was illicit and could not be recognised by the Church. "Art thou not sensible," he asked, "that thou wast formerly wedded to the cousin of the woman who is now thy consort?" Olave confessed that previous to his marriage with Lavon, he had formed an irregular union with her cousin, but he was now ready to make full submission to the ruling of the Church. Bishop Ranald thereupon promptly annulled his marriage with Lavon. The readiness with which he listened to the representations of the Bishop, arouses the suspicion that

* While the Bishop was with Olave, the latter exacted a tax from two Icelanders who were driven ashore at Sandera. This suggests that Olave was master of the whole of the Outer Hebrides.

Olave was glad to have an excuse for getting rid of the wife whom his brother had chosen for him; and if her character resembled that of her sister, Reginald's wife, the desire is intelligible. On the other hand, the scruples of Bishop Ranald were probably based on political considerations rather than on ecclesiastical law, or on moral rectitude. Being a nephew of Olave, he may conceivably have had visions of a future crown—an earthly one—for himself, in the event of his uncle dying without issue. Still more probable is it that the hand of the crafty Reginald pulled the strings of a carefully laid plot, of which the divorce, like the marriage, of Lavon was one of the foreseen and pre-arranged incidents. For the treatment by Olave of his wife's sister now gave him a handle to accomplish the destruction of that unwary youth, who, soon after his abandonment of Lavon, married Christina, daughter of Ferchard O'Beolan, otherwise Mac-an-t'sagairt, or, son of the priest (of Applecross), Earl of Ross.

Burning to avenge her sister's dishonour, Reginald's wife sent a message to her son Godred, who was then in Skye, to proceed to Lewis and kill Olave. It is not difficult to surmise at whose instigation this bloodthirsty mission was resolved upon; if successful, Reginald would be freed once for all from the bugbear of his existence. The popularity of Olave had been increasing as that of his brother had been diminishing; but here at length were alike the pretext and the opportunity of removing for ever his rival from his path. Godred, whose name, the "Dragon of the Isles," appears to have been not inappropriate, gathered together his followers, and in obedience to the command of his amiable parent, sailed for Lewis. But he was just too late to effect his murderous purpose, for Olave, who had become aware of his danger, probably through the instrumentality of his friend Balkasson (who must have been the son of King Godred's supporter), embarked in an open boat, crossed the Minch,* and reached the castle of

* Manche, *i.e.*, channel or strait. The Minch appears to have been the Skottland Fjord of the Sagas.

his father-in-law, the Earl of Ross, in safety. Baulked of his prey, the disappointed Dragon of the Isles vented his rage on the inhabitants of Lewis, who must have been few in number, seeing they were unable to protect their idolised master from his would-be murderer. Godred pillaged the island and slaughtered the principal adherents of his uncle, thus showing that there was something more than private revenge at the root of the whole undertaking.

Meanwhile, Paul Balkasson had discreetly left Skye and taken refuge with the Earl of Ross, arriving—probably according to arrangement—about the same time as Olave. A consultation took place, at which the Earl of Ross and Balkasson urged Olave to throw off his allegiance to Reginald, and make a bold bid for the crown which rightfully belonged to him. The promised support of his powerful father-in-law, added to the conviction that his life was no longer safe from his brother's malevolence, decided Olave to put his fortune to the touch. The first offensive movement in the projected campaign was directed against Godred Don, who was then (1223) in St. Colum's isle, or Trodda, in the north of Skye, near which Olave and his friends remained in concealment for some days. They then proceeded with five ships to Trodda, and drew a cordon of vessels around the island to prevent the escape of Godred. Although taken by surprise, the latter made a stubborn resistance against the invaders, but, surrounded on all sides, he was obliged to give way; the defeat of his followers became a rout; and the rout became a general slaughter. Those who could, escaped to the church, whose sacred walls gave them protection. Failing to reach the sanctuary, Godred fell into the hands of Paul Balkasson, who, without Olave's knowledge or consent, mutilated him and is said to have put out his eyes. But the blinding must have been only partial, for Godred appears later in the character of a particularly alert, if short-sighted, individual. It is probable that this act of retribution was as much a political move on the part of Balkasson, as an act of private

vengeance. Fearing, perhaps, that Olave's courage might fail him at the last moment, and determined to make the breach between him and Reginald irreparable, he took the most effective means of accomplishing that end.

Olave had burnt his boats with a vengeance, and there was nothing for it but to take the next step, which was obviously the invasion of Man. He therefore matured his plans with the greatest expedition, and, to ensure the fidelity of the Hebrideans, took hostages from all their leaders. In 1224, he sailed for Man with thirty galleys, but his hostility was disarmed by the smooth tongue of Reginald, who offered him half of the Isles as a basis of peace, an offer which Olave accepted. But Reginald having deceived the Manxmen by preparing, with the assistance of Allan, lord of Galloway, to annul the agreement, the islanders threw off their allegiance, and sent for Olave, who was installed in his brother's place. Reginald invaded Man with his ally of Galloway, and after patching up an illusory peace with his brother, remained in the island for the purpose of fomenting a conspiracy against him. He was ultimately killed in a fight between Olave's party and the faction which he had succeeded in forming to support his own claims. According to the *Orkneyinga Saga*, Reginald was one of the most famous warriors in the West of Europe. Emulating the example of the Vikings, he once passed three successive years on board his ship without entering a house. He conquered, or purchased, Caithness from Harald, Jarl of Orkney. He was an able man, but his ambition was limitless, and he was destitute of scruples or honour.

After the death of Reginald, Olave deemed it politic to pay a visit to the Court of Norway, at Bergen, to do homage to his Superior, and to seek his help against the growing power of Allan of Galloway. He was well received by Hakon, and entertained right royally. Evidently affairs in the Hebrides generally were getting into a critical state. According to the account which has been preserved of Olave's mission to Bergen, he

informed his Royal master that the lord of Galloway had openly avowed his intention, not only of subduing the whole of the Hebrides, but of attacking Norway herself. At the Norwegian Court, Olave found three Sudreyan chiefs—described as “kings”—who, having failed to pay tribute to Hakon for their possessions in the Hebrides, had apparently been summoned to his Court to answer for their contumacy. These were Dugall Scrag or Shrill-voice, and Duncan (sons of Dugall, son of Somerled the Great), and Somerled their cousin, son of Gillecolum who was killed during his father's attempted conquest of Scotland. The submission of the Sudreyan chiefs appears to have come too late, for Hakon had already appointed one Uspak—whom he honoured by conferring his own name upon him—to act as his Viceroy in the Sudreys, and the disappointed Somerledians had to return home empty-handed. But they were not prepared to submit tamely to being ousted by Uspak-Hakon, and they resolved to fight. Anticipating their resentment and their resistance, the King of Norway got ready a powerful fleet to enforce the rule of his favourite. Olave the Black was commanded to co-operate with Uspak, and with that object, sailed from Norway with Paul Balkasson, who had probably accompanied him to the Norwegian Court. Reinforcements were obtained in the Orkneys, and probably also in the Nordereys, and the combined fleets, under the joint command of Uspak and Olave, proceeded to the Sudreys to attack the trio of Somerledians who awaited them in the Sound of Islay. In the meantime, Balka, a son of Balkasson, and a loyal Sudreyan chief named Ottar Snaekollsson (Snowball) went to Skye, where they attacked a Lewis chief named Torquil, son of Tormod (Munch calls him “Torquil MacDermot”), and killed him with two of his sons. The third son, Tormod, managed to escape by jumping into a cask floating in the water, which drifted across to the mainland, whence he reached Lewis in safety.

The campaign against the Somerledian chiefs was

entirely successful, the latter sustaining a severe defeat in the Sound of Islay, whence the Norsemen, under Olave and Uspak—the latter of whom turned out to be the long-lost brother of Dugall and Duncan—sailed to Bute, where they stormed a castle garrisoned by Scots. From Bute, where Uspak was killed, Olave returned to Man, and his men passed the winter in the island. On the return voyage to Norway, they made a descent on Kintyre, and on reaching Lewis, they attacked Tormod, whose father Torquil fell in Skye, and chased him out of the island, capturing his wife and all his possessions. We are left in doubt as to the identity of Torquil and Tormod. That Torquil's possessions lay in Lewis is evident; that Tormod's home was in that island is also clear; but what their offence was against the Norwegian Crown, or against the authority of its vassals, is not specifically stated. Munch suggests that they may have been opposed to the rule of Godred Don, Reginald's son, into whose possession his uncle gave the Nordereys on his resumption of the sovereignty of Man. This is not an improbable view, but it does not explain the attack on Torquil in Skye, unless we suppose that the latter, taking advantage of the absence of Paul Balkasson, had been raiding his property; the fact that Balka the younger went out of his way to fight Torquil in Skye, seems to lend colour to that suggestion.

Whatever the cause of the attack by the Norwegians on Lewis, it is certain that shortly after their departure, Godred proceeded to take revenge on his old enemy, Paul Balkasson, who had years before mutilated him. Godred's headquarters appear to have been in Lewis, and the inference is that no sooner had his authority been established in the Long Island by the Norwegian force, than he attacked Balkasson in Skye. The simple fact known to us is that he killed Balkasson. A few days afterwards, Brown Godred was himself slain in Lewis. On the death of his nephew, Olave resumed the direct rule of the Nordereys.

Olave the Black was in some respects the best ruler that Man and the Hebrides ever possessed. His was not a virile nor an ambitious character; yet when duty called, he showed that he could wield the sword as well as offer the olive branch. One would suppose that this easy-going, gentlemanly kinglet was hardly the sort of ruler required for his turbulent subjects; yet he retained their allegiance to the last. He died in 1237, and his throne was successively filled by his three eldest sons, Harald, Reginald, and Magnus.

In the first year of his rule, Harald paid a visit to his Hebridean possessions, leaving his cousin, Lauchlan, to govern Man during his absence. Lauchlan proved unfaithful to his trust, and Harald hurried back to assert his authority. His deputy fled from the island, accompanied by Godred, his foster son—who is said to have been a son of Olave the Black—and with about forty adherents, both were drowned off the coast of Wales.

In 1240, Harald refused to do homage to his suzerain. A force sent from Norway invaded Man and reduced its ruler to obedience, the revenues of the island being appropriated to the Norwegian Crown. The quarrel was made up by Harald marrying Cecilia, King Hakon's daughter, but the ill-fated couple were drowned on the voyage from Bergen to Man.

The next King of Man and the Nordereys was Harald's brother, Reginald, who, only a few days after his accession in 1250, was killed by Harald, son of Godred Don, and his supposed natural brother, a knight named Ivar. The heir was Reginald's brother, Magnus, who was then in Lewis with his father-in-law, Ewen of Lorne, or John, King of the Isles, as he is sometimes called. Harald MacGodred seized the reins of government but was summoned to Norway by King Hakon, who threw him into prison. Ewen of Lorne was in the difficult position of being a vassal of the Scottish Crown for his possessions in Argyll, while owing allegiance to Hakon for his possessions in the

Hebrides. Alexander II. of Scotland, who had designs on Man and the Hebrides, and was vainly endeavouring to negotiate their cession by Hakon, was particularly anxious to detach Ewen from the Norwegian interest. But all his efforts proved unavailing; neither threats nor promises would induce Ewen to throw off his allegiance to Hakon. The King determined to use compulsion, and Ewen in alarm fled to Lewis for safety. Alexander pursued him, but died of a fever in the Sound of Kerrera, near Oban. Such was the position when Ewen, in his capacity of Administrator of the Hebrides during an interregnum, found himself called upon to repair from Lewis to Man to prepare for the accession of his son-in-law. The Manxmen, suspecting his motives, and resenting his assumption of the regency, drove him from the island. Magnus was in 1252 unanimously elected by the islanders as their ruler, and in 1254, his title of "King of the Isles" was confirmed by his suzerain.

In pursuance of his father's policy in respect of the Hebrides, Alexander III. of Scotland re-opened negotiations with Norway, but Hakon remained obdurate, and a rupture between the two Kings was only avoided by the friendly mediation of England. In 1262, matters reached a crisis, which was brought about by the depredations of William, Earl of Ross, son of Ferchard Mac-an-t'sagairt, and other chiefs of the West, with the connivance, probably, of the Scottish King. Skye was ravaged, and the invaders were accused of committing such barbarities as child-spearing, thus rivalling the atrocities of the Norse pirates, with whom the tossing of infants from spear to spear was a common practice. The complaints which reached Hakon, and the well-grounded belief that further depredations were contemplated, left him no recourse but to organise an expedition for the purpose of re-asserting the authority of Norway, and protecting her subjects in the Hebrides. The time had come for a final trial of strength between Norway and Scotland.

In the spring of 1263, Hakon commenced his prepara-

tions, and on the 7th July, the fleet sailed from Bergen. A good deal of time was wasted in the Shetlands and Orkneys, due partly to a difference of opinion between Hakon and his lieutenants as to the disposition of his forces. The fleet reached Lewis in August, and at Skye, Magnus of Man was waiting with reinforcements, which probably comprised a levy from the Long Island. At Gigha, King Hakon had an interview with Ewen of Lorne, who had in the interval renounced his allegiance to the Norwegian Crown, and desired to be relieved of the fiefs which he held from it. Recognising the probity of Ewen's sentiments, Hakon treated him with consideration, and later, the noble lord of Lorne, whose honourable character remained unimpaired throughout, endeavoured to perform useful services as a peace-maker. The most active and influential of the Hebridean chiefs who joined the Norwegian forces was Dugall, son of Ruari, son of Reginald, son of Somerled the Great; with his father and his brother, Allan, he represented the Bute family, which was subsequently known as the Macruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles. Old Ruari was particularly embittered against the Scottish Crown, which had deprived him of Bute and driven him to a life of piracy. His alliance with the Norwegians is therefore intelligible, inasmuch as it afforded him the means of revenge, of which, it may be added, he amply availed himself.

The battle of Largs was preceded by a series of *pour-parlers* which proved fruitless, except in gaining time for the Scots, a result which was altogether in their favour, for the summer was drawing to a close and bad weather was imminent. The indecision of Hakon proved fatal, for at the critical juncture, a great storm arose which shattered his fleet, and so crippled his resources as to compel him to seek the safety of Lamlash Harbour. The battle, if it deserves that name, consisted of a series of skirmishes between detached bodies of Norwegians who managed to effect a landing, and overwhelming numbers of Scots; and the Norsemen showed to advantage equally with the Scots.

It is probable that from first to last, the number of Norwegians engaged in these skirmishes did not exceed 1,500, and the loss of 24,000 men, which, according to some Scottish historians, they suffered, is a wild exaggeration. But the political results of the conflict were far-reaching, for the Hebrides were finally severed from the Norwegian Crown, and incorporated with the Kingdom of Scotland. The aged King Hakon reached Kirkwall, where a fever, supervening upon his crushing misfortune, carried him off, on 15th December, 1263. His remains found a final resting place in the Cathedral of Bergen.

Alexander III. followed up his success with energy. He brought Magnus of Man to his knees, and in 1264 sent a force to the Hebrides to reduce them to submission. Some of the chiefs were hanged, others sought safety in flight, and bribes secured the allegiance of the remainder. In the following year, Magnus of Norway, Hakon's son and successor, opened negotiations with the Scottish King for the final settlement of the Hebridean question. He offered to resign Bute and Arran, while retaining possession of the other islands, but this offer was naturally rejected. Finally, in 1266, the whole of the islands (excluding the Orkneys and Shetlands) with the patronage of the Bishopric of the Isles, were ceded to Scotland, in consideration of 4,000 merks of silver, to be paid in annual instalments, each of 1,000 merks, and thereafter an annual quit-rent of 100 merks. A note to the treaty stipulated that the prevailing custom of enthralling a conquered people should not be observed in this instance. By this provision, Magnus secured the Norsemen in the Isles against a state of servitude which, to their proud spirits, would have been the most galling feature of what probably seemed to them a disgraceful surrender.

The Perth Treaty was sealed by the betrothal of Erik, son of Magnus, to Margaret, daughter of Alexander. The marriage dower, however, was apparently not paid, for in 1299-1300, Hakon V. of Norway claimed the arrears, and with them, the resumption of Norway's sovereignty over

the Sudreys. Application was made to England to aid the Norwegians in expelling the Scots from the islands, but the appeal fell upon deaf ears. In 1312, the treaty was ratified by Hakon and Robert Bruce, and finally, in 1426, by James I. of Scotland and Erik VIII. of Pomerania, King of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. But the annual tribute of 100 merks—known as the “Annual of Norway”—was not punctually paid, and in course of time, the arrears, with fines, amounted to a large sum. Finally, the marriage of James III. with Margaret, daughter of Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, was utilised to settle the account between the two countries. In return for the dowry settled by James on his wife, his father-in-law agreed to relinquish all claims, both past and prospective, in respect of the tribute; pledged the Orkneys for the sum of 50,000 florins; and agreed to pay a further sum of 10,000 florins before the departure of his daughter for Scotland. But the impecunious King was able to find only 2,000 florins towards payment of the stipulated sum, and for the balance of 8,000 florins, was obliged to pledge the Shetlands as he had mortgaged the Orkneys. These pledges have never been redeemed, and if, as was held in 1668, the right of redemption is imprescribable, it is conceivable that it may be put in force some day in the very dim future, when the British Empire begins to break up!

The accounts of the contemporary manners and customs of the Norsemen in the Mother country, in Iceland, and in the Orkneys and Shetlands, as derived from unimpeachable sources, form a sure basis for ascertaining the conditions of life, as they prevailed in the Outer Hebrides during the Norse occupation.

Each district or *hérad* was governed by a *hérair*, whose office was at once patriarchal, military, pontifical, and hereditary. By Harold Fairhair, the power and independence of the *hérair* in Norway were for ever destroyed, and the exodus which took place, as the outcome of his strong rule, marked the extinction of the privileges of the *hérad* and the *hérair* in the Mother country, and their introduction

to her colonies. The *boendr* were the independent land-owners in the community, where all were classed as "free" or "unfree." They formed the backbone of the colonies; their voices carried greatest weight at the *Things* and in the election of their rulers; and they were trained for service in war alike on land and sea. The thralls were, of course, the lowest grade of society, and it may be safely assumed that a large proportion of this class in the Outer Hebrides consisted of the natives whom the Norsemen found and overcame. The slave trade was a recognised institution among the Norwegians; they bought and sold their captives like so many cattle. Thralls were frequently employed by their masters to do their morally dirty work, such as cutting throats and "exposing" children. Under certain conditions, such as specific work or marked bravery in the field, it was possible for the thrall to acquire his freedom.

We have seen that the title of "King" was held not only by the Viceroys of Man, but by certain of the Sudreyan chiefs. The regal title borne by the governors of Man found its justification in the power which was actually vested in them; but notwithstanding the various attempts made by these kinglets to assert their independence, it is clear that their very existence was bound up with the overlordship of Norway, which implied protection from absorption by their powerful neighbours. The assumption of the kingly dignity by the Hebridean chiefs rested upon a different basis. In Norway, there were different classes of "kings": *Sea-kings* who never slept beneath a "sooty rafter," and never drank at the "hearth-corner"; *Fylki* and *Hérad-kings* who were territorial magnates; *Host-kings* who, as the name denotes, were leaders of warriors—the term being frequently interchangeable with *Sea-kings*; and *Skatt* or *Tax-kings*. The lords of the Hebrides were *Skatt-kings*, the term implying their tributary relationship to Norway. *Skatt* * was a land tax originated by Harald

* The words "skate" and *sgadan* (the Gaelic name for herring) may possibly be related to the fish tax.

Fairhair ; and teinds were exacted after the introduction of Christianity. Although nominally valued in money, taxes were paid in produce, fish, &c. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the word *Vik-ings*, or "men of the bays," has no connexion with kingship. The Vikings followed the profession of piracy, which was considered no less honourable an occupation than cattle-lifting during the clan period in the Highlands.

The allodial system of land-tenure (Icelandic *ódal* = ancestral possessions) which prevailed was the antithesis of feudalism ; it was based upon entire independence of Superiors and was completed by undisturbed possession of the land. The *odallers* were peasant nobles who possessed their lands simply by primal occupancy. Their title was absolute and inalienable, and their rights were transmitted to their children and jealously guarded from infringement. A man might take service with another and even sink to the position of a thrall, without forfeiting his right to the possession of his *odal*. The only "rent" known to the *odaller* was an assessment for public services.

The *odalsjord* comprised the *tun* or township with its *bol* or chief farm (hence Eribol, &c.) enclosed by its hill dyke which separated its inner field from its *soettur* or common outpasture (hence Shader, Sheshader, Linshader and other similar names in Lewis). The rights of the community in respect of these commons were carefully preserved by the *hérad*. Every settler had the right to make use of the wood and water on them, to fish in them, to hunt and trap animals, to cut timber and mow grass, and to build smithies and hunting huts. The rights of previous users of the common land had to be observed by new-comers. The settler was expected to fence his property within twelve months. Outside his homefield, he owned as out-grounds all the surrounding land as far as he could throw his knife. Deer enclosures could be made on common land, and here again the hunting privileges of previous settlers had to be respected. Fishing-grounds were common property, but there were probably certain restrictions imposed

in respect both of fishing and seal catching, which were intended for the general good. A close time was doubtless observed ; we know, at any rate, that the law of seal-catching contained this provision.

In modern times, the question of "commons" has again and again formed in the Outer Hebrides a bone of contention between the people and their proprietors. Believing that, from time immemorial, their forefathers possessed inalienable rights in those lands, the crofters have resented any attempts to encroach upon their privileges. It would not be difficult to produce strong presumptive evidence in support of these traditional claims. That the rights existed during the Norse occupation is more than likely, and that they were subsequently respected by their feudal Superiors is suggested by the persistence of the tradition.

The judicial and legislative functions exercised by the *Things* of Norway were of a thoroughly democratic character. Representative government was dear to the hearts of the Norsemen. In its essence, the system of representation bears a striking analogy to the Presbyterian method of Church government, and its similarity to the legislative system of the United States of America is still more remarkable. The principle of local government was much in favour with the Norse colonists : the District and Parish Councils and Parochial Boards of the present day had their prototypes in the Norse colonies a thousand years ago. Meetings for settling local affairs were known by different names, according to the nature of the business to be transacted. Thus, the *Hof-Thing* dealt with religious matters ; the *Hus-Thing* with domestic affairs ; the *Lög-Thing* was a Court of Law ; the *Leidar-Thing* a War Council ; the *Hreppa-mot* an assemblage of the *skatt* brethren of a *hrepp* or *skathald* ; and a *Hérads-Thing* a meeting of the inhabitants of a *hérad*.* The functions of the *Al-Thing*, or *Allsherjar-Thing* (Thing of all the hosts) were the most

* The union of several townships formed a *hrepp*, the community sharing the pasture (*moar* or moor) and the *skatt* exacted from strangers. A combination of *hrepps* formed a *hérad*.

important of all. As its name denotes, it was an assembly of all the freemen met together at stated intervals for deliberative, legislative, and judicial purposes. At the *Al-Thing*, only the land-owning *boendr* had a right to be heard, but the voting was equal; one man one vote, rather than one value one vote, was the principle that prevailed.

Originally, the *Al-Thing* enacted and administered the laws, and regulated taxation; in the latter respect, by voting or withholding supplies, it occupied an analogous position to that of the British House of Commons, and its power in determining peace or war was by this means paramount. But its legislative functions were subsequently rendered to a large extent unnecessary by the compilation of a Book of the Laws, and in later times, its duties were mainly restricted to matters of finance, administration, and justice. The name *Al-Thing* itself seems to have given place to the less imposing one of *Lög* (or Law) *Thing*. The people were summoned to the *Things* and to war by an arrow, and subsequently by a cross, and were accommodated in booths (whence the Hebridean "bothies").

Christianity was legally established in Iceland in the year 1000 A.D., but long before that date the Norsemen in the Outer Hebrides had become Christians, though there is evidence to show that the change of form was frequently unaccompanied by a change of belief. The Christianity of the converted Norsemen was at first a curious amalgam: they professed the new faith but clung to their pagan superstitions. They were good Christians when everything was going well, but in times of danger, especially at sea, they invoked the aid of Thor. The Christian priests sought to engraft their religion on the old beliefs, trusting in the efficacy of the former to destroy, in course of time, the traces of Paganism which remained. Curious relics of this grafting process are seen in the principal Christian festivals, the names of the days of the week, and in other forms. And some of the superstitions of the Northmen, such as the belief in witchcraft, the working of

spells, and the faith in omens and dreams, are far from being extinct in the Long Island even at the present day.

In their lighter moments the Norsemen were boon companions, but refining influences were present which tempered the grossness of their physical appetites. The *skald* recited his poems; the *sagaman* told his stories; the musician played his harp or his fiddle. Athletic sports had an important place in the community, the chief exercises being wrestling, leaping, and swimming, games of ball, hunting, and falconry. Chess-playing, riddles, feats of jugglery, and horse fights, were favourite amusements. The splendid set of chessmen, chiefly made of walrus-tusk, which were found in 1831 at Uig in Lewis, and which are now in the British Museum, probably dates from the Norse occupation. Two of the figures are represented in the act of biting their shields, a common practice with Norse champions, when overtaken by a fit of *berserk* rage.

As a fighter, the Norseman was unexcelled, either on land or sea. He loved his sword as his child, sometimes retaining its genealogy, and giving it a distinctive name. The axe, the bow, and the sling, were his other weapons of offence; the coat of mail, the shield, and the helmet, constituted his means of defence. His ships varied in size and shape as in use. The longships—which were sometimes sheathed with iron above the sea level—were the most powerful; the *skutas* (whence the *sgoths* of the Long Island) were the swiftest of the war-vessels. The size of a ship and her fighting strength were gauged by the number of oars, or the number of benches, which she carried. *Kaupship* was the generic name for trading vessels, one kind of cargo ship being called *byrding* (burden), of which name, the “birling” of the Hebrideans, during the clan days, may be a corruption. The merchant-ships were distinguished from the war-vessels by the absence of war-pennants, dragons at the stem and stern, and shields hung over the side. As a rule, they enjoyed immunity from the attentions of the Vikings, who considered it unmanly

to attack a trading vessel at sea. The Norsemen, warriors though they were, entertained no stupid prejudice against trade; on the contrary, they regarded it as an honourable calling. Harald Fairhair's son, Bjorn, was a famous *kaup-man* or merchant.

In their pagan days, the Northmen had a horror of dying a natural death, a certain entry to Valhalla awaiting him who died gloriously on the battlefield. The Sagas are full of their reckless daring and absolute indifference to danger. It is probable that for some time after their nominal conversion to Christianity, the influence of the Valhalla belief was universally present with them, the name of Heaven being substituted for Valhalla without any essential change in the association of ideas. The pagan Valkyrias doubtless became transformed into Christian angels; and the twin occupations of drinking and fighting in Valhalla were perhaps the only ideas relating to the future world of rewards which were substantially modified by the teaching of the Christian priests.

The marriage, baptism, and burial customs of the Norsemen are full of interest. If the standard of civilisation to which a community has attained be measured by the status of its women, these rough warriors must take a high place. Marriage was usually a business affair, the term *brud-kaup*, or bride-buying, being suggestive of its nature. Certain characteristics of the betrothal bear a similarity to the custom known as "bundling," which is still practised in the Long Island. The breaking of a betrothal was punished by outlawry. Marriage on insufficient means was strictly forbidden, the punishment being "lesser" outlawry if any children were born; nor were marriages of relations—to the fifth degree—permissible. A wife held property in her own right, and property acquired after marriage was shared between husband and wife under fixed conditions; after they had been married for twenty years, they were partners according to law. The strictness of the marriage tie as a rule was carefully observed, but divorce was procurable for infidelity on the part of the

wife, or ill-treatment on the part of the husband. Women who wore breeches—literally—and men who wore any approach to women's clothing were liable to be divorced; and in Iceland, divorce on account of extreme poverty after marriage was lawful. Separation was conditioned by well-defined laws, which were based upon the principle that the agreement must be mutual, otherwise the offending party was mulcted in the loss of property. Extravagance on the part of women was checked by a salutary law; but a woman who earned her own living—and there were such in those days—had a right to please herself in such matters. Polygamy was rare among the Norsemen, being confined to the great chiefs, who must occasionally have found it to be a doubtful privilege.

The abandonment of children by exposure was frequently practised, the causes being deformity, family discord, the presence of ill-omens, or the poverty of the parents. The Spartans similarly provided for a survival of the fittest and the elimination of the unfit. The custom of "exposing" children long prevailed in Lewis, and isolated instances have been known in comparatively modern times. The naming of a child by the Norsemen was a matter of great importance, the chief object being to avoid an unlucky name, and to choose one calculated to bring good fortune with it. Hence the prevalence of names prefixed by that of the god Thor. Fostering children was common among the Norse chiefs, as it was among the Highland chiefs of later days, and in both cases, fosterhood formed one of the strongest possible ties. There is a striking analogy between the tales in the Sagas and the traditions of the Highlands, relating to the unselfish love which existed between foster-brothers. Among the Norsemen, there are instances of men becoming foster-brothers as the result of mutual admiration for mutual prowess, the ceremony of fosterhood taking the form of a pledge, accompanied by a commingling of blood.

The burial customs of the Norsemen were in some respects peculiar to them. Fire was regarded as a puri-

fyng agent, by means of which the dead were rendered fit to be received into the presence of Odin. It was the belief that the warrior whose body was burned on a funeral pyre would go to Valhalla, with such of his possessions as were consumed with him. Hence it was customary for the favourite horses, dogs, falcons, and sometimes the thralls, of the dead to be burned or "mounded" (buried) with him, in order to enable him to make an entry into Valhalla befitting his rank and fame. Burial in ships was practised, so far as is known, by no people except the Norsemen. In some instances—for example, the ship found at Gökstad—the vessel with its mortuary chamber was mounded. The usual practice, however, was to set fire to the ship and send her out to sea, a sight calculated to impress even the fierce Vikings.

The Norse code of morality is set forth in the *Hávámál* (Song of the High), the authorship of which is attributed to Odin himself. He who practised the apothegms of the *Hávámál* must have been a pattern of wisdom, for many of them are pregnant with the philosophy of life. The Norse criminal laws contained provisions which might be copied with advantage in these days. There were no bankruptcy laws to shelter the reckless, the incompetent, or the dishonest trader. Adulteration of food was placed on the same footing as robbery and arson; the punishment in each case was severe. A wise discrimination was shown in the treatment of criminals. The swindler was outlawed, but the man who stole food in order to sustain life escaped punishment altogether. The crimes visited with the severest punishment were murder, perjury, seduction, adultery, and the violation of the sanctity of blood-relationship. Family feuds were frequent, but revenge for injuries committed was frequently satisfied by the system of fines which characterised Gothic legislation; the aggrieved family having the right to exact compensation (*weregild*).

Grave misconceptions sometimes exist as to the character and institutions of the Norsemen of the Viking Age. Rough, strong men; quick to resent an insult; relentless

foes but staunch friends ; men of action rather than men of speech ; superstitious to a degree, yet eminently practical ; glorifying physical prowess, yet not despising mental attainments ; cruel, remorseless, and domineering, yet truthful, honourable, and generous ; men of many moods ; children of Nature ; such are some of the characteristics and incongruities presented by a study of the "hardy Norsemen" of yore. Incomparable sailors, they submitted to the voice of authority, but resented the hand of tyranny ; the wide expanse of ocean, canopied by the blue vault of Heaven, was their home ; and children of such a home refused to permit the shackling of their liberties. Democracy was the only form of government which they would tolerate ; government by and for the people was their political creed ; a love of justice was ingrained in their nature ; and despotism and oppression were abhorrent to their souls. Truly there was much to admire in these Sons of the Sea. They were emphatically *men* ; and if a softening of their manners, a repression of their passions, a smoothing of the rough corners of their character, would have served to present them in a more favourable light to history, they were at least saved from the enervating luxuries, the calculating craftiness, and the blunted sense of honour, so prevalent among more refined contemporaries. While their ferocity is to be deplored, their virtues are to be commended. The former is blazoned on the pages of history ; the latter are too frequently overlooked.

That the present inhabitants of the Long Island have inherited many of the characteristics of their Norse forefathers goes without saying. Physically, the Lewismen of the Norse type are the superiors of their fellow-islanders. It would indeed be difficult to find finer specimens of manhood anywhere than the Butt of Lewis fishermen and crofters, who retain in a remarkable degree the Norse physiognomy of their progenitors. That the Norse character has impressed itself in a marked degree upon the temperament of the Long Islander admits of no reasonable doubt. That the fatalistic tendencies, the melancholia,

the peculiar outlook upon life, so frequently observed in the Outer Hebrides, are not attributable to "Celtic gloom," but to the Norse strain in the blood, is probably as true as the assertion that many of the prevalent superstitions are traceable to the same origin. The hard conditions of life; the joyless existence of a grinding poverty; the melancholy sough of the restless sea which dashes against their rock-bound coast; these are influences which, acting upon a temperament naturally prone to moodiness, have accentuated the inherited tendency, and produced the "gloom" which is as little akin to the Celtic nature, as is the light-hearted Irishman to the grave Hebridean. Dr. Beddoe, a careful observer, states that "it is curious that wherever in the North of Scotland Scandinavian blood abounds, hypochondriasis, hysteria, and other nervous disorders are remarkably frequent," and he mentions an account of a hysterical epidemic in Shetland (quoted in Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*). Whatever effect the Norse blood may have upon the temperament of the Long Islanders, it is at least certain that their love of the sea; their unsurpassed qualities—unlike those of the Celts—as sailors and fishermen; their contempt for the dangers of their calling; are largely attributable to their descent from those warriors who, a thousand years ago, were the undisputed monarchs and the fear-inspiring scourges of the Atlantic Ocean.*

* The principal works consulted in connexion with the foregoing sections are:—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals*, Dr. Anderson's *Pagan Scotland*, Nilsson's *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, Worsæ's *Primitive Antiquities of Denmark*, Johnstone's *Antiquitates*, Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, the Irish Annals (*Ulster and Four Masters*), the Irish historians (Keating, Todd, O'Curry, D'Alton, and Haliday), Adamnan's *Columba*, Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, Robertson's *Early Kings*, Chalmers' *Caledonia*, *Chronicles of Man* (Camden and Munch), Torfæus, the *Histories of the Isle of Man* by Sacheverell, Train and Moore, the Norse Sagas relating to the British Islands, and Du Chaillu's *Viking Age*.

CHAPTER III.

HEBRIDEAN genealogy is a useful handmaiden to Hebridean history : what is wanting in the highways of history, is sometimes found in the byways of genealogy. The pride of pedigree had a tendency to become a fetish in the Hebrides ; he whose family tree did not attain a certain standard of luxuriance and age was a pariah among the elect. Precedence at table was regulated by purity of blood ; the seats of honour were reserved for the men whose pedigrees were as long as their swords. The seanachies, endowed with the gift of a fertile imagination, found no difficulty in supplying links in the genealogical chain, where these were missing ; and the bards seconded their efforts by feeding the chiefs upon the same pabulum of family pride. Unhappy was he who had no ancestors.

A striking proof of the pride of pedigree is contained in a story told by Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat seanachie. In the fifteenth century, a great feast was given by John of the Isles, Earl of Ross, to his vassals, among whom were Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris. The guests were arranged in order of precedence by Macdonald of Moidart, who concluded his duties by declaring that he would now sit down, as his was the best and the oldest of the surnames represented at the feast. Turning to the Macleods, the Macleans, and the Macneills, whom he had left standing, he added : " As for these fellows who have raised up their heads of late, and are upstarts ; whose pedigrees we know not, nor even they themselves, let them sit as they please." The insult cost the speaker dear, for his lands were ravaged by Macleod of Harris on his way home. Reprisals followed, and thus a question of genealogy became a *casus belli* between two clans.

If the origin of the Macleods was a puzzle in the fifteenth century, it has been equally a puzzle up to the present day. Who was the mysterious Leod, the progenitor of the clan, and when did he live? Various investigators have advanced various theories, but they are all guess work.* With one exception, they declare that the clan is of Scandinavian origin; but the exception is an important one. Dr. Skene, who pinned his faith to the Kilbride manuscript (*circa* 1540) discovered by him, stoutly maintained that the Macleods are of Celtic origin. But even in the Kilbride MS., as well as in the MS. of McFirbis, the Irish genealogist, the Celtic names are interspersed with those of Scandinavian forbears. These genealogies are apparently at complete variance with one another, an alternative explanation of which may possibly be that one is in the male, and the other in the female, line. Taking the first three names: the Kilbride genealogy makes Leod the son of Oloig, son of Oib, son of Oilmoir; another genealogy quoted by McFirbis (that of the Macleans) makes him the son of Gillemuire, son of Raice, son of Olbair Snoice (son of Gillemuire). The traditional account in the Macleod family is that Leod was the son of Olave the Black, King of Man and the Outer Hebrides, by Christina, daughter of Farquhar O'Beolan, Earl of Ross. Which of these versions, if any, is correct? Can it be, after all, that Olave the Black, Oloig, and Gillemuire, are one and the same person?

It is not difficult to believe that Oloig is simply Olave Og, or Young Olave, while Oilmoir in the Kilbride MS. and Olbair in the Irish genealogy may well stand for Olave Mòr, or Olave the Great; in other words, Olave (Og) the Black, and his grandfather Olave (Mòr) the Red. The names Gillemuire and Raice may conceivably be the Celtic appellations for Olave the Black, his father, and his

* Johnstone's surmise was Liot Jarl of Orkney; Pope's (the translator of Torfæus), Liot the Niding; while Captain Thomas endeavoured to identify Leod with Ljotolf, a Norwegian chief who lived in Lewis and who was a friend of Sweyn of Gairsay, the famous pirate. All three lived in the twelfth century.

great-grandfather. "Muire" appears to be St. Mourie or Maelrubha (rather than the Virgin Mary) of whose name Rice (Raice) is known to be a variant. Such compound names as Gille-Muire, Gille-Colum, Gille-Anrias, Gille-Bride, and similar appellatives, were of frequent occurrence among the Celtic Christians during the Norse domination of the Hebrides; and after the conversion of the Norsemen to Christianity, they may have been applied by the Celts to Norwegians of rank in the Isles, who were distinguished for their devotion to the saints under whose patronage they had placed themselves. In heathen times, it was a common practice among the Norsemen to adopt the name of the god Thor as a talisman against danger; for example, Thor-kall (Torquil *i.e.* Thor's servant) and Thor-mod (Tormod *i.e.* brave like Thor), and the same idea may be traced in the personal names derived from those of Christian saints. St. Mourie, who was venerated in the Long Island, as well as on the west coast of Ross and in Sutherland, was likely enough the patron saint of Olave the Black and his predecessors when they sojourned in the North Isles. The church of St. Maelrubha at Eorrapidh, Ness, which is commonly called St. Olaf's, was very probably founded by Olave the Black during his residence in Lewis. The local tradition is that it was built by a "Norse King" named Olaf, and the name of its founder is applied to it even more frequently than that of the saint to whom it was dedicated.

Whether it is possible to reconcile the apparently conflicting genealogies or not, the weight of evidence in support of a Scandinavian origin of the clan is overwhelming. Such purely Norse names as Torquil and Tormod,* which persist among the Macleods to the present day; the eponym "Leod" which is the same as the Norse "Liot," and which appears in the Saxon Chronicle under the Teutonic forms of Leod-wald and

* It is a curious circumstance that whereas "Torquil" has no English or Gaelic equivalent, "Tormod" has been Englished as "Norman" *i.e.* Northman or Norwegian.

Leod-ulf; the heraldic proofs which exist at Dunvegan, a stone panel, ascribed to the seventeenth century, bearing the arms of Man*; and most important of all, the unbroken tradition in the family of Macleod of Macleod; all bear strongly against the Celtic theory.

The only Leod known to early Scottish history is a lay abbot of Brechin, whose son, "Gylandrys MacLod," a man of some consequence, figures in charters of 1227 and 1232. Unless, however, we suppose that this Leod, whose estates were forfeited, settled in the Hebrides when Malcolm IV. dispersed his troublesome subjects in Moray, there is nothing to connect the abbot of Brechin with the great clan of Lewis and Harris. On the whole, the tradition of the Macleods, which attributes their origin to Olave the Black, affords the only theory that appears to be tenable.

Paul McTyre, a famous freebooter who lived in the second half of the fourteenth century, is stated to have been a great-grandson of Olave the Black and of Christina, daughter of the Earl of Ross.† The father of Paul was Leod MacGilleandrais who, from his ferocious disposition, was appropriately nicknamed "Tyre" or "the Wolf." Leod was the chief instrument in the execution at Inverness, in 1346, of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail ("Coinneach na Sroine") whose son Murdoch ("Black Murdoch of the Cave") fled, when a youth, for refuge, to his uncle, Macleod of Lewis. Returning some years afterwards, with 120 Lewismen, Murdoch met and slew Leod MacGilleandrais at *Featha Leoid*, or Leod's Bog, in Kenlochewe. The only member of Leod's party who escaped was his son Paul, the notorious cateran of later years. Paul's daughter married Walter Ross of Balnagown, and her dowry consisted of the lands of Strathcarron, Strathoykell, and Westray.

* The three legs were—to use an Irishism—the arms of Man as early as the fourteenth century. They represented the *svastica* which the Christian cross superseded in Scandinavian countries. Previous to the fourteenth century, the arms of Man were a galley, which figures prominently in the arms of the Hebridean clans.

† *The Earls of Ross*, p. 8, by F. N. Reid.

This brings us to another tradition, the genuineness of which was accepted by Dr. Skene himself; it dates at least as far back as the sixteenth century. This tradition states that three brothers came out of Denmark (or Norway) Leod, Guin, and Leandris; that Leod conquered Lewis, and gave rise to the Clan MacLeod; and that from Leandris was descended Paul McTyre, who gave his lands of Strathoykell, Strathcarron, and Westray, to Walter Ross of Balnagown. It has been shown that Paul was the son of Leod "the Wolf," the son of Leandris, the son of Olave the Black, history thus tallying with tradition. If, therefore, this portion of the tradition is confirmed by historical proof, it may be reasonably assumed that the portion which affirms that Leod was a brother of Leandris is also historically correct; and if that be admitted, it follows that Leod was a son of Olave the Black.

Lewis tradition offers confirmation of this view. Captain Dymes (1630) was told that Leod was the son of a "Danish King." John Morison of Bragar (*circa* 1680) states that Torquil Macleod, the first of that name, was the son of "Claudius the son of Olipheous," said to be a son of the King of Norway. These are simply variants of the tradition which makes Leod a son of Olave the Black.

As far back as 1630, it was supposed that Leod had given his name to the Island of Lewis, and the mistake, which was natural enough, seeing that both names are identical, has been frequently repeated in modern times. If an opinion may be hazarded, it is that Leod was born in Lewis during his father's occupancy of the island, and derived his name from his birth-place. Tradition tells us that he was fostered by his father's friend, Paul Balkasson, governor of Skye, who gave him Harris, which Olave the Black may have ceded to Balkasson; and that the Earl of Ross, his maternal grandfather, gave him part of the barony of Glenelg. Leod is said to have married the daughter of a Norseman in Skye, MacRaild Armuinn (Mac Harald the lord) and to have received as his

wife's dowry, Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Trotternish. On his death, his possessions were divided between his sons Torquil, who got Lewis, and Tormod, who got Harris and the Skye property. In the absence of positive proof either way, it would serve no good purpose to discuss which was the senior branch of the clan, the Siol Torquil or the Siol Tormod ("seed" of Torquil and Tormod); there are good arguments on both sides; but Macleod of Harris was long recognised as being "of that ilk." The armorial bearings of the Macleods of Harris are a castle triple-towered, while the Macleods of Lewis had a mountain in flames.* The arms of the Siol Torquil, with the three legs of Man, were quartered with the Mackenzie arms by Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat (the descendant of Torquil Conanach Macleod); and the burning mountain formed the crest of the Seaforth family, and, with the appropriate motto *Luceo non uro*, still figures in the armorial bearings of the Mackenzies.† John Buchanan of Auchmar affirms that Leod was the Norwegian governor of the Isles in the reign of William the Lion, and that his sons were permitted by Alexander III. to remain in possession of their estates as they were in high favour. Leod could not have been born before the death of William the Lion (1214), but it is quite possible that he may have acted as his father's lieutenant in Lewis during the latter part of the reign of Alexander II., who died in 1249. A copy of a charter in the Clan Ranald Charter Chest, dated 19th January, 1245, and witnessed by "Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris," has been quoted in support of the theory that the origin of the Macleods must be placed further back than the period we have assigned to it. Undoubtedly this would be the case if the charter were genuine, or if

* In Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, there are several drawings of Macleod arms (both branches) the earliest being *circa* 1450-5.

† Sir George Mackenzie (the first Earl of Cromartie) calls himself "a little chief of the only Norwegian family remaining in Scotland, viz., the race of Olaus, one of the last Royalists of Man, and of his son Leodus who was heritor of the Island of Lewes." (Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*, Vol. I., p. clxi.).

genuine, accurate. But this charter, on the face of it, is either spurious, or the date is wrong ; and in either case is valueless, as proof of the antiquity of the Macleods. It purports to be a document conveying certain lands from "Donald King of the Isles" to John Bisset of the Aird, and signed at Donald's "Castle of Dingwall." In the year 1245, there was no such person as Donald King of the Isles who had a castle at Dingwall, for this description cannot apply to the grandson of Somerled. If Donald of Harlaw is meant, then the charter is pre-dated more than a century and a half. All the evidence points to the conclusion that the progenitor of the Macleods lived about the middle of the thirteenth century ; a view which was held by Macfarlane, the genealogist.*

It would be rash to assume that the Macleods are the oldest clan indigenous to Lewis. On the contrary, John Morison of Bragar states that the three oldest families were the Morisons, the Macaulays, and the Macnicols or Nicolsons. To the Morisons he gives a Norse descent—their founder Mores (Maurice), according to him, being the son of Kennan, natural son of a king of Norway. The Macaulays, he says, were descended from an Irishman, Iskair (Issachar or Zachary)† Macaulay. The Macnicols, he affirms, were slaughtered by Torquil, son of Leod, after he had violently espoused the only daughter of their chief ; and by these means he came into possession of the whole of Lewis, with the Earl of Ross as his Superior. That Torquil did not inherit the whole of the island appears to be probable, for according to another tradition, his grandson, also named Torquil, acquired sole possession by running down in the Minch the birling of the chief of the Macnaughtons, who was drowned, and whose lands in Lewis Torquil thereupon seized. This tradition states that the Macnaughtons were in Lewis three centuries

* Contemporary with Shaw, fourth of his name, who died in 1265, were Gillean and Leod, progenitors of the Macleans and Macleods (*Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXIII., p. 164).

† The name Zachary is rendered in Gaelic as "Issachari." 'Irskar' is Icelandic for "Irish."

before the Macleods, but there is reason to believe that the Macnaughtons have been confused with the Macnicols (MacNachtdans and MacNehtals) and that the Macnaughtons never had a footing in Lewis. Tradition supports the view that the old castle of Stornoway was built by the Macnicols before the days of the Macleods.

Torquil, third chief in descent from Leod, had a charter from David II. of four davochs of land in Assynt, together with the fortress therein, and according to tradition, he came into possession of this property by marrying the heiress of the Macnicols. All this seems to point to the fact that the Macnicols or Nicolsons were in the Long Island and in Assynt at a remote period, and had important possessions there before the Clan Macleod had an existence. It is highly probable that they were descended from a Norse settler named Nicolasson, who was one of the most influential of the *boendr*. The Sleat seanachie tells us that Olave the Red, who lived in the twelfth century, killed the chief of the Macnicols in North Uist. A manuscript of 1467 traces the descent of the Nicolsons from one Gregill, son of Gillemuire, and states that the traditional progenitor of the clan is a certain Krycul, who is supposed to have lived in the thirteenth century; but the Nicolsons of the Outer Hebrides are, as we have seen, probably of much more ancient lineage than this tradition represents them to be.*

It is likely that the Morisons, as suggested by the Bragar genealogist, are also descended from Norse forbears. It is far from improbable, indeed, that they were a sept of the Macleods. John Morison states the belief that the progenitor of the Macleods, and the father of the progenitor of the Morisons, were both sons of the "King of Noravay," or in other words, the Norse King of Man and the North Isles. The Gaelic name of the Morisons—Clan MacGillemhoire or Gillemuire—when taken in conjunction with the preceding remarks about Saint Mourie

* The Sleat seanachie refers to "the ancient Danes of the Isles, namely the Macduffies and Macnagills."

and the Kings of Man—appears to support the view that the relations between the Macleods and the Morisons were of an intimate nature. The name Morison is an English rendering of the word Gillemuire—servant or devotee of Mourie—and the original form survives in the modern name of Gilmour. Perhaps the strongest argument for the Macleod-Morison connexion consists in the fact that during the time the Macleods possessed Lewis, the chiefs of the Morisons—whose residence was at Habost, Ness—held the office of Supreme Judge of the island. This office was analogous to that of the *lagmann* or lawman in Norse times, except that it was hereditary, instead of elective, resembling in that respect the office of the *godar*, the district judges and priests in the Norse colonies. It can hardly be supposed that the chiefs of the Siol Torquil would permit such far-reaching authority to be vested in any clan whose interests were not thoroughly bound up with their own. The rupture which took place between the two families at the end of the sixteenth century—of which particulars are given elsewhere in this volume—was the first serious difference between them, of which there is any record. The Brieve (*breitheamh* = a judge), according to Sir Robert Gordon, was “a kind of judge among the islanders who hath an absolute judicatory, unto whose authority and censure they willingly submit themselves, and never do appeal from his sentence when he determines any debatable question in controversy between party and party.” According to the seanachies, the Lords of the Isles had a Brieve in every island, the chief Brieve residing in Islay. The hereditary nature of this office was a serious flaw in the system. It placed immense power in the hands of men, whose qualifications as arbitrators must have been of an unequal nature; and whose judgments can hardly have been invariably free from bias. The chiefs of the Morisons in Lewis—the latter are sometimes called the *Clan na Breitheamh*—enjoyed the privileges of the judgeship for many generations, until their final downfall early in the seventeenth century. The arms of the

Morisons of Dersay (or Darcie) in Fife, the Morisons of Bogney, and the Morisons of Prestongrange, are three Moors' heads, an obvious pun on the word Morison, although tradition supplies a version of its own. Whether or not these Morisons are descended from the Lewis family it is difficult to say, but tradition seems to support the suggestion. It is worthy of remark that a son of the laird of Darcie (Learmont) went to Lewis, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to negotiate for the release of the Fife adventurers who were held as hostages. It is possible that this circumstance may form a link between the Morisons of Darcie and the Morisons of Lewis. The Lewis Morisons are known to have formed colonies in the North of Scotland, no less than sixty families of them having, according to tradition, been transported to Durness and Old Shores by one of their chiefs who married a daughter of the Bishop of Caithness, receiving as her dowry the lands in question.

The Macaulays of Uig were a family of Norse extraction, and had no connexion with the Macaulays of Ardencaple, Dumbartonshire; but it is very probable that the Loch Broom Macaulays and their namesakes in Lewis were descended from a common progenitor. The name Macaulay is the equivalent of the Norse Olafsson. It is impossible to identify the progenitor of the clan. Sir George Trevelyan tells us that the tradition in Lord Macaulay's family was that they were descended from "Olaus Magnus, King of Norway." Captain Thomas tried to find an ancestor for them in the person of Olvir Rosta, who lived in the twelfth century. It is curious to find the tradition of descent from a Norse King applying alike to the Macleods, the Morisons, and the Macaulays of Lewis. It suggests a common origin, and that the Macaulays, like the Morisons, may have been a sept of the Macleods; but with that suggestion we must rest content, for there are no positive facts to go upon.

The feuds between the Macaulays and the Morisons bulk largely in Lewis tradition. A great battle which

was fought between them at Barvas, is traditionally believed to be commemorated by the Thrushel stone, the large menhir in that parish, which the Morisons are said to have erected to mark their victory over their hereditary foes; not, it may be added, a very likely story. Torquil Macleod, grandson of Torquil I., son of Leod, is believed to have acted as mediator in the quarrel; if that be so, the feud between the Morisons and the Macaulays must date as far back as about the middle of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, according to tradition, the Macaulays and a family of the Macleods who resided at Pabbay, Uig, had a blood-feud, from which the Macaulays, in the person of John Roy, ultimately emerged victorious. The story of John Roy Macaulay is told elsewhere in these pages.

The Macivers, another well-known clan in Lewis, can hardly be regarded as indigenous to the soil. They are bracketed with the Morisons and Macaulays by the author of *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750*. He says: "The common inhabitants of Lewis are Morisons, McAulays and McKivers, but when they go from home, all who live under Seaforth call themselves Mackenzies." The Macivers, or most of them, seem to have come over to the island with the Mackenzies, as did several families, such as the Macraes and others, whose descendants are to be found there. The Macivers (Mac Ivar) are of Scandinavian origin* as are also apparently the Macaskills, a clan or sept whose chief habitat seems to be Lewis. "Ascall, son of Torcall, King of Ath-cliath" figures in the *Annals of Ulster* in 1171. In 1311, one "Gilbert Macaskil" is mentioned in connexion with certain lands in the Bishopric of Durham.

In 1890-1, a return was made of the surnames of school children in three of the parishes of Lewis, from which the following extract is taken, showing those names whose

* By McFiris's genealogy, the Macleods are traced back to "Old Ivor the Great of the Judgments, from whom are descended the Siol-Sin-Iomhair in Albain and in Erin and in Lochlann."

numbers exceed a hundred. The Macleods head the list in each parish; the Morisons are second in Barvas; the Mackenzies in Lochs; and the Macdonalds in Uig. No return was made of the parish of Stornoway.

Macleod	...	...	585	Macleon	...	...	155
Macdonald	...	...	364	Smith	...	...	132
Morison	...	...	239	Maciver	...	...	127
Mackenzie	...	...	184	Macaulay	...	...	106
Mackay	...	...	166				

The origin of the Macdonalds of North and South Uist and Benbecula is too well known to call for discussion here. The descendants of Somerled found their way in large numbers to Lewis, as appears from the fact that they are numerically second among the surnames in the list given above.

The Macneills of Barra are without doubt of very ancient lineage. Martin tells us that according to the genealogists of his day, the chief of the Macneills was the thirty-fourth of his name who had possessed Barra in unbroken descent, and Dr. Walker asserts that the family were in possession of vouchers for about thirty descents. The Old Statistical Account states that the Macneills came from Ireland, and were in possession of Barra "before the Danes"; that "the Danish governor made alliance with them by marrying a daughter of one of their chiefs; that their castle of Kisimul," according to tradition, "was built upwards of 500 years ago"—*i.e.*, about the thirteenth century. All this points to their being in Barra at an early date—as early as the ninth or tenth century if Dr. Walker's "vouchers" are reliable—and it may be safely assumed that they were in possession of their patrimony during the Norse occupation of the Long Island. It is impossible to trace their progenitor, but it seems likely that he was a Northman named Njal—Macneill being the same as Nilsson—perhaps the Njal of the race of Ketil Flatneb who ruled in the Hebrides during the tenth century. According to the Old Statistical Account, the Macneills of Barra were always

acknowledged as chiefs of the clan in Scotland. Nisbet, quoting from James Esplaine, Marchmont-Herald in 1630, calls Macneill of Barra "of that ilk." The Macneills of Gigha are said to be descended from Torquil Macneill—*filius Nigelli*—who, in the early part of the fifteenth century, received from the Lord of the Isles a charter of the lands of Gigha and Taynish, with the constabulary of Castle Sweyn in Knapdale. The progenitors of the Macneills of Barra and Gigha, it is alleged, were brothers, but there is abundant evidence to show that the two families were distinct from one another, and were not descended from a common ancestor. The local importance of the chiefs of the Barra Macneills is humorously alluded to by James Wilson, in his *Voyage Round the Coasts of Scotland and the Isles*, published in 1842. It is related, says Wilson, that in ancient times it was customary for a herald to sound a horn from the battlements of the castle, and proclaim aloud in Gaelic: "Hear, oh ye people, and listen, oh ye nations! The great Macneill of Barra having finished his meal, the princes of the earth may dine!" A good story, which the sceptic should leave undisturbed. In 1750, according to the author of the document published by Mr. Lang,* the pride and the poverty of the Barra Macneills were alike a byword among their neighbours. During the clan period, they figure as "part-takers" of the Macleans of Duart. The close relations which existed between the two families is perhaps suggested by the frequency of the name "Gilleonan"† among the Macneills, as well as by the similarity of their armorial bearings with those of the Macleans.

* *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750.*

† This name may possibly be related to the Macleonnans rather than to the Macleans.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN the Norwegian contingent from the Outer Hebrides joined Hakon's expedition, the Celtic inhabitants, according to tradition, planned a general massacre of those who were left. The Lewis Celts, so the tradition runs, invited the Norwegians to a great feast, the guests being so arranged that at a given signal, the Celts were able to dirk them where they sat without resistance. And in Barra, a heap of bones was in modern times unearthed, which were said to be the remains of the last "Danes" (Norwegians) murdered there after Largs.

Whatever truth there may be in this tradition, it is reasonable to suppose that after the cession of the Isles, the preponderance of Norsemen in the Long Island disappeared, and that they were replaced to a large extent by an influx of Scottish settlers from the mainland. These Celtic immigrants, coalescing with whatever kindred elements, if any, had preceded the advent of the Norsemen, or filtered into the islands during the Norse occupation, acquired an ascendancy over the Norwegians who remained which they have retained to the present day. No trace of the Norse language, except in place-names and in certain Gaelic words, now remains to tell of the race that possessed the Outer Hebrides for centuries. In course of time, a partial fusion of the two races was consummated. That the blend was not universal is proved by concrete examples to the contrary. The people at the Butt of Lewis, for instance, were until comparatively recent times, regarded as a foreign colony by the rest of the islanders; and at the present day, the Norse characteristics of the people in the parish of Ness are peculiarly conspicuous. The language of the

Celts was imposed upon the Norsemen, but ethnology still tells its tale.

That the Norwegians who elected to remain in the Hebrides were unwilling subjects of Scotland, appears from a mandate of 1282, by which the King of Norway ordered them to do homage to the King of Scotland as their lord. The disaffection in Lewis and Skye was quelled by William Earl of Ross, who received a Crown grant of those islands.*

While Lewis thus became an appanage of the Earldom of Ross, Uist (North and South Uist, and Benbecula) passed into the hands of Dugall and Allan, sons of old Ruari the ex-pirate, who, on swearing allegiance to the Scottish Crown, and resigning their claims to Bute, were granted these lands in compensation, with the Earl of Ross as their Superior.†

On the death of Dugall, his brother Allan (an illegitimate son of Ruari) became the sole possessor of the property, to which were subsequently added Moidart, Morar, Arisaig, and Knoydart in Garmoran. This family is consequently known in history as the Macruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles. In 1309, the Island of Barra was added to their possessions, being a grant from Robert Bruce in favour of Roderick MacAllan, as a reward for his patriotic services. In 1344, David Bruce confirmed the grant to Ranald Mac Roderick.‡

It has been generally supposed that Harris passed to the Macruaries, but apart from the improbability of this supposition, the evidence is altogether opposed to it. The assumption is founded on a charter by Robert Bruce dated (*circa*) 1320, which enumerates the properties of the Macruaries. It includes a grant of the island of "Hug" (? Hog or Mug, *i.e.* Muck), which has been held to mean

* Reid's *Earls of Ross*, p. 8.

† In 1292 the lands of the Earldom in North Argyll, which were formed into the Sheriffdom of Skye, included Lewis (with Harris), Uist, and Barra. (*Acts of Parliament*, Vol. I., p. 447.)

‡ *Origines Parochiales*—Robertson's *Index*, p. 48. In order to avoid confusion where that might arise, parental names are in the following pages differentiated from patronymic designations by the use of capital letters.

Harris. In the charters of David II. relating to the Hebrides, there is no mention of this island. In the list of charters by Robert II., the island of Heryce or Herce appears, which has also been taken to represent Harris. In his *Index to Missing Charters*, Robertson transcribes this name as Heryte, Hert, and Hyrte, and applies it to Hirta, or St. Kilda, which is probably correct, as it is known that St. Kilda belonged to the Macruaries.

The inferential proofs are strong that Harris passed, as a portion of Lewis, to the Earl of Ross, and that the former became disjoined from the latter, only when Tormod, son of Leod, inherited it as part of his patrimony. There is no proof that the southern part of Lewis, *i.e.* the modern Harris, ever belonged to the Macruaries, except as temporary lessees of the Earl of Ross.

We get a passing glimpse of the doings of the Macruaries towards the end of the thirteenth century. Allan MacRuari attended the Scottish Parliament which in 1284 settled the Crown on the Maid of Norway, daughter of Erik King of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of Alexander III. of Scotland. Soon afterwards (1285-86), Allan committed an act of piracy on a Spanish ship with a valuable cargo, which was driven ashore on the Outer Hebrides. The captain appealed to King Alexander for justice, with what result we are not informed.

The death of the Maid of Norway, and the subsequent squabbles between the rival claimants to the throne of Scotland, were events to which the chiefs of the Hebrides were not indifferent. During the interregnum, we find Edward I. of England, in pursuance of his scheme for annexing Scotland to the English Crown, directing his attention to the Isles. In 1290, he commissioned the Bishop of Durham to receive the men of the Isles to his "peace," in other words, to detach them from the national cause. The commission appears to have been successful in the South Isles, for in 1292, Alexander of Argyll (*de Ergadia*),*

* Supposed to be a son of Ewen of Lorne, though Skene contradicts that theory.

Angus Mòr, son of the progenitor of the Macdonalds, and his son Alexander, all entered into engagements with the King of England to "keep the peace."

During the short and inglorious reign of John Baliol, King Edward's puppet, there were commotions in the Outer Hebrides and Skye. The three sons of Allan MacRuari, Roderick, Ranald, and Lauchlan, refused to acknowledge the authority of Baliol, and William (II.) Earl of Ross was commissioned to make war upon them. The Earl of Ross spent a thousand pounds upon the campaign—a fact which, subsequently, he was not slow to emphasise—and ultimately succeeded in capturing Roderick and Lauchlan, whom he brought as prisoners to the King. As a reward for this service, he received a grant of the lands of Dingwall and Ferintosh. In 1296, however, the Earl detached himself from the English interest, and led a force against his quondam friends. The Scottish defeat at Dunbar was followed by the Earl's capture and imprisonment for seven years in the Tower of London. He was then released in order to further the English cause in the Highlands, receiving the office of Warden north of the Spey, and a grant of the Isles (*les terres des ylys*).^{*} Meanwhile, the Hebrides were again thorns in the English side. From the Ragman Roll, we find that at Elgin, in July, 1296, Alexander Macdougall (*de Ergadia*) swore fealty to Edward of England, and that Ranald MacAllan submitted at Berwick. In the same year Alexander Macdonald (*de Insulis*) was empowered as Edward's bailiff to seize Kintyre, escheated by John Baliol; while Alexander, Earl of Menteith, was commissioned to take over for the English King the castle, isles, and lands of Alexander Macdougall and of his son John of Lorne. In the following year, a statement, emanating probably from Alexander Macdonald, was made to Edward concerning the lawless doings of Macdougall, who, it was asserted, after his release from prison and taking the oath of fealty

^{*} *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* Vol. IV., p. 400. This grant was doubtless confined to Lewis and Skye.

to England, had wasted the writer's lands and slain his people. The letter further states that Roderick and Ranald MacAllan had invaded the King's lands of "Sky" and "Leogus," and committed great depredations therein. They killed, so it asserts, "the men living in those islands and oppressed the women with violence, and caused the ships in the King's service under immunities of the Church to be burnt. And the said islands were so devastated by the aforesaid (Roderick and Ranald) that the King could get little or nothing from them on his demand."* Edward was therefore begged by the writer to command the nobles of Argyll and Ross to aid him in keeping the peace. Macdougall successfully replied to the charges made against him, and was again received into favour by the English King. Roderick MacAllan ("Rodric Mac Rogri") was captured by Alexander Macdonald, but he subsequently escaped, or was released.

In 1301, fresh trouble was brewing in the Isles, and an expedition, commanded by Hugh Bisset, with the co-operation of Angus Og Macdonald, and John (*filius Suffne*) of Knapdale, was despatched to bring the islanders under subjection to England. Alexander Macdougall was at that time regarded with suspicion, and Edward was asked for his advice as to the treatment of the suspect, and for his help, if Macdougall had to be proceeded against as an enemy. There are no further details of this expedition, except that Angus Og, while awaiting orders for his fleet at Bute or Kintyre, begged the King's favour for the sons of Roderick MacAllan who were in his power, stating, as the grounds of his request for a "native fee," that they had been friendly to the English cause.

The correspondence between Edward of England and Pope Boniface, which followed the defeat at Falkirk of the heroic William Wallace, was concurrent with a remarkable commission which the English King sent to the Hebrides

* Letter in the Public Record Office (Stevenson, Vol. II., p. 188).

to pacify the inhabitants. The fleet of the Cinque Ports sailed for the Isles charged with this mission. The admiral was empowered to receive into his favour, Alexander Macdougall and his sons, John and Duncan, his son-in-law Lauchlan MacAllan, and all their servants ; also all the peasantry and middle class inhabitants of the Isles, "barons, banerets, and other rich and great lords" being however excluded.*

It is impossible to refuse to recognise the shrewdness of the perception which instigated this order. The English King clearly realised a fact that became increasingly apparent in the later history of the Hebrides, viz., that the wars, rebellions, and feuds of the Isles were fomented in no wise by the common people, but by the "rich and great lords" to serve their own ends. The lords who on this occasion resisted the domination of England may have been actuated by patriotic motives ; but even the best of the patriots—always excepting such disinterested stalwarts as the noble Wallace—were found on the side of the oppressors of their country before they saw fit to embrace the national cause.

The Earl of Ross was a notable example of these turn-coats. His new-born zeal as England's warden outran his sense of decency. Thus, in 1305-6, he violated the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain, by seizing and delivering to the English, the wife of Robert Bruce and Marjory, his daughter by a former marriage. This outrage was avenged a year later by the Bruce himself, who invaded and ravaged Ross-shire, compelled the Earl of Ross to make his submission, and with characteristic magnanimity, forgave the man who had injured him so deeply. The latter, however, continued to be a vassal of England, for we find him writing a piteous letter to his master, enumerating his losses at the hands of Bruce, excusing himself for having arranged a truce with the victor, and whining for further favours at English hands.

* *Cal. of Doc.*, Vol. II., p. 307.

In 1307-8, the Earl leased his Hebridean properties to Lauchlan MacAllan,* who was now a partisan of England, his allegiance to the national cause having perhaps been undermined by his father-in-law, Alexander Macdougall; or, he may have discovered that it paid better to be on the winning side. The Earl of Ross required money, hence his lease of Lewis and Skye to Lauchlan MacAllan. The latter proved a bad tenant, for he refused to pay any rent. The Earl appealed to the English King, but Edward II. was at that time engaged upon far weightier matters than the settlement of Hebridean disputes: there is no record of his having taken any steps to punish or oust MacAllan.

It is not unlikely that these events paved the way to the final submission, in 1309, of the Earl of Ross to Bruce,† who gave him a fresh grant of his possessions. His reconciliation with King Robert was sealed by the marriage of his son and successor, Hugh, with Maud, the sister of Bruce, a marriage which resulted in a series of charters to Hugh, including a grant of Skye; Lewis, however, remaining in the possession of the Earl, his father.

The army which, in 1308, was met and defeated by Edward Bruce at Deer, in Buchan, appears to have been commanded by Ranald MacAllan, who was taken prisoner. There is much obscurity about the matter, some historians asserting that Bruce's enemies were Galwegians, but from Highland sources we learn that "Donald or Ronald" of the Isles raised an army in the Hebrides, and marched against Robert Bruce, who was about that time conducting a campaign in Aberdeenshire. This description can apply to no other than MacAllan. That the Hebrides were divided in their sympathies during the dark days which preceded the successes of Bruce admits of no doubt. The bitter hostility of the Macdougalls, founded as it was on personal grounds, is well known, while Alexander Macdonald, who was married to a daughter of Ewen of

* *Cal. of Doc.*, Vol. IV., p. 400.

† His deed of submission appears in the Notes to Sir Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*.

Lorne, identified himself with the interests of his wife's family. His brother, Angus Og (the hero of the *Lord of the Isles*), left the pro-English party, and became one of the most devoted partisans of Bruce. Roderick MacAllan ranged himself on the same side, while his brother Ranald and, probably, Lauchlan, seem to have attached themselves to the English interest. Bruce's defeat at Dalree in 1306 by the Macdougalls was avenged by the King's expedition into Argyllshire, where, by his consummate generalship, he routed his opponents, captured the castle of Dunstaffnage, and reduced Alexander Macdougall to submission, his son John of Lorne escaping by flight into England. The overthrow of the Macdougalls effectively crushed the opposition to Bruce in the Hebrides.

To the great victory of Bannockburn, which was the crowning blow to the pretensions of England, a powerful contingent of Highlanders and Islesmen, under the leadership of Angus Og, materially contributed. Scotland was forced to strain every nerve in order to repel the overwhelming forces of the invader ; and it cannot be doubted that the fighting material of the Outer Hebrides was drawn upon when the call to arms resounded throughout the length and breadth of the land. That Scott's "Clans of Wist and all who hear the Minch's roar on the Long Island's lonely shore,"* did their share of fighting at Bannockburn, under the leadership of the Earl of Ross and Roderick MacAllan, may be safely assumed, though there is no specific mention of them.

To the victors the spoils. Bruce rewarded his supporters in a right royal fashion. Angus Og received a grant of his brother's forfeited properties, and shared in the partition of the lands of the House of Lorne, a portion of which also fell to the lot of Roderick MacAllan, who, as representing his sister Christina, the legal heiress, became the acknowledged head of the Macruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles.

From the time that Lewis (with Harris) passed into the

* *The Lord of the Isles.*

hands of the Earl of Ross, until the reign of David II., there is no record of the doings of Leod of Lewis or his immediate successors. The heads, both of the Siol Torquil and the Siol Tormod, being vassals of the Earls of Ross, their history is necessarily merged in that of their overlords. Torquil, son of Leod, who succeeded his father in the possession of Lewis, married Dorothea, a daughter of his Superior, William Earl of Ross, and died during the reign of Robert Bruce. His daughter, Finguala, married Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Thus the Macleods of Lewis were closely connected by marriage with two of the most notable families in the Highlands. During the reign of Bruce, the lords of the Outer Hebrides remained faithful to the Crown, until Ruari MacAllan,* about 1325, for some unexplained reason, fomented a conspiracy, which resulted in the forfeiture of the whole of his possessions. They were, however, afterwards restored by Edward Baliol to Ruari's son, Ranald.

The death of the wise and gallant Bruce in 1329 was the signal for a series of disasters to Scottish arms, Scottish prestige, and Scottish liberties, which culminated in the successful re-assertion of England's claim to the Superiority of her high-spirited neighbour. The humiliating defeat of a large Scottish army by a handful of English adventurers at Dupplin Moor placed the Crown of Scotland on the head of Edward Baliol, a brave son of a timorous father. The not less humiliating fiasco of Halidon Hill—where Hugh O'Beolan Earl of Ross was killed†—virtually left Edward III. of England the Dictator of Scotland. Baliol had been forced into the arms of England by the bad faith of Sir Archibald Douglas and other Scottish nobles, and the English King was only too thankful to have the opportunity of reviving the old claims of his country to the over-lordship of the sister kingdom. After Halidon Hill,

* Robertson states in his *Early Kings* that the forfeited chief was Allan MacRuari, but this appears to be an inaccurate transposition of names.

† He wore the supposed shirt of St. Duthac as a talisman. It, however, proved ineffective !

Baliol became the creature of England: nominally King of Scotland, he was really the Viceroy of Edward III. Anxious to buttress his throne by securing and cementing by charters the friendship of the discontented elements within his realm, he looked for, and found in the Hebrides, an ally ready to his hand. John of the Isles inherited the property, but not the loyalty to the Bruce's family, of his father, Angus Og. A dispute with the Regent about certain lands left him a ready listener to Baliol's representations. He deserted the Nationalists and joined his fortunes with those of Baliol and the pro-English party. And he had his reward. By an indenture dated Perth, 12th September, 1335, which was subsequently confirmed by the King of England, certain lands, including the Island of Lewethy (Lewis) were granted by "Sir Edward King of Scots" to John of the Isles "for his good service."* From certain letters which passed relative to a safe conduct for the Lord of the Isles to the English Court, it is evident that the Hebridean chief was summoned to England to do homage to his new master.

Thus it happened that Lewis and Harris passed from the O'Beolan Earls of Ross into the hands of the Lords of the Isles.† Mr. Gregory states that the Siol Torquil held Lewis as vassals of the House of Islay from the year 1344, when the grant of 1335 was confirmed by David II.‡ A curious error has crept into Highland histories, which affirm that David II. conferred upon Alexander, son of Duncan MacNaughton, lands in Lewis, "being part of the forfeited possessions of John of the Isles." The forfeited lands in question were those of John, son of Duncan, son of Alexander *de Insulis*, who had no possessions in Lewis. Torquil Macleod (I.) of Lewis was succeeded by his son Tormod, who may have been in possession of Lewis when the cession to the Lord of the Isles took place. Nothing

* *Cal. of Doc.*, Vol. III., p. 213.

† In 1367 the rents of "terre de Lewis" were in the hands of John of the Isles, and were due to the Exchequer. (*Acts of Parliament*, Vol. I., pp. 528, 529.)

‡ *Acts of Parliament*, Supp. b. 6.

whatever is known of the history of Tormod, whose son Torquil lived in the reigns of David II. and Robert II.

When the short-lived power of Edward Baliol came to an end, and the rightful sovereign, David II., came to his own, the cards of the Hebridean lords were shuffled afresh. The Steward of Scotland and the other nobles of the National party directed their enmity against the adherents of Baliol, and John of the Isles trembled for the safety of his extensive dominions. He was not disposed, however, to submit tamely to any shearing process, and the resistance which he offered to his opponents was both obstinate and successful. He was ably seconded by Ranald MacRuari of the North Isles, whose sister he had married, and thus the whole of the Long Island, as represented by its chiefs, was solid against the Crown. Troubles with England created a diversion in favour of the stubborn Hebrideans, and King David was compelled to forego his attempt to reduce them. The support of a powerful vassal like John of the Isles was at that critical period of surpassing value to the Scottish King, and he determined to purchase it by striking a bargain with him. He pardoned both the Lord of the Isles and Ranald MacRuari, and in 1344 confirmed them in their possessions. Ranald accompanied the King in his expedition to England, which terminated at the disastrous battle of Neville's Cross.

The increased prestige which these incidents conferred upon the Lord of the Isles stimulated the ambition of that chief; he realised his strength, and was not slow to push his advantage. Securing from the Pope a dispensation of divorce from his first wife, he sought and obtained in marriage, the hand of Margaret, daughter of his quondam enemy, the Steward of Scotland, who afterwards reigned as Robert II.* His alliance with the Royal House gave a further impetus to the growing power of John of the Isles,

* A letter from the Pope to the Bishop of St. Andrews dated July, 1350, grants a dispensation to John of the Isles and Margaret, daughter of "Robert, called Steward (*Senescallus*), to intermarry, they being related in the third and fourth degrees of affinity." (*Papal Letters*, Vol. III., p. 381.)

while the Steward acquired the interest of the turbulent Hebrideans in furthering his schemes. Secretly encouraged by his father-in-law, the Lord of the Isles was one of the foremost of the refractory barons who rebelled against the King's authority. They refused to pay the tax imposed upon them for payment of the King's ransom to England ; they refused to attend the Parliament summoned by their Sovereign.* The conclusion of hostilities between England and Scotland gave David the opportunity he desired of taming the clans. Preparing to invade the Hebrides with an overwhelming force, which he intended to command in person, he was dissuaded from his purpose by the influence of the Steward, who feared his own interests would suffer by the continuance of the rebellion. His son-in-law was at the same time persuaded by the Steward to meet the King at Inverness and submit to his authority. The submission of the Lord of the Isles was complete ; he not only took the oath of allegiance, but engaged to act as Policeman of the Hebrides for his Royal master. Till the end of his reign, however, the rebellious spirits in the Hebrides were a source of anxiety to David II.; and one of his latest acts was to sow among the clans the seeds of dissension, which he fondly hoped would spring up into noxious weeds, calculated to choke the vitality of any organised rising against the authority of the Crown. This was the beginning of that policy of discord, which was afterwards applied so frequently to the Highlands and Isles by the Kings of Scotland. It was easy to foment strife among the quarrelsome clans ; to perpetuate ancient feuds ; and to reduce the fighting strength of the Highlands by such a cunningly devised method of extermination. The policy succeeded up to a point. Inter-clan warfare was stimulated ; family feuds were multiplied ; and blood flowed like water. But

* In 1368 the King of Norway ordered payment of the 100 merks due to him annually for the Isles (the arrears, no doubt), but was asked for his forbearance until King David's ransom should be paid. The King of Scotland was to reduce the islanders to obedience and compel payment of the annual duty due by them. The King of Norway was to be told that some of the islands were in the hands of the English. (*Acts of Parliament*, Vol. I., p. 507.)

in after years, this policy recoiled upon the heads of those who promoted it.

The charters of David II. which affect the Long Island are three in number. John of the Isles was confirmed in his possession of Lewis ; Ranald MacRuari in his possession of Uist and Barra ; while Torquil Macleod received a grant of Assynt in Sutherlandshire by his marriage (according to tradition) with Margaret Macnicol, the heiress of that property.* The earliest charter to the Macleods of Harris was granted in this reign (about 1343). It conveyed to the Siol Tormod two-thirds of Glenelg, a property which subsequently formed a fruitful source of trouble between the Macleods and the Frasers. But the right of the Macleods to Harris was never disputed.

The lord of Uist and Barra was not fated to enjoy his possessions long. He quarrelled with his Superior, William, Earl of Ross, and the feud ended with his death at the hands of the latter. In 1346, David Bruce summoned his barons to meet him at Perth, preparatory to an invasion of England. Among others, the Earl of Ross and Ranald MacRuari obeyed the summons. Ranald, with his followers, took up his quarters in the monastery of Elcho, and thither repaired the Earl of Ross in the dead of night, bent on silencing for ever his troublesome vassal. MacRuari and seven of his men were slain, and the Earl of Ross forthwith returned home. Thus perished in the male line the last of the Macruaries of the North Isles. Ranald was married to a daughter of Malcolm Macleod of Harris, son of Tormod, son of Leod, some of whose "rights," according to Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat historian, he purchased from the King. According to the same authority, a "brother's son" of Ranald's grandfather was married to an heiress of the Morisons of Lewis.

By the death of Ranald, the possessions of the Macruaries fell to his sister Amy (also called Ann and Algiva), the wife of John of the Isles. The latter immediately laid

* Robertson's *Index*, pp. 48, 99 and 100.

claim to the property, but was opposed by the Crown. The Lord of the Isles overcame all opposition after his accustomed fashion. Although a man of ability and a good Churchman, he cannot be commended as a pattern either of chivalry or of loyalty. Now a partisan of Baliol ; now a pillar of the patriots ; once more a supporter of Baliol ; yet again a Nationalist : he veered round as the wind of political aggrandisement directed his sympathies. But his treatment of his first wife—which appears to be well-authenticated—was the shabbiest of all his acts. Having secured her property, he divorced her, as we have seen, for no apparent reason other than to enable him to marry a daughter of the Steward of Scotland. The seanachies endeavour to shield him from obloquy by asserting that Amy Macruari was his concubine, but this is apparently a mis-statement ; and the evidence seems to show that his sons by his first wife were deprived of their just rights, in order that these might be conferred upon the grandsons of the King of Scotland.*

By each of his two wives, John of the Isles had three sons. Amy Macruari bore him John (who pre-deceased his father), Ranald, and Godfrey ; and a daughter Mary, who married Maclean of Duart. By the daughter of Robert II. his sons were : Donald, his successor as Lord of the Isles ; John Mòr (the Tanister), from whom descended the Macdonalds of Dunyveg in Islay and the Glens in Antrim ; and Alastair Carrach, from whom the Macdonalds of Keppoch trace their descent. There was another son Angus, of whose descendants there is no record ; it is uncertain whether he was the fruit of the first or the second marriage.†

The children of Amy Macruari being legitimate, his eldest son by his first marriage was his feudal heir as Lord

* The author relies here, to some extent, upon the accuracy of Gregory and other writers in respect of the Papal dispensation of divorce, a copy of which he (the author) has not seen. But the inferential proofs of the legitimacy of Amy Macruari's sons are strong.

† The seanachies disagree in the number and names of John's sons ; but that Ranald and Godfrey were his sons by his first wife, and Donald, John, and Alexander, by his second wife, is undisputed.

of the Isles. It has been held by Mr. Gregory and others, that Godfrey was the elder of the two surviving sons by the heiress of the Macruaries. In this view, they are supported by the Sleat seanachie, who states that Godfrey, the elder son, received from his father lands in North Uist and Benbecula, one half of South Uist, Boisdale, Canna, Sleat, and Knoydart ; while Ranald was allotted the rest of South Uist, Eigg, Rum, Moidart, Morar, and Arisaig. Their mother, a pious woman, built Trinity Church in North Uist, the castle at Borge in Benbecula, and an oratory in Grimsay ; all at the expense of her husband, who mortified eight merklands in North Uist to the church and two farms in Benbecula. In the next sentence, the seanachie tells us that "at last he (John of the Isles) abandoned Algive (his wife) by the advice of his Council and familiar friends." He adds that Godfrey left four sons, Ranald, John, Angus, and Archibald, but that Ranald, their uncle, took hold of all their share of South Uist.

So much for the version of the Sleat historian, to whom accuracy was of less importance than success in be-littling the Clan Ranald. The only support, however, which his account receives from unimpeachable sources is a charter granted in 1388 to the Monastery of Inchaffray, in which the donor, Godfrey, is designated *Godfridus de Insula, Dominus de Uist*.* But this assumption of lordship by Godfrey is explained by the fact that after the death of Ranald, his children were dispossessed of Uist by their uncle.

On the other side, we have the version of MacVurich, who was as desirous of magnifying the importance of the Clan Ranald—and, incidentally, of Ranald its progenitor—as Hugh Macdonald was of humbling its pride. According to MacVurich, as set forth in the *Red Book of Clan Ranald*, the "men of the isles" regarded Ranald as the legitimate heir to the Lordship of the Isles, and therefore the eldest son of John. When we turn to indisputable

* *Registrum de Inchaffery*, p. 51.

evidence, we find that it is altogether on MacVurich's side. In 1373, Ranald received a grant of the Macruari lands, to be held from his father *and his heirs*; these lands having previously been conveyed to John of the Isles by his father-in-law Robert II., thus confirming his possession of them through his first wife.* There is, on the other hand, no official record of any grant of lands to Godfrey. The obvious inference is that Ranald was the elder, and Godfrey the younger son, and that the grant was made to salve the wounded feelings of Ranald for having been unjustly deprived of his birthright as Lord of the Isles, in favour of his half-brother Donald.

Mr. Gregory has endeavoured to meet the difficulty created by the charter to Ranald, by suggesting that although Godfrey was the elder of the two, he refused to acquiesce in the unjust proposals of his father, and was therefore ostracised by the latter, who gave the more pliant Ranald the lands in question. This explanation, however, is hardly admissible as an argument, however plausible it may be as a theory.

For some unexplained reason, Lewis and Harris seem to have passed temporarily out of the hands of the Lords of the Isles, and to have again become incorporated with the Earldom of Ross. This appears from the following circumstances.

Euphemia, Countess of Ross in her own right, was the daughter of William, Earl of Ross, Justiciar of Scotland and brother-in-law of Robert II. who had married his sister, Euphemia. The first husband of the Countess was Sir Walter Lesley, who, in right of his wife, became Earl of Ross. Her second husband was Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the notorious Wolf of Badenoch, who was the fourth son of Robert II. By a Crown charter dated 25th July, 1382, Skye and Lewis became the joint property of the Earl of Buchan and his wife, the Countess of Ross.† It is possible that the grant of Lewis to John of the Isles

* *Registrum Magni Sigilli* (1306-1424), pp. 90, 117 and 125.

† Robertson's *Index*, p. 124. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1306-1424), p. 165.

by Edward Baliol was set aside on the representations of William, Earl of Ross, whose powerful influence may have prevailed with the Court in effecting the restoration of the insular properties of the Earldom. The introduction of the Lesley and Stewart elements into the affairs of that Earldom, subsequently led to a dispute concerning the succession to the title, which culminated at the battle of Harlaw.

There is little to tell of events in the Outer Hebrides during the period under review. It is true that there are traditions extant, which serve to demonstrate the fact that the Long Island was not exempt from the clan feuds which kept the other islands of the Hebrides in a state of perpetual turmoil. One of the traditions of the Macaulays of Lewis appears to be so well authenticated, that its main features may be accepted as historical facts. During the second half of the fourteenth century, a feud existed between the Macaulays of Uig and the Macleods of the same district, the head of the latter family being Norman, said to have been a brother of the chief (? Torquil II. of Lewis). The latter had given his kinsmen for their support, the whole rental of Uig, and it may be assumed that this was the root cause of the feud. The dispute between the two families at length led to the extermination of the Macaulays, with the exception of a youth, John Roy, and Malcolm, his natural brother. John Roy fled to Maclean of Lochbuie, who undertook his education. When he reached manhood, he returned to Lewis to take his revenge on the Macleods. Appearing suddenly in Uig, he killed Norman Macleod, son of old Norman, before he could "leap the wall of the sanctuary" to which he ran for protection, and then proceeded to despatch two of Norman's brothers. Having thus disposed of the Macleods, he set out for Stornoway with his brother Malcolm. At Cnoc-na-Croich, opposite Stornoway, they met the only remaining son of old Norman Macleod, who fled from the wrathful Macaulays and attempted to reach his uncle's castle at Stornoway by swimming across the bay. His uncle, the chief, saw

the whole affair from the castle, but refused to give protection to the poor wretch who, wounded in the head by an arrow and exhausted though he was, managed to regain the opposite side of the bay, where he was at once killed by the merciless Macaulays. These events are supposed to have occurred at the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century. The tradition goes on to say that Macleod of Lewis gave John Roy a lease for life of Crolista and Balnakil; that John gave Balnakil to his brother, and that he himself settled at Crolista; that soon afterwards he married a daughter of his patron, Maclean of Lochbuie, by whom he had an only son, Dugald.* From John Roy was descended Donald Cam Macaulay, whom we shall meet in the seventeenth century, and from the same stock came, in due time, the brilliant historian, essayist, and statesman, Lord Macaulay.

Soon after the opening of the fifteenth century, the first recorded conflict of the Macleods of Lewis with a mainland clan was fought, resulting in the overthrow of the Lewismen. Torquil Macleod, who married Margaret Macnicol, was succeeded about the end of the fourteenth century as chief of the Siol Torquil, by his son Roderick. According to Douglas, whose *Baronage* is the principal authority for the genealogy of the family, Roderick was the only son of Torquil, but the Earl of Cromartie states that Malcolm Macleod, who figured in the following events, was a son of Torquil. Roderick was probably a son of Malcolm.

A sister of Malcolm was married to Angus Mackay of Strathnaver, by whom the latter had two sons, Angus Dubh and Rory Gald. On the death of Angus, his younger brother Houcheon (Hugh) Dubh Mackay became tutor to his nephews, the tutorship, as was usual in such cases, including the management of their property. Complaints reached Malcolm Macleod that the widow of Angus was harshly treated by the tutor, and Malcolm's solicitude

* Traditions of the Macaulays.

for the welfare of his sister being touched, he left Lewis with a chosen band of followers to investigate the matter. Apparently the reports which had reached him were only too well-founded. Whatever the precise object of his visit may have been, it proved unsuccessful, for on his way home he laid waste Strathnaver and a great part of Breachat in Sutherland, and carried off a quantity of booty. But he was not suffered to cross the Minch unmolested. The Earl of Sutherland being apprised of the raid, sent Alexander Murray of Cubin "with a number of stout and resolute men" in pursuit of the Macleods. Murray joined forces with Houcheon Dubh, and the combined companies overtook the Lewismen at Tuiteam Tarbhach on the borders of Ross and Sutherland. The object of the pursuers was to recover the goods and cattle which the Macleods had carried off, but the Lewismen resisting, a sanguinary battle took place. Both sides fought with desperate valour, but in the end, the Sutherland men, who had apparently the advantage in numbers, prevailed. Malcolm Macleod and the whole of his followers were killed, with the exception of one man, who only lived long enough to carry the dire news to Lewis when he died of his wounds.*

Five years after the conflict of Tuiteam Tarbhach, which derives its name (field of great slaughter) from the event just narrated, the battle of Harlaw was fought. To attempt, as some historians have done, to magnify the importance of Harlaw into a struggle for supremacy between Highlander and Lowlander, is a misrepresentation of facts. These may be briefly stated as follows. Euphemia,

* The local tradition differs from this account in some essential points. It relates that Macleod's daughter (not his sister) was married to Ian Caol (not Angus) Mackay; that the quarrel arose in Ian's lifetime, who ill-treated his wife owing to the insufficiency of her dowry; that Macleod, the bow-legged chief of Lewis, crossed the Minch to avenge his daughter's injuries; that he was defeated and wounded at Tuiteam Tarbhach by Ian Caol, who pursued him to Leckmelm where Macleod died of his wounds and the Lewismen were again routed. The tradition also gives one of the Lewismen credit for performing prodigies of valour; the usual concomitant of these feuds. The account in the text is taken from the *Conflicts of the Clans*. (*Miscellanea Scotica*, Vol. I.)

Countess of Ross in her own right, had by her first husband two children, the elder being Alexander, afterwards Earl of Ross, and the younger being Margaret, who became the wife of Donald, Lord of the Isles. Alexander married a daughter of the Duke of Albany, and the only issue from this marriage was Euphemia, who became Countess of Ross. Following the example of her grandmother, who, after the death, without issue, of the Wolf of Badenoch, became Abbess of Elcho, the second Euphemia surrendered the pomps and vanities of the world for the seclusion and peace of a convent. She became a nun, and by so doing, effectively extinguished the male succession to the Earldom of Ross. The crafty Duke of Albany was not slow to take advantage of the situation thus created. At his instigation, Euphemia was induced to renounce the Earldom in favour of her uncle, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, who afterwards gained distinction in the service of France, and fell fighting against the English at the bloody battle of Verneuill in 1425. Donald of the Isles not unnaturally refused to acquiesce in this arrangement. Conceiving that he had through his wife a prior right to the Earldom, he protested against the legality of the proceeding, and claimed the title and the estate for himself. His argument that the Countess of Ross had no right to dispose of the Earldom, and that by her action in taking the veil, she had forfeited the title and estate and had become legally "dead," was clearly sound.* After an impartial examination of the whole facts of the case, it is only possible to come to one conclusion: that the Lord of the Isles, by his wife, was the rightful heir to the title and property in dispute. Even George Buchanan, who was certainly not pre-disposed in favour of Highlanders, is fain to admit that Donald was the rightful heir, and that Ross was "taken from him by the Governor under some legal pretext."

The Governor of Scotland was not likely to acknowledge the claim of the Hebridean chief, after he had succeeded

* Donald was far from being an ignorant barbarian: he had been educated at Oxford University.

in gaining his ends. In effect, he told the Lord of the Isles that if he wanted the Earldom, he would have to fight for it. The challenge was accepted. Assuring himself of the support of an English fleet, superior to anything Scotland could pit against it, Donald gathered in the Hebrides an army of warriors armed with bows and arrows, pole-axes, knives, and swords, and swooped down upon Ross. His victorious arms carried all before them. An unsuccessful resistance was offered at Dingwall by Angus Dubh Mackay of Farr and his brother Rory Gald (the nephews of Malcolm Macleod of Lewis), who posed as loyalists, but after a gallant fight, Angus was taken prisoner, and Rory, with many of his followers, was killed.

Encouraged by his initial success against the Mackays, Donald determined to carry out a threat he had often made to burn the town of Aberdeen. Assembling all his available men at Inverness, and receiving re-inforcements on the way, he marched unopposed through Moray, and ravaged Strathbogie and the district of Garioch, striking terror into the hearts of the Aberdonians, who gave themselves up for lost. But the Lord of the Isles got no further than Garioch. A small but well-equipped army commanded by the Earl of Mar, marched to meet him and oppose his progress. Mar knew the character and fighting qualities of his opponents well. In his younger days, he himself at the head of some of the most daring and desperate of the Highlanders, had harried, plundered, and slaughtered inoffensive Lowlanders without mercy. But the capture of the murdered Earl of Mar's castle; the winning of the widowed Countess's hand with his predecessor's title and lands; an extended experience in the French wars and at the French Court; all these circumstances combined, had changed the Wolf of Badenoch's bastard, the ex-cateran, the ex-soldier of fortune, into a skilful commander of trained troops, a courtly pattern of chivalry, a bulwark of the throne, a terror to evildoers, and an upholder of law and order.

The battle of Harlaw was one of the fiercest encounters

which even the history of Scotland records, and that is saying a good deal. The mail-clad knights under Mar's command, not inferior in courage to their opponents, and vastly superior in the skilled use of arms, despised the Highland army as a rabble of savages. The Highlanders, absolutely without fear, and imbued with a hereditary hatred of the *Sasgunnach* (Lowlander or Englishman), repaid the contempt of their foes with interest. The Lord of the Isles commanded the main body of his army, consisting of the men from the Hebrides, with whom were Roderick Macleod of Lewis and John Macleod of Harris with their followers. On the right wing of the army were the Macleans, and on the left the Mackintoshes, while the reserve, under John, brother of the Lord of the Isles, consisted of the Mackenzies and the Camerons.

The battle commenced with the usual torrential rush of the Highlanders, who threw themselves upon the wall of steel opposed to them, only to be repelled by the steadiness of the defence. And then the knights of Mar took the offensive, and great was the slaughter on both sides. The Highlanders stood their ground and fell where they fought. Lowland battle-axes crashed through Highland skulls, and Highland swords found openings in Lowland armour. When a Highlander fell, a comrade took his place; when a Lowlander was disabled, his loss was irreparable. Superior numbers and desperate valour were pitted against superior weapons and grim determination. The ill-armed Celt opposed his greater agility to the mail-clad Saxon's greater security. The thundering charge of the Lowland cavalry hewed a pathway through the thick ranks of the Highland footmen; but the daggers of the Highlanders hamstrung the horses, and then drank the blood of the fallen riders. The carnage ceased only with darkness, and when morning broke on the quiet village of Harlaw, 900 Highlanders and over 500 Lowland men-at-arms lay dead on the field. The losses of Mar included many representatives of the leading families in Angus and the Mearns, together with the Provost and

most of the burgesses of Aberdeen who had accompanied the Lowland army; while the Lord of the Isles lost the chiefs of the Macleans and the Mackintoshes.

Harlaw is usually described as a drawn battle, and so indeed it was, if gauged by its results. The seanachies claim a victory for the Lord of the Isles, and in this they are borne out by Irish records. There is some obscurity about the events which immediately followed the battle. By at least one Lowland historian,* it is stated that "both sides claimed the victory, but Donald kept the field and made great slaughter that day." The commonly accepted version, however, is that the Lord of the Isles retreated before daybreak, leaving Mar with the remnant of his army in possession of the field. If the Highland army really consisted of 10,000 men (a number which is probably in excess of the entire fighting strength at that period of the Highlands and Isles), it is clear that after a loss of less than a tenth of its strength, it cannot have been incapacitated from renewing the conflict, while it is obvious that Mar's forces were almost annihilated. It is probable that in accordance with their usual custom, the Highlanders were eager to return home with their booty, and that even the influence of the Lord of the Isles was not sufficiently strong to keep them together and pursue his forward movement. However, the fact remains that Donald did not burn Aberdeen, and the resistance offered by Mar at least defeated that project. That the Highland army was severely handled is evident; that it received a check is also clear from the result; but that it suffered a defeat in the ordinary acceptance of the word, is not borne out by the evidence, which supports the contrary view. The Lord of the Isles, in short, was crippled, while his antagonist was incapacitated from further attack, if not indeed from further resistance.

The memory of Harlaw lingered for many a day in the music and poetry of the Scottish people. To this fact

* Douglas, ("An Impartial Hand"), p. 43.

may be attributed the undue importance, from a racial point of view, which has been assigned to it by Dr. Hill Burton and even by Dr. Skene. Secondary accessories have usurped the place of primary causes; the personnel of the combatants has over-shadowed the quarrel in which they fought; and thus a battle, which originated in a dispute over a Highland Earldom, has been magnified into a struggle for supremacy between the Celtic and Teutonic elements of the Scottish people. It is nevertheless a striking commentary on the welding processes wrought by Time, that the descendants of the men who fought at Harlaw—men so essentially different in race, language, sentiment, and civilisation—should at the present day meet one another on an equal platform in the peaceful walks of life, and should fight together shoulder to shoulder as brothers-in-arms in a common cause, in every country, and in every clime, where the British flag is unfurled.

Whatever the ultimate results of Harlaw, its immediate effects were for a time fatal to the claims of the Lord of the Isles. The Duke of Albany, then Regent of Scotland, was roused to action. He collected an army before which resistance on Donald's part was futile, and the whole of Ross was quickly recovered from the possession of the Lord of the Isles. The Earl of Mar commenced to build the Castle of Inverness for the defence of the country against future invasions by his opponent of Harlaw. The latter took refuge in the Hebrides, where he was safe during the winter months. In the summer of the following year, the contest was renewed with varying successes, but finally the proud Hebridean was forced to bow his neck in submission, resign his claim to the Earldom of Ross, and become a vassal of the Scottish Crown. At Loch Gilp in Argyllshire, a treaty embodying these conditions was consummated,* and for a short period the

* This treaty is stated by the historians of *Clan Donald* to be a fiction of Fordun. The authors doubtless mean Walter Bower, who continued Fordun's chronicles. Bower, who died in 1449, was presumably conversant with the circumstances, and there is no reason to doubt his statement.

Highlands and Isles were at rest. Donald of the Isles never recovered the Earldom of Ross; that was reserved for his son Alexander.

When James I. returned, in 1424, from his captivity in England to his native country, he found the northern part of the kingdom in a state of chaos. Might reigned supreme; right was relegated to limbo; law and order hid their diminished heads. James I. was no coward, but the task of restoring good government was such as to make even a strong heart quail before its magnitude; yet the vigorous mind of the poet-king was equal to the emergency. His was a chivalrous nature, but chivalry had no place in his plans for quelling the insubordinate Highlanders. Regarding them as outside the pale of honourable dealings, he employed the arts of treachery to attain his ends. In 1427 he held a Parliament at Inverness, and summoned the Highland chiefs to attend. Unsuspicious of danger, trusting in the honour of their King, the principal chiefs obeyed the call and assembled at Inverness. But they soon discovered that James had played them false; for they found themselves in a trap. They were all seized, put in irons and imprisoned, each in a separate compartment, communication with one another, or with their followers, being thus prevented. Some of the most troublesome were subjected to a mock trial and immediately executed, among them being Alexander Macruari, whose properties were forfeited to the Crown, and John MacArthur of the Campbell family, who had laid claim to a portion of Garmoran and the North Isles. The remainder, including Alexander, son of Donald, Lord of the Isles—who, on the downfall of the Albany family, had peaceably succeeded to the Earldom of Ross—and his mother, the Dowager Countess of Ross (described by Drummond of Hawthornden as “a mannish implacable woman”), were imprisoned for different periods according to the alleged nature of their offences. And thus by a stroke of treachery which does little credit to the memory of James I., the power of the chiefs was for a time

effectively broken. The King crowed over the success of his plot—the penalty of his success came later.

The imprisonment and subsequent release of the Earl of Ross by James were followed by the insurrection of that turbulent chief, which had unfortunate results for himself. He was forced to make a humiliating submission which saved his life but not his liberty. Scarcely two years had passed after his confinement in Tantallon Castle, when his cousin, Donald Balloch, headed a formidable rebellion, which spread throughout the length and breadth of the Hebrides. The energy of the King again proved more than a match for the Islesmen, who, after initial successes, finally succumbed to the vigorous measures which James directed against them. A head, said to be that of Donald Balloch, was presented to the King, and the insurrection came to an end; the real Donald Balloch, however, proved a very lively corpse in later years. By a wise act of clemency, James released the prisoner of Tantallon and restored his titles and possessions, to which was added the lordship of Lochaber. Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, continued, outwardly at least, a peaceable subject for the remainder of his life. And thus the policy of the King had its reward. One of Alexander's sons was Hugh, the founder of the Sleat branch of the Macdonalds. As that family in after years professed to have a claim to the possession of Lewis, and actually owned North Uist, it may be well here to go back to its inception.

During the lifetime of John of the Isles, his son, John Mòr the Tanister, endeavoured to seize the whole of his father's estate south of Ardnamurchan, and succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of the Macleans and of the Macleods of Harris; Macleod of Lewis, with Macneill of Barra and several other chiefs, remaining faithful to the Lord of the Isles. A strong force was sent against John Mòr, who fled in confusion, and the insurrection was easily put down. He who incited John Mòr to rebel against his father was Finnon (Kinnon), a son of the last O'Beolan Earl

of Ross, and known as the "Green Abbot"; he belonged to the powerful Applecross family of lay abbots, from whom the O'Beolan Earls of Ross sprang. A grandson of the "Green Abbot" was Patrick O'Beolan, the "Red Priest," who had Carloway and the Church lands in Lewis as part of his possessions. When the Lewismen set out on the campaign which terminated at the battle of Harlaw, the "Red Priest" accompanied Torquil and Tormod, the sons of Roderick Macleod, with one "Lochluinn MacGillemhaoil"; and these four "went out of the army before any part of the main force with them." The Macleods survived Harlaw, but their companions were killed. A daughter of the "Red Priest" became either the concubine or the hand-fast wife of Alexander, Earl of Ross, and their son, Hugh of Sleat (according to MacVurich), got as a portion of his patrimony the third part of Lewis. Hugh of Sleat married, as his first wife, a daughter of Macian of Ardnamurchan, by whom he had a son, John, who became his heir and successor. His second wife was a daughter of Macleod of Harris, and his son by this wife was consequently known as Donald Heroch. Another son by a daughter of the Coroner of Caithness, named Gunn, was called Donald Gallich, or the stranger, from being brought up by his mother's people in Caithness. After the death of Hugh of Sleat, Donald Gallich's mother married Torquil Macleod of Lewis. Both Donald Heroch and Donald Gallich were murdered through the instrumentality of their half-brother Gillespic, or Archibald, who afterwards suffered for the crime. Donald Gallich left a son, Donald Gruamach (the grim), whose son by Catriona of the ClanRanald was the first Donald Gorm (the illustrious) of Sleat. We shall meet Donald Gruamach and Donald Gorm later on.

The claims of the Sleat family to Uist were well founded. By a charter dated 28th June, 1449, John of the Isles conveyed a grant of lands in Uist and Benbecula to his brother Hugh, the names of Ruari Macleod of Lewis and William Macleod of Glenelg appearing as witnesses. This grant

was confirmed by a Crown charter dated 10th November, 1495. On the death, in 1460, of Alexander, the last prominent representative of the Siol Godfrey, that family dwindled into insignificance, and the Siol Ranald prospered on its ruin.

The Earl of Cromartie states that Alexander Lord of the Isles granted, in 1432, a charter to Torquil (should be Roderick I.) Macleod of Lewis of his lands, to be held for homage and service, which lands he had previously resigned into the hands of the King in favour of Alexander. The Earl also says that Alexander's successor John, in 1464, by a precept of *clare constat*, declared Roderick Macleod (II.) heir to Torquil (III.) in the possession of Lewis and Waternish. That the Macleods of Lewis held their lands as vassals of the Lords of the Isles is beyond dispute.

In the same year as the Inverness Parliament was held (1427), Gilleonan Roderick Murchard Macneill received from Alexander, Lord of the Isles, a charter of Barra and Boisdale in South Uist (confirmed by the Crown in 1495), one of the conditions of which was that in the event of a failure of legitimate heirs, the lands were to be divided between the sons of Roderick, Gilleonan's father, by the daughter of Ferchard Maclean. For, in the year 1372, the possession of Barra had passed from the Macruaries to John of the Isles, through the instrumentality of his father-in-law Robert II., and was thus at the disposal of the Lords of the Isles. As we have seen, the Macleans of Duart and the Macneills of Barra were closely connected by marriage, but a feud existed between John Garve Maclean of Coll and Gilleonan Macneill of Barra, which ended in the death of the latter at the hands of Maclean in Coll. There is a tradition to the effect that Macneill married, as his second wife, the widow of Lachlan Maclean of Duart (the daughter of John Macleod of Harris) and attempted to take possession of Coll, the inheritance of Lachlan's son, John Garve by Macleod's daughter. This is given as the origin of the dispute between Macneill and Maclean of Coll, but it is elsewhere stated that, on the contrary, the feud arose from

an attempt on the part of Maclean to deprive Macneill of the Island of Barra. The former seems to be the more likely story.

John, the eldest son and successor of Alexander of the Isles, failed to appreciate the lessons which were so dearly bought by his father. Early in his career, he proved a troublesome subject of James III. It is to his credit, either as a patriot or as a diplomatist, that during the siege of Roxburgh, he proceeded to the Royal camp with a body of followers whose services he offered to the King. On the death of James III. at Roxburgh, Scotland was plunged into confusion, and the Lord of the Isles seized the opportunity to return to his old habits of lawlessness. His illegitimate son, Angus Og, acting as his father's lieutenant, marched to Inverness, seized the castle, expelled the garrison, proclaimed his father King of the Isles, and terrorised the inhabitants of Inverness-shire (comprehending the modern counties of Inverness, Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland) into obedience to his rule.* From the Parliamentary records, we learn that in 1475 he was charged with making his bastard son his lieutenant "in insurrectionary convocations of the lieges," from which it may be inferred that father and son were steeped to the lips in treasonable practices. These were obviously the outcome of a treaty, dated 18th February, 1462, entered into by Edward IV. of England on the one part, and John of the Isles, Donald Balloch of Islay, and the Earl of Douglas on the other. By this remarkable agreement, England secured powerful allies whose reward was to be nothing less than the division of Scotland, the North falling to the Macdonalds, and the South—or that portion of it which Douglas had formerly possessed—to their companion in treason. Moreover, a stipulated sum was to be paid to John of the Isles, in consideration of his vassalage to England and his assistance, as a vassal, in the Irish and other wars of that country. This curious treaty bore no fruit. It was one

* Some authorities say that John headed the expedition, but the evidence seems to show that Angus was the leader.

thing for the English King to partition a country which had yet to be conquered ; it was quite another matter to provide the means of effecting the conquest. No serious attempt appears to have ever been made in that direction, and for some years after the conclusion of the agreement, there is no record of any overt acts of rebellion on the part of the Lord of the Isles. In the following decade, however, he appears to have again attracted the attention of the Government, and by the year 1476, it is evident that some knowledge of the treaty with England had been brought to light. Declared a traitor by a Parliament held in Edinburgh in 1476, the Earl of Ross had to pay the price of his treason. His estates were forfeited, and a force was got ready to give effect to the forfeiture. These proceedings brought the Lord of the Isles to his knees, and by the mediation of the Earl of Argyll,* a pardon was secured for him. With the exception of the lands of Knapdale, the Sheriffships of Inverness and Nairn, and—most important of all—the Earldom of Ross, all of which were retained by the Crown, his titles and possessions were restored to him, and he himself was made a Lord of Parliament under the style of “John de Isla, Lord of the Isles.”

Like his father before him, John of the Isles had now learned his lesson. But his son, Angus Og, having been brought up in the rebellious school of his father and grandfather, was now following in their footsteps ; unlike them, he had not yet felt the iron heel of authority pressing on his neck. The father was cowed by the vigorous action of the Crown ; the son defied father and Crown alike. His energy and daring were rewarded by a series of striking successes. The Earl of Atholl, who co-operated with the Mackenzies against him, suffered a severe defeat at Lagabread, the Earl himself escaping with difficulty from the field. The Earls of Crawford and Huntly met with no better success. A third expedition under the Earls of Argyll and Atholl and John

* The Earl of Atholl is by some historians named as his mediator ; by others the Earl of Huntly.

of the Isles himself, completely failed in its object : Angus Og defied them all. By this time his prowess had inspired such wholesome respect that the two Earls were none too eager to come to close quarters with him, and they retired baffled by their active foe, thus virtually acknowledging defeat. The father of the rebel was now left to cope with the situation single-handed. It was a novel position for John of the Isles to be the representative of law and order, hunting his own son, Angus the rebel. It is possible that he wished to impress the Government with his loyalty. It is possible that he himself was held responsible for the enormities of his hopeful offspring. But it is clear that the latter had proved an undutiful son, as well as a recalcitrant subject. MacVurich relates that a disagreement had arisen between father and son about a division of territory, and that John had given Knapdale to "MacCailin" (the Earl of Argyll) the father-in-law of Angus, for going with him before the King to complain of his son ;* and it is also suggested that he had been over-liberal to the heads of Hebridean clans other than the Clan Donald. Be that as it may, it is certain that the Hebridean chiefs became embroiled in the quarrel, the Macdonalds taking the part of Angus, and the other clans ranging themselves on the side of their Superior, the Lord of the Isles. After his desertion by Argyll and Atholl, John continued the pursuit of Angus Og. His followers were chiefly Macleans, Macleods, and Macneills. William Dubh Macleod of Harris led his clansmen, and with him was his nephew, the son and heir of Roderick Macleod of Lewis. The men of Barra were led by Gilleonan Macneill, grandson of the Gilleonan who was killed in Coll. And thus every section of the Long Island was represented at the final struggle between John of the Isles and his son.

The two forces met in a bay south of Ardnamurchan Point—Mr. Gregory says a bay in Mull—where a stiff

* In 1481, Colin, first Earl of Argyll, received a grant of lands in Knapdale, along with the keeping of Castle Sweyn, which had previously been held by the Lord of the Isles.

fight, known in Highland tradition as the battle of the Bloody Bay, took place. Both sides were composed of skilful seamen—descendants largely of those unequalled sea-warriors, the Vikings—and both were stimulated by their leadership. The result was a decisive victory for Angus Og, and a crushing defeat for his father's allies. Of the latter, William Macleod of Harris was killed; the galley of his nephew, with all the Lewismen, was captured, and the heir of Roderick was himself mortally wounded by two arrows, succumbing to his injuries soon afterwards at Dunvegan.

The outcome of this battle was immediate and conclusive: the unfortunate John of the Isles was rendered helpless in the contest with his formidable son. The Clan Donald, ready to acknowledge the superiority of personal prowess over less material considerations, acquiesced in the seizure by Angus of his father's possessions, and in his assumption of the chiefship of the clan.

It is unnecessary to follow much further the fortunes of John of the Isles and his masterful offspring. Misfortune dogged the footsteps of the father to the end. About the time of his final trial of strength with Angus Og, he appears to have turned to England for help. Negotiations were certainly on foot in 1481 to effect an alliance between the English King and his "cousin" of the Isles; but these came to nothing, although it is evident that his correspondence with England was maintained. In 1493, owing doubtless to the discovery of this relationship, he forfeited his title of Lord of the Isles, and in the following year he appeared before the King and made his final submission. Retiring to the Abbey of Paisley, he died there in 1498; a peaceful end to a stormy life.

His son did not long survive his victory at Bloody Bay. He was assassinated at Inverness by his own harper, one Art O'Carby or MacCairbre, who—MacVurich tells us with uncompromising fidelity—cut his throat "with a long knife." According to the Sleat seanachie, the murder was committed at the joint instigation of Mackenzie of Kintail

and the daughter of Rory Dubh Macleod, tutor of the heir of Lewis. This Rory Dubh, it appears, had seized Lewis for himself, but was dispossessed by Angus Og, who restored the island to its rightful owner.

It is difficult to discover on what grounds Mr. Gregory makes the statement, that Angus Og undertook an expedition against the Earl of Atholl, in revenge for carrying off his infant son, afterwards known as Donald Dubh. It is very doubtful if Angus ever saw his son, either as an infant or an adult. That the raid of Atholl took place is undisputed; there is, however, no authority, but the reverse, for associating it with the kidnapping of Donald Dubh. Even the accounts of the raid are confused. According to some authorities, the chief actor was not Angus Og the son, but John of the Isles, the father. The seanachies, however, are probably correct in stating that Angus was the leader of this expedition, which may have been undertaken after the consolidation of the power of that restless warrior. It is certain that the district of Atholl was actually ravaged; that Blair Castle was taken or evacuated by the Earl of Atholl; and that the Earl with his Countess was forced to take refuge in the sanctuary of St. Bride, which the wild Hebrideans failed to respect. On their way home, the marauders encountered a storm, which destroyed most of the galleys with their rich freight. According to all accounts, the survivors, seized with the superstitious fear that the disaster betokened the wrath of St. Bridget, returned as penitents to the scene of their sacrilege, barefooted, clad in their shirts, and bearing gifts to mollify the offended saint. George Buchanan affirms that their leader—whom he calls* Donald the Islander—"is said to have gone distracted from that day, either with grief at the loss of his army with the plunder, or tortured by a consciousness of his former crimes and the remembrance of his sacrilege," whereupon the Earl and Countess of

* Bishop Lesley also calls him "Donald." In both cases the reference is probably to the patronymic of the clan; or it may be that Angus has been confused with the aged Donald Balloch, who appears to have been a passive, if not an active, participator in some of the events just recorded.

Atholl, with their children, were released, and the preparations at Court for an expedition, apparently to the Hebrides, were stopped. The Sleat seanachie notices this report, which was current in the country, and stigmatises it as a falsehood. The probabilities are that the temper of Angus, at all times uncertain, became ungovernable in later years, and from this circumstance arose the story of his madness.

It is impossible to give a chronological sequence of events in connexion with the career of Angus Og. The facts are so obscure that Highland historians have been obliged to resort to conjecture. The raid of Atholl may or may not have taken place after the battle of the Bloody Bay, but it appears likely that it succeeded that event which seems to have occurred somewhere about 1481.* It is probable, too, that the murder of Angus took place not later than 1485. It is fairly certain that he was dead before 1491, for in that year, Alexander of Lochalsh, son and successor of Celestine, an illegitimate son of Alexander Lord of the Isles, assumed, apparently with the consent of his uncle John, the title of Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles: a claim which would hardly have been made, or, if made, sustained by the Hebrideans had Angus Og been alive. The insurrection of Alexander was short-lived. Assisted by the Clan Chattan, he took the Castle of Inverness, plundered the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty, and returning to the west with a division of his army, ravaged the lands of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, with whom Alexander had a private feud. Alexander, who was assisted by the Clan Ranald and the Camerons, was totally routed by the Mackenzies at the battle of Blar-na-Pairc, and he himself was taken prisoner. This reverse temporarily put an end to his aspirations, and may have contributed to the final forfeiture of John of the

† Scottish historians imply that the raid took place immediately after the subjugation of Inverness-shire, but the Sleat seanachie states that it occurred after Bloody Bay.

Isles. After his release by the Mackenzies, Alexander revived his claims, and in 1497 again organised a rising, which was terminated by his death in the Island of Oronsay, by the instrumentality of Macian of Ardnamurchan.

But Angus Og left a son, known in Highland history as Donald Dubh, who, as will be related, was the next claimant to the Lordship of the Isles, and with whose fortunes Torquil Macleod of Lewis became closely identified. The facts connected with the birth and early days of Donald Dubh are not clear. Here again Highland historians have floundered in the bog of uncertainty, and have so far not succeeded in finding a sure footing. The facts are of importance, inasmuch as if correctly known, they would tend to throw light upon events which remain obscure. The official records furnish no *data* to go upon, and recourse has consequently been had to the seanachies. The Sleat and Clan Ranald historians are at variance in their accounts, but the version of Hugh Macdonald has hitherto been accepted, while that of MacVurich has been ignored. And yet it can be proved that the version of the latter is, in part at least, confirmed by a letter from Donald Dubh himself. The Sleat seanachie states that Donald, when an infant, was carried off by the Earl of Atholl at the instigation of the Earl of Argyll, into whose charge the child was committed; and that Argyll kept him as a captive in his Castle of Inchconnel in Lochawe until his escape (in 1501). This is the account adopted by Mr. Gregory, who has been followed by all succeeding Highland historians. The Clan Ranald seanachie, on the other hand, states that "the daughter of MacCailin (Colin first Earl of Argyll) the wife of Angus, was pregnant at the time he was killed, and she was kept in custody until she was confined, and she bore a son, and Donald was given as a name to him. He was kept in custody until he arrived at the age of thirty years, when the men of Glencoe brought him out by a Fenian exploit." Confirming the principal point in this account are the words of Donald Dubh himself. In a letter to King Henry VIII. dated

5th August, 1545, he describes himself as having been captured *in materno uteris*, which is sufficiently conclusive in bearing out the statement of MacVurich, the only obvious error in his account being Donald's age on his escape from captivity, a detail of minor importance. It is very probable, therefore, that MacVurich is also correct in stating that Donald Dubh was born after the murder of his father. Assuming, therefore, that Angus Og was killed about 1485, Donald Dubh would have been a lad of about sixteen years of age on his escape from prison in 1501, a very likely supposition. He died in 1545-6, and thus would have been about sixty years of age at the time of his death.

In view of the hypothesis that Donald himself was captured by the Earl of Atholl and imprisoned by the Earl of Argyll, it has been found difficult by the supporters of this theory to assign a likely reason for the abduction. It is supposed by them that the Earl of Argyll schemed to secure the Lordship of the Isles for himself, and it is confidently affirmed that the alleged kidnapping of Donald Dubh was the outcome of a plot to keep him out of his inheritance. The Earl of Argyll is called hard names for his supposed greed and treachery, but although he was probably no better than most of his compeers, the charges against him in the present instance must be held as "not proven."

The most reasonable view to take of the matter is, that on the death of Angus Og, the Earl of Argyll took charge of his daughter, the widow of Angus; that on the birth of her son, the Earl naturally became the child's guardian, and that he kept him in close confinement, fearing, for political reasons, lest he should get into the hands of the Hebridean chiefs. It is idle to speculate what his ultimate intentions were with respect to his grandson; his death, which occurred in 1493, left the boy in the care of his son Archibald, second Earl of Argyll. That the policy of Donald's uncle was not favourable to his future assumption of the Lordship of the Isles, may be inferred from the fact

that he suffered, if he did not instigate, the Crown to declare his nephew illegitimate. Here there is surer ground for the suggestion of sinister scheming, but when an analysis of motives has to take the place of historical records, a door is at once opened for inaccuracy of statement. All we do know and can know is, that from first to last, Donald Dubh was described in official documents as the bastard son of Angus of the Isles. There is nothing to show that the union of Angus with the daughter of Colin, Earl of Argyll, was of an irregular nature; and it can only be assumed that by means of some legal jugglery, and for political reasons which are not obscure, the marriage was declared invalid and its issue illegitimate. That the men of the Hebrides acknowledged the legitimacy of Donald, is clear from subsequent events which will presently be related.

With the death of the last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, the connexion between the Macdonalds as Superiors, and the chiefs of the Macleods of Lewis as vassals, came to an end.

It may well be doubted whether even at this period, the inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides were thoroughly Scottish in feeling and sentiment. The influences of the Norse occupation had not yet lost their force. The language of the people was Celtic, but the blood of the Northmen flowed through their veins. The descendants of those who, two centuries previously, were forced to submit to Scottish rule, must have bulked largely in the population of those islands. Their distance from the central authority; their lack of touch with the machinery of government and with the great political movements which agitated the mainland; their want of racial sympathy with the governing classes of the kingdom; all these and other causes which might be named, accentuated the isolation of their geographical situation, and militated against the development of a truly national feeling. When to these considerations is added the fact, that a state of uncompromising hostility existed between the Gaelic-speaking Islander and the English-

speaking Lowlander ; between the men of the North who despised the civilisation of the South, and the men of the South who sneered at the barbarism of the North ; it is not surprising that the Hebrideans should have as their permanent ideal, the solidarity of their race to resist the aggression of the Saxon. How often that solidarity was broken by the clan feuds which desolated the Hebrides is only too evident. The policy of the Crown was to prevent cohesion, for it was rightly judged that the strength which union imparted to the clans, equipped them with so formidable a weapon of defence as to be a permanent source of danger to the State.

As for the Lords of the Isles themselves, their history is the most eloquent testimony of their character. They were brave, energetic, and hospitable. But they were ambitious, ruthless, and not overburdened with scruples. They were not, however, a whit worse in those respects than the great barons of the South. And in explanation, if not in defence, of their treasonable practices with England, it may be urged that the independent sovereignty over the Isles which they both assumed and exercised, placed them in a position of detachment which was occupied by no other subjects of the Scottish Crown. They probably still regarded themselves as the representatives of the Norse Viceroy, who had ruled the Hebrides in a state of complete independence, subject only to the benevolent suzerainty of Norway. As such, and as the acknowledged Kings of the Isles, there was sufficient temptation for them to throw off their allegiance from Scotland when it suited their ambitious purposes to do so.

About the year 1460, a great invasion of Orkney by Hebrideans took place. That raids to the Orkneys were of frequent occurrence is undoubted. In the Preface to the Exchequer Rolls (Vol. 8) it is stated that they must have taken place annually before the death of James II. From a letter dated 28th June, 1418, written by William Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney, to King Christiern of Denmark, and from a manifesto of an earlier date issued by the Orca-

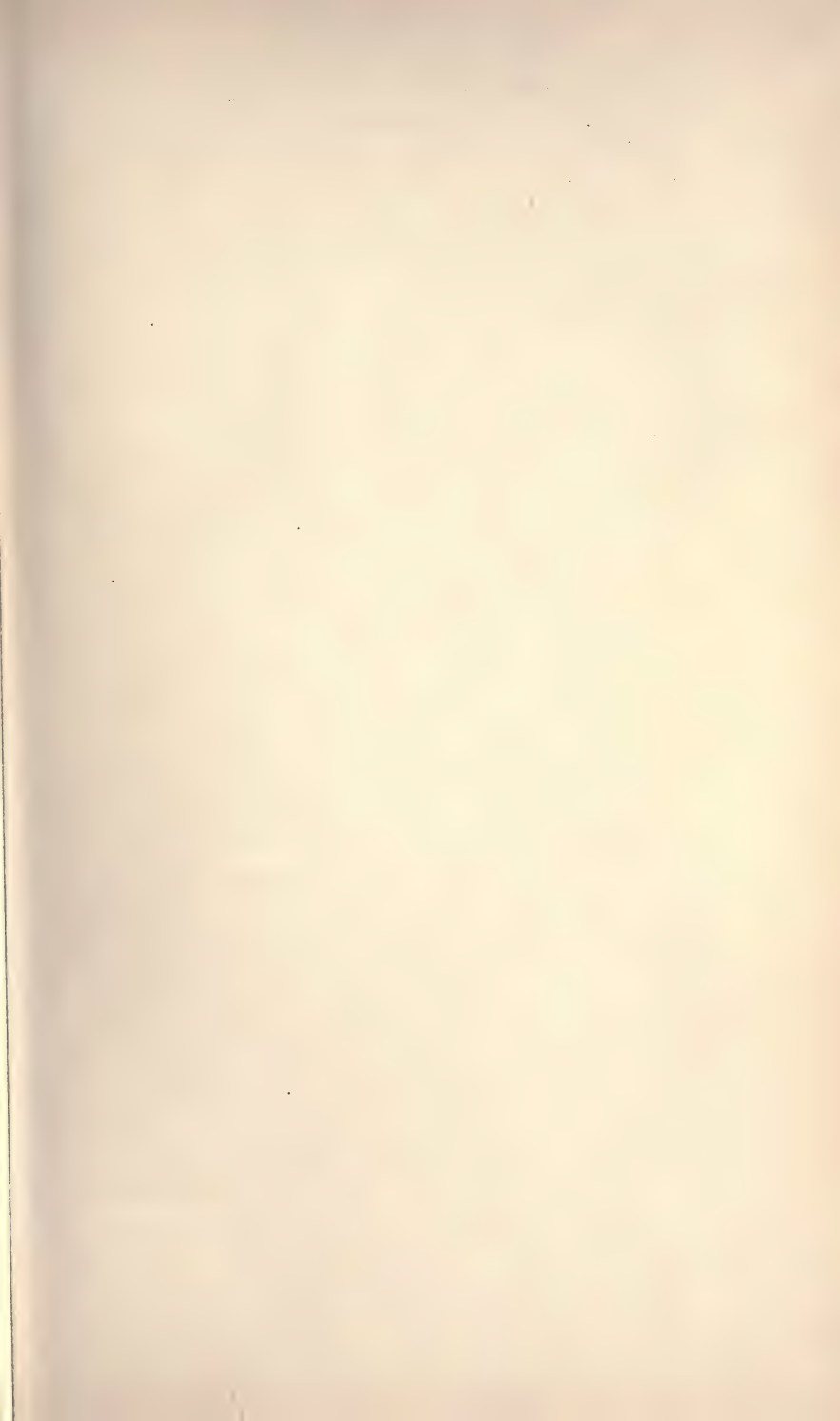
dians, it is evident that these raids were instigated by the Lords of the Isles. The Earl of Caithness tried to come to an arrangement with the Lord of the Isles to put a stop to them, and well he might, for from all accounts they were of a peculiarly savage character. It is suggested that the Hebrideans burned, plundered, and ravaged the country, massacred the inhabitants without respecting age or sex, and carried off whatever cattle or other property they could lay hands upon. Hugh Macdonald in his narrative of the raid of 1460, states that John of the Isles sent his son Hugh of Sleat "with all the young heritors of land to harass the people of Orkney," thus confirming the Orcadian accounts as to the complicity of the Earls of Ross. William Macleod of Harris was one of the "heritors" who accompanied Hugh of Sleat, and it appears from the Orcadian tradition, that the invaders were mainly drawn from the Long Island. According to the Sleat seanachie, the Orcadians were prepared to give the raiders a warm reception on landing, but the Hebrideans dis-embarked elsewhere than expected, and were ready for the attack when it came. The Orcadians were totally routed, among the slain being the Earl of Orkney, who was killed by Murdo MacCotter, one of the followers of Macleod of Harris. Hugh of Sleat and his party then ravaged the country, and returned home with the plunder. The "young heritors" had a profitable and successful heriship.

John Bellenden (Jo Ben) writing in 1529, refers to one of these fights between the Lewismen and the Orcadians, which took place in a valley of Westray, known as the "Bloody Tuacks," or the "Place of Tchure." The Lewismen were engaged upon one of their usual marauding expeditions, but the men of Westray offered a stout resistance, and routed the invaders, killing all of them. According to Jo Ben, one of the Lewismen had both legs cut off, but continued to fight on his stumps. The legless man fighting on his stumps figures in the Chevy Chase ballad, and in more than one Highland tradition.

That the Long Islanders extended their unwelcome visits

to the Shetlands is clear from the Shetland traditions. The Rev. George Low, who travelled through the Orkneys and Shetlands in 1774, relates a tradition of Foula, an island at the southern extremity of the Shetlands, according to which the Lewismen—as the invaders were invariably called—pillaged Foula and burnt the wood, lest it should be a shelter to the natives on future occasions. The Foula tradition goes on to say that the Lewismen crossed from that island to Sumburgh Head, at the extreme south of Mainland, where they were defeated in a great battle. Low himself, on visiting Sumburgh, dug up remains which confirmed the tradition: and he found that the spots where the sand blew off and revealed human bones, were called by the natives “the Lewismen’s graves.”

Dr. Samuel Hibbert, who also wrote a description of the Shetland Islands, refers to the same tradition, and gives fuller details. He states that the Lewismen were opposed by one of the Sinclairs of Brow, who marshalled the men of Dunrossness on the Plains of Sumburgh, and attacked the invaders on landing. A stiff fight ensued, which resulted in the total defeat of the Lewismen, all of whom were killed and buried in the links of Sumburgh. This, says Dr. Hibbert, was the last of many battles between the Lewismen and the Shetlanders. In the parish of Sandsting, on the west coast of Mainland, Dr. Hibbert found the remains of an enclosure on the banks of the coast, which, according to tradition, was constructed by the Lewismen for the purpose of holding their booty previous to their departure home. A nice piratical reputation these accounts attach to the Lewismen of old. Verily, the instincts of their Viking ancestors were strong within them.





EFFIGY IN UI (EYE) CHURCH, PROBABLY THAT OF RODERICK MAC-
LEOD VII. OF LEWIS (LATTER END OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY), SHOW-
ING TRACES OF BASSINET AND CAMAIL (HEAD AND SHOULDERS) AND
EXAMPLES OF THE QUILTED TUNIC AND THE ANCIENT CLAYMORE.

[To face page 107.]

CHAPTER V.

THE close of the fifteenth century found the Hebrides in a state of political unrest. The death of Angus Og and the political effacement of his father left the Hebridean clans without a guiding spirit to unite them in policy, or an acknowledged head to lead them in war. The dissolution of the Lordship of the Isles paved the way to a state of anarchy, with which the Government was powerless to cope. In 1491, the Isles and other "broken parts" of the kingdom seriously engaged the attention of Parliament, and vigorous measures for suppressing their disorders seemed to be within sight.

In James IV. Scotland possessed a king who, early in his career, gave promise of great determination of character. The pacification of the Hebrides was a task which, from its very difficulties, proved attractive to his reforming spirit. The subjugation of the intractable Islesmen had proved an insoluble problem to his predecessors; and it was left to this energetic young man to succeed where they had failed.

No sooner had the King attained his majority, than a general revocation of all grants made by him during his minority, was decided upon. By an Act of Parliament, passed in June 1493, legal effect was given to that decision. In the same year, James initiated his plan for the reduction of the Hebrides, by organising an expedition to receive in person the homage of the chiefs. In the following year, he headed two expeditions with a similar object, and in 1495, yet another visit was paid to the West. These vigorous measures soon bore fruit, in the submission of the most turbulent chiefs of the Isles. In 1494, Roderick Macleod of Lewis—who appears on record in 1478 and

1494 as a witness to charters—submitted to the King's authority, and in the following year his example was followed by Allan Macruari of Clan Ranald and Gilleonan Macneill of Barra, to the latter of whom James confirmed the grant of Barra and Boisdale in 1427 by Alexander Lord of the Isles.*

The next steps in the pacification of the Hebrides were of a drastic character. By an Act of the Lords of Council, the responsibility for the execution of summonses and other writs throughout the Isles was thrown upon the chiefs, who were thus unable to evade the operation of the civil actions which were in course of preparation. Then followed, on 16th March, 1497-8, a second revocation of charters, which seems to have specially affected the grants to the Hebridean chiefs during the previous five years. It is difficult to assign a satisfactory reason for this revocation, unless it was the outcome of the renewed insurrection under Alexander of Lochalsh. In the Treasurer's Accounts, there appears an entry dated 20th March, 1497-8, for money paid to "Lord Gordounis man that passit in Ilis to all the hedis men of the cuntree with the King's writingis"; and in the same year, there is a further item of expenditure for "ane to pass to McLoyd in the Iles." These errands were doubtless connected with the revocation of charters made at Duchal.

Among those who profited by the revocation, were Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Alexander, Lord Gordon—the Marquis of Huntly's eldest son — Duncan Stewart of Appin, and Macian of Ardnamurchan, who had all posed as loyal subjects, and had been in frequent communication with the King on matters relating to the Hebrides.

The King was at Kilkiaran Castle (Campbeltown) in June, 1498, where he dispensed his favours in the form of charters to various chiefs, among whom were Torquil Macleod of Lewis—son and successor of Ruari—and Alexander Macleod of Harris (Alastair Crotach or the

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424-1513), No. 2,287.

Humpback). Macleod of Harris was a trusted friend of the King throughout his career, while Torquil of Lewis—who was married to Catharine, sister of the Earl of Argyll—had powerful influence at his back to secure for him a share of the Royal plums. To Alexander Macleod, James granted by charter dated 15th June, 1498, “Ardmanach in herag de Lewis” (Harris) also two uncates of the lands of Trotternish and the Bailliary of that district, these lands being at the disposal of the Crown by the forfeiture of John of the Isles.* To Torquil Macleod of Lewis, he granted by charter dated 28th June, 1498, certain lands in Skye, including eight merks of Trotternish, together with the office of Bailie. This grant was made to Torquil and his heirs by Catharine of Argyll, failing whom they were to revert to the Crown.* By a charter dated 3rd August, 1498, lands in Uist (*inter alia*) were granted to Ranald MacAllan of Moidart, “for services rendered in peace and war by land and sea” to the King; and two days afterwards, Ranald received a further grant of territory in Uist, resigned in his favour by John, son and heir of Hugh of Sleat.* On the same date (5th August), the King granted a charter of lands (*inter alia*) in Benbecula to Angus Reochson Macranald.* These properties in Uist and Benbecula had belonged to Hugh of Sleat, having been held by him from his brother, John, *olim* Lord of the Isles.

And thus the chiefs of the Long Island rose to greatness on the ruins of the Lordship of the Isles. As subsequent events show, they failed to appreciate the advantage of holding from the Crown, preferring the Superiority of their native kinglets to that of the Sovereign of Scotland. One of the attempts at pacification made by the King at Kilkieran was to settle a long-standing feud between the Clan Ranald and the Clan Huistein of Sleat over their properties in Garmoran and the Long Island. In 1495, Hugh of Sleat was confirmed by the Crown in the posses-

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424-1513), Nos. 2,420, 2,424, 2,437-9.

sions which he had previously held from John of the Isles*—the charter of confirmation was witnessed by Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris—and his son and heir John was now either deprived of those lands, or voluntarily resigned them in order to exclude his brothers from the succession. But notwithstanding the transfer to the Clan Ranald, they do not appear to have ever obtained actual possession of the lands in North Uist from the Sleat family, thus showing how ineffective a Crown charter sometimes proved, when applied to the distant and inaccessible islands across the Minch.

At length the Hebrides appeared to be permanently pacified, but it was the calm which preceded the storm. The last year of the fifteenth century was signalised by a complete change in the policy of James IV. in relation to the Isles ; a change from wise moderation to revolutionary severity. His revocation of 1497–8 was, in effect, annulled by the grants, during the following year, to those of the chiefs who submitted to his authority. That his original policy was first to cow the chiefs into obedience, and then convert them into loyal subjects by timely grants of lands, cannot well be doubted. But apparently his clemency failed to have the desired effect. Otherwise, it is impossible to understand the far-reaching measure of 1499. For in that year, the King granted a commission to the Earl of Argyll and others, to lease for a period of three years, the properties embraced in the Lordship of the Isles, Islay, North Uist, and South Kintyre alone excepted ; and Argyll was simultaneously invested with a commission of lieutenancy over the Hebrides.

This proceeding could have but one result. The chiefs of the Hebrides, recognising their danger, banded together for their mutual defence, and awaited the blow which threatened them. No immediate action appears to have been taken by the King. The measure was that of a hot-headed youth, who, irritated by the failure of his clemency,

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424–1513), No. 2,286.

threw patience to the winds, and with it, all attempts at conciliation. Perhaps it was hoped that the appointment of the Commission would cause such dismay in the Hebrides, as would bring the Islesmen to their knees, begging for pardon. Whether or not such was the case, it was not until 1501 that the Commissioners began to get to work. In that year, the necessary legal steps were taken for expelling "broken" men from the disaffected districts, and replacing them with "true," *i.e.* loyal, men. This was the most formidable task which the Crown had yet undertaken, for it virtually meant the expulsion of the most war-like, the most determined, and the least amenable subjects within the length and breadth of the Scottish dominions.

And then Donald Dubh escaped from the Castle of Inchconnel and fled to his uncle, Torquil Macleod of Lewis. It is impossible to dissociate his liberation from the preparations then in progress for the foolish war of extermination about to be waged in the Hebrides. The events synchronise so closely as to suggest that the men of Glencoe, who effected Donald's release, were acting under instructions from the confederation of chiefs which had been formed. The Macians themselves were among the "broken" men who had been displaced; and it is not unlikely that their action was part of a plot, hatched by the malcontents, for taking the offensive as the best means of defence, and the means which best accorded with their traditions. The arrival of Donald Dubh in Lewis was the slogan which sounded the call to arms. Here was their natural leader for an insurrection, the direct heir of the last Lord of the Isles, who had died in Paisley Abbey two years before. For the legitimacy of Donald Dubh was never doubted by the men of the Hebrides. Whatever legal quibble may have converted the son of Angus Og into a bastard received no recognition by the Islesmen who, with their pride of descent and intimate knowledge of genealogical intricacies, can hardly have been deceived into a false belief in the justice of Donald's claims. But above all, he was the representative of the old order of

things, that order to which they clung with the conservatism of their race.

Torquil Macleod was one of the guiding spirits in the plan which resulted in the liberation of Donald Dubh. He was the acknowledged leader in the events which followed the escape. The relationship in which he stood to the young aspirant gave him a claim to act for Donald and to direct the policy of the confederation. The remote Island of Lewis afforded an excellent asylum for the fugitive ; he was safe with his uncle in the Castle of Stornoway until plans were matured for the forthcoming campaign.

Meanwhile, the King and his Council had not been idle. The escape of Donald Dubh and the consequent ripening of the dangerous situation in the Hebrides called for energetic action. It was evident that as long as Donald Dubh remained at large, so long would the growing disaffection focus around him, and gather in strength if not promptly checked. Torquil Macleod was charged to deliver up his guest, and was warned that non-compliance with the order would lead to his forfeiture. He refused to violate the laws of hospitality ; he declined to hand over Donald Dubh. Charged to appear before the Council to answer for his contumacy, Macleod remained obdurate. He was consequently denounced as a rebel, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown. But with nearly the whole strength of the Hebrides at his back, he could afford to regard his forfeiture with equanimity, for at that juncture, against so powerful a combination, the Crown was unable to enforce its decrees.

In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, there are certain entries which have a bearing upon the steps taken to bring about the submission of Macleod. On 3rd November, 1501, one Gillepatrick Cor was sent to Lewis "with the Kingis writingis." We know from a proclamation of 3rd February, 1505-6, how, on a subsequent occasion, this messenger was received. One of Torquil's offences on the later date is declared to have been "the treasonable reiving and withholding of his Highness's letters from his

Officer of Arms called Gilpatrick Cor who executed the same on 27 October last." Apparently, as time went on, both the King's messages and those who carried them, were received with increasingly scant ceremony at Stornoway Castle. On 20th November, 1501, a messenger was despatched "with letters" to Macleod of Lewis. On 3rd December, Donald MacVicar was paid a certain sum, in connexion with the summons issued on Torquil to appear before the Lords in Council. On 16th December, a further sum was paid MacVicar for his expenses "to pas in the Lewis with summondis on Torquhile Macloyd," at the King's instance. On 19th December, a sum of ten pounds was paid Macleod of Harris. And there is a further item, in 1502, for a doublet of fustian and a pair of hose to MacVicar, "quhen he cam fra the Lewis."

From subsequent entries in the Treasurer's Accounts, it is evident that MacVicar was an emissary of Macleod of Harris, and we know that he subsequently received a substantial reward for his services. It is obvious that Alastair Crotach chose to remain outside the Hebridean confederacy.

The significance of the fact that Macleod of Harris and Torquil of Lewis both received, under the Kilkiaran charters, possessions in, and the Bailliary of, Trotternish, will not have escaped notice. It is not impossible that this was an artful stroke of policy on the part of the King, who may have wished to foster jealousy between the two chiefs, and thus prevent a coalition between them. If that was his purpose, it proved successful, for we find Alastair Crotach acting for the Crown against the stubborn Torquil. But neither the threats of the authorities, nor the persuasiveness of MacVicar, could shake the lord of Lewis: he would neither deliver up Donald Dubh nor cross the Minch to answer for his conduct.

The King now adopted strong measures to break up the Hebridean confederacy, which was daily growing in strength. Next to Torquil Macleod, Maclean of Duart was the principal leader of the insurrection. After the

forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, the Macneills of Barra attached themselves to the Duart family, and the detachment of Duart from the cause of Donald Dubh would also involve that of his "part-taker" Macneill. James made strong efforts to win Duart over to his cause, and similarly endeavoured to secure the allegiance of Cameron of Lochiel; but the attempt proved unsuccessful in both cases.

Torquil Macleod had by this time delivered Donald Dubh into the care of Maclean, a circumstance which increased the importance of securing Duart's detachment from the coalition. Failing in this attempt, the King tried another plan. By appealing to the cupidity of the loyal and quasi-loyal chiefs, he sought to stimulate their antagonism towards the rebels. It was the old story of setting Highlander against Highlander—the policy of despair which his predecessors had so frequently employed. The King who now occupied the throne had departed from these traditional lines, but we now find him, after admittedly great provocation, reverting to the ways of his predecessors. But on this occasion, the policy failed to bear the desired fruit. On the contrary, its only effect appears to have been to consolidate the alliance of the chiefs.

In the Acts of Parliament, there appears a memorandum dated 19th March, 1503, which is so instructive that it is here quoted in part, the spelling being modernised.

"Macian (of Ardnamurchan), Maclean of Lochbuie, 'Grete' Macleod (of Harris), Ranald Allanson (of Clan Ranald), Macneill of Barra, 'McKinewin' (MacKinnon of Strathswordale), 'McCorrie' (Macquarrie of Ulva), and—most surprising of all—Torquil Macleod of Lewis, are charged to proceed against the forfeited Lachlan Maclean of Duart and Ewen Allanson (Cameron of Lochiel) to take and inbring the same and harry, destroy, and burn their lands. And if they apprehend and take and bring to our Sovereign lord any of the head men, they shall have the half of all their lands. And if they take and inbring any other head man, and other men their accomplices, the

takers shall be rewarded therefor, as the person taken is of value in land and goods. And who assist them, or do not use their diligence to capture or destroy them, shall be reputed as partakers with them, and be accused and pursued for treason and forfeited as the rebels, and punished by our Sovereign lord at his coming to these parts. And the said persons (shall) certify our Sovereign lord immediately, what way they think most expedient to be done for the destruction of the said rebels."

A note appended to this memorandum states that proclamation, in accordance with the above, is to be made in Latin and addressed to those concerned. The Earl of Huntly undertook to send letters to Clanranald and Mackinnon, the Earl of Argyll to Macian and Maclean of Lochbuie, and the Bishop of Ross to the Macleods of Lewis and Harris.

Here we find Torquil Macleod in strange company. We left him an attainted rebel : he re-appears as a loyalist charged with police work. What events had led to such a remarkable change of fortune we are not informed. We can only assume that the King pardoned Torquil in order to secure his powerful co-operation against his former associates. Apparently for a similar reason, Macneill of Barra was received into the Royal favour, and was ordered to carry fire and sword into the possessions of his ally of Duart.

That James and his councillors expected their orders to be obeyed, under these circumstances, is a curious commentary on Lowland opinion of Highland honour of that period. It was evidently assumed that Highland cupidity was not proof against Lowland promises of reward. That the assumption was entirely ill-founded ; that the units of the confederacy became more closely knitted together than ever ; redounds to the credit of the Hebrides in general, and the Long Island in particular.

At the same time as these vigorous measures were directed against Duart and Lochiel, the Earl of Huntly undertook, if provided with a ship and artillery, to reduce

and garrison Strome and Eilean Donain Castles, affirming that the capture of these strongholds was necessary for the "danting of the Isles." From this it is evident that Mackenzie of Kintail was a supporter, either actively or passively, of the Hebridean confederation. It is remarkable that a proposal of this nature should have been made, at the very time that the King was in friendly relations with the chiefs of the Long Island. It seems to suggest that a display of force may have been deemed necessary to confirm their dubious loyalty. It was not until the end of the year that Huntly's offer was accepted. A great naval expedition to the Hebrides was, however, in contemplation, for all parts of the realm were ordered to prepare ships to pass to the Isles.

These proceedings synchronised with an Act of Parliament, dated 11th March, 1503, having as its object the more effective repression of lawlessness in the Northern Highlands and Isles—the latter, according to the Statutes, to be ruled by "the King's own laws and the common laws of the realm and by no other laws." This suggestive statement doubtless refers to the administration of rough and ready justice by the local judges under the Lords of the Isles. The Sherifffdom of Inverness at this time included Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland. It was now proposed to appoint a Sheriff for Ross, and another for Caithness (including Sutherland) because, as the Act puts it, there had been "great lacke and fault of justice in the north parts as Caithness and Ross, for fault of the division of the Schirefedome of Innerness, quhilk is over greate, and thay parts are sa far distant from the said burgh of Innerness." There is nothing to show that the Isles were included in any mainland Sherifffdoms before this period. The Sherifffdom of Skye was erected in 1292 and embraced the whole of the Long Island. But the dispensation of justice by the native judges must, in the incessantly disturbed state of those parts, have necessarily possessed peculiar features foreign to the spirit of the common law. It was decided to change all that. Concurrently with the

Act relating to Ross and Caithness, another was passed which commented severely on the great want of justice in the Hebrides, "wherethrow the people are almost gane wilde." Accordingly, the Act provided for the appointment of Justices, those of the North Isles to have their seat and place of justice in Inverness or Dingwall, "as the matters occurris to be decerned by the said Justices,"* while the seats of justice for the South Isles were to be at Tarbert and Loch Kilkiaran (Campbeltown). The conditions which prevailed at the commencement of the sixteenth century called for a measure like the Act of 1503, to provide for the better administration of justice in the Northern Hebrides. But that Inverness and Dingwall, at the commencement of the twentieth century, should still be the centres of wisdom which direct the machinery of county affairs in Skye and the Long Island, is an obvious anomaly; and that the Long Island should still be included, partly in Ross-shire, and partly in Inverness-shire, is a proof of the necessity for rectifying so incongruous a state of matters. Lewis became part of Ross-shire through the influence of the Earl of Seaforth, who naturally desired to have all his estates included in one county. And from 1661 to the present day, this division of the Long Island, with all its inconveniences, has remained unchanged.

The preparations for reducing them to obedience, both by force of arms and by the terrors of the law, had their due effect on the Islesmen. They saw that the moment for action had come. Late in December, 1503, they assumed the offensive. They sought, but apparently without avail, assistance both from England and Ireland. With the youthful Donald Dubh at their head, and Macleod of Lewis as one of their leaders, they spread over Lochaber—the property of Huntly—like a swarm of

* It was not, however, until 1661 that the bounds of Ross-shire were settled as they now exist, and that Lewis, owing to its possession by the Seaforths, was included in that county. After defining the bounds of Ross and Inverness, the Act goes on to say: "And that the shire of Ross comprehend the ylland of Lewis perteaining to the Earle of Seaforth." The Sheriff-courts of Ross-shire were to be held at "the burgh of Dingwall, Tayne, or Fforterose, as the Shirreff shall think fit." (*Acts of Parl.*, Vol. VII., pp. 124-5.)

locusts, desolating the whole country in the line of their march. Bute and Arran were similarly devastated, and so thorough was the work of destruction in those islands that the poverty-stricken tenants of the Crown subsequently received a remission of their rents for the three previous years.

The insurrection had now assumed formidable proportions, and the whole fighting strength at the disposal of the Crown was drawn upon for its suppression. The preparations for the despatch of ships to the Isles were pushed forward; the services of the famous Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton were requisitioned; and the King himself reviewed the fleet at Dumbarton. The army was placed under the leadership of the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, and Lord Lovat. Huntly took charge of a division to carry out his project of reducing the Castles of Strome and Eilean Donain. Apparently he got the artillery he wanted, for according to the Treasurer's Accounts, a supply of gunpowder was sent to him on 19th January, 1503-4. There are no details of the siege of the castles, but from subsequent events, it appears that Huntly succeeded in obtaining possession of them. Nor are there particulars of the results of the general campaign against the Hebrides, but it is inferentially evident that the back of the rebellion was broken.

During 1504, Macleod of Harris in the North, and the Earl of Argyll and Macian of Ardnamurchan in the South, exerted themselves to induce the Hebridean chiefs to submit; while the Earl of Arran received two commissions against the Isles.

Notwithstanding Torquil Macleod's re-appearance as a rebel, the King was apparently still disposed to deal gently with him. His powerful influence; his relationship to the Earl of Argyll; and possibly his attractive personality may have swayed a generous monarch like James IV.; but above all, it was politic to keep him and Maclean of Duart on opposite sides. And so we find that in the autumn of 1504, Alastair Crotach's emissary, Mac-

Vicar, was once more engaged in negotiations. At the end of 1504, and the beginning of 1505, these negotiations appear to have been of an important nature, judging by the fact that on his return from Lewis to the King, who was then in the North, MacVicar remained with James for three weeks.

Having paved the way for a second invasion of the Hebrides, the King sent a force in 1505 to complete the work. These attentions of James to the Isles were getting too close to be comfortable, and some of the chiefs in the South Hebrides began to waver. Maclean of Duart was the first to give in, and his submission was followed by that of Macneill of Barra, who had twice been outlawed, once in 1504 and again in 1505. Maclean of Lochbuie, Macquarrie, and Donald Macranaldbane of Largie submitted during the latter year.

The submission of Duart marked the beginning of the end. Torquil Macleod could now be dealt with more easily. Feeling himself secure in his Castle of Stornoway, he continued to defy the authorities. On 15th December, 1505, he was summoned to appear in Edinburgh to answer for his sins. He treated the command with contempt. Failing to appear when the time-limit—20th January—had expired, he was again summoned. When the second time-limit—3rd February—had arrived, with the unrepentant Torquil still at home in Lewis, the inevitable forfeiture followed. The certificate of proclamation and the declaration of forfeiture are such interesting documents that they deserve to be given in full, the spelling and part of the wording being modernised. The following is the certificate* :

"The 23rd day of the month of December, the year of God 1505, I, John Ogilvy, Sheriff depute of Inverness, passed with these our Sovereign lord's letters, and sought Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, and 'becaus I cuth nocht apprehend him personaly nor there was na sur passage to

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. II., p. 263.

me till his duelling place' (*sic*) I passed to the market cross of the burgh of Inverness at eleven a.m. and there by open proclamation made at the market cross, I summoned warned and charged the said Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, to appear before our king or his justices in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 3rd day of February, to answer to our Sovereign lord or his justice, for taking part and assisting 'Donald Ila,' bastard son of Angus of the Isles, bastard, taking part with him and invading our Sovereign lord's lieges of the Isles, and destroying them, to the effect that the said Donald should be Lord of the Isles, and upon all points and articles in these our Sovereign lord's letters, and after the form of the same. And this I did before these witnesses" (here follow the names of the burgesses of Inverness who witnessed the proclamation), "and for the further witnessing of this execution, I have affixed my signet to these presents."

The proof of the summons having been duly executed, was read in Parliament, and in accordance with the usual procedure, the Estates were asked by the King's Advocate whether or not Torquil Macleod had committed treason. The Estates, being "advisit ripelye," declared that Torquil had committed "open and manifest tresone" in the following manner :

"That is to say, for the treasonable art and part and assistance given to 'Donald Yla bastard sone of umquhile Angus of the Ilis, also bastard sone of umquhile John Lord of the Ilis,' by insurrection, and taking his part, to the intent that the said Donald should take upon him the King's property and to be Lord of the Isles. And for the treasonable delivering of the said Donald to Lauchlan Maclean of Duart to the intent foresaid, and for the treasonable withholding him from his Highness and not delivering of him, contrary to the commands of diverse letters directed to him thereupon. And for the treasonable reiving and withholding of his Highness' letters from his officer of arms called Gilpatrik Cor, who executed the same on 27th October last. And for the treasonable

leagues and bands with our Sovereign lord's rebels, in treasonable wise, as contained in the summons before expressed. And thereafter it was given for sentence by the mouth of John Jardine Dempster of Parliament for the time."

It was therefore decreed by Parliament "that Torquil Macleod of the Lewis has committed treason against our Sovereign lord and his realm according to the summons, for which he has forfeited to the King: 'his life, his lands, his gudes, offices, and all other his possessionis quhat sumevir he had within the realme of Scotland or Ylis, euermar to remane with our Sovereign lord, his aieres and successores, for his tressonable offence.'"

In face of so formidable an indictment, it is evident that Torquil Macleod had exercised commendable prudence in declining to answer the summons. But the toils were now closing around him. The first to defy the Government, he appears to have been the last member of the confederacy to hold out, and he proved the most troublesome member to subdue. His obstinacy necessitated a third campaign in 1506, under the Earl of Huntly. The preparations for this campaign in Lewis were of a comprehensive character. A vessel called the *Raven* was chartered from one Thomas Hathowry, and another vessel belonging to one David Logan, was freighted for the same employment. Two "craaris" or coasting boats also formed part of the expedition, their obvious use being to land soldiers in bays inaccessible to the larger ships. Guns were requisitioned from Edinburgh Castle, and skilled gunners accompanied them. Masons and shipwrights were also employed, though it is difficult to conjecture for what purpose the former were sent, unless it was to construct forts in anticipation of a prolonged campaign.* Huntly was joined in the North by Aodh ("Odoni") Mackay of Strathnaver, whose contingent

* Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. III., pp. 347, 349, 350, and 383-4. In 1506 Torquil Macleod captured a Spanish ship off Lewis, but the captain and crew were unharmed. (Treas. Accounts, Vol. III., 343, Vol. IV., p. 317.)

appears to have rendered valuable assistance in the reduction of Lewis. On arrival at Stornoway, Huntly bombarded the castle, which, after a prolonged siege, was captured. Donald Dubh who, after Maclean's submission, had again taken refuge in Stornoway, was carried South in triumph, and imprisoned in Edinburgh and subsequently in Stirling Castle. Torquil Macleod's fate is uncertain, but he seems to have escaped and to have lived until about 1511.

This Torquil was perhaps the most remarkable chief of the Lewis Macleods. The Dean of Lismore quotes the eulogy of a contemporary bard, from which, after making due allowance for the usual extravagance of language, it is evident that Torquil was a man of whom Lewis was proud. Thus the bard (who was probably attached to the chief's household): "I say of him and say in truth since I have come so well to know him, that never was there of his age better king who ruled in Lewis." And again: "Not braver of his age was Cuchullin nor hardier was he than Torquil—him of the ready vigorous arm, who boldly breaks through any breach." And so on in the same strain.*

The Earl of Huntly now became the most powerful nobleman in the North, and the Northern Hebrides were placed under his jurisdiction, while the South Isles were handed over to the lieutenancy of the Earl of Argyll. And thus ended the insurrection of Donald Dubh. It was not without beneficial results to the Hebrides, for it convinced the Government that their scheme of displacing the Islesmen in a wholesale fashion was bound to fail, and it was accordingly abandoned. A century later, the plan was re-introduced in a more insidious form, but, as we shall see, the attempt again proved a disastrous failure.

Mackay of Strathnaver was rewarded for his services in Lewis by a charter dated 6th March, 1508, which granted

* The eulogy is given in full in the Dean of Lismore's book; it is an interesting specimen of its kind.

him Assynt and Coigeach in life-rent, the forfeited properties of Torquil Macleod *olim de Lewis*.* On 29th April, 1508, the King having the disposal of Lewis and Waternish in his hands, instructed Macleod of Harris, Ranald of Clan Ranald and the Bishop of Caithness to let those lands for a term of five years to suitable tenants, and on 7th June of the same year, they were ordered to proceed to Lewis on the same business, and to follow the directions of the Earl of Huntly in the matter.† These instructions had no practical result, for on 29th June, 1511, a Crown charter of Lewis, Waternish, Assynt and Coigeach was granted to Malcolm Macleod, Torquil's brother, the barony and lordship of Lewis with the Castle of "Stornochway" being incorporated in one "liberain."* Torquil Macleod left by his second wife (the widow of Donald Gallich, and the mother of Donald Gruamach of Sleat) a son named John, who was thus excluded from the succession, but who took forcible possession of Lewis some years afterwards.

The pacification of the Hebrides inspired the Islesmen with a wholesome respect for King James IV. In view of the provocation which he had received, it must be admitted that the King dealt generously with the vanquished rebels. Generosity has ever appealed to Highlanders, and the present occasion was no exception to the rule. After the insurrection was quelled, the King had no more devoted subjects in his realm than the Hebrideans. Besides his personal bravery as a man, and his generosity as a monarch, James possessed a further qualification which went far to endear him to his Celtico-Norse subjects. According to the Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro de Ayala, who had a warm admiration for the King, the latter spoke "the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland and on the islands." He was probably the last King of Scotland or Great Britain who spoke Gaelic. De Ayala also states that James went in the summer of 1497 "to

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1424-1513), Nos. 3,202 and 3,578.

† In May, 1508, the King sent his falconer to Lewis for hawks. (*Treas. Accounts*, Vol. IV., p. 118.)

many of the islands and presided at the Courts of Law," an interesting statement in view of the Act of Parliament of 1503. It is certain that the King knew his Highlands well, and particularly the town of Tain ; at one period of his life, he paid an annual pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac. The newborn attachment of the Highlanders to their Sovereign found its chief expression at the fatal field of Flodden, where they fought side by side with their former enemies, Argyll and Huntly, both of whom fell with the King on that dark day which threw the whole of Scotland into the deepest mourning. According to Mr. Tytler, the Macleods were among the Highlanders who fought at Flodden, and from a contemporary writer, we learn that among the Scots slain was the Bishop of the Isles. The clans displayed their usual bravery, but their impetuous onslaught was unavailing against the steadiness of the English, who routed them with great slaughter.

The disaster at Flodden plunged the country into a state of anarchy, which offered a tempting opportunity for another insurrection in the Hebrides. As before, the Lordship of the Isles formed the ostensible cause, but it is not necessary to look very far below the surface to perceive that there were other and deeper reasons. The gathering of the clans at Flodden was not due to patriotism—for the Hebrideans openly avowed themselves to be the enemies of Scotland—but to the personal influence of James IV. The death of that gallant and chivalrous monarch—whose exaggerated spirit of chivalry cost him and his country so dear—released the Hebrideans from their temporary allegiance, and two months after they charged the English ranks at Flodden, they were virtually assisting England by harassing the distracted Government of Scotland.

The leader of the fresh rising in 1513 was Donald, son of Alexander of Lochalsh by a daughter of the Earl of Moray ; he is known in Highland history as Donald Gauld or Gallda (the stranger) from the fact that he was educated in the Lowlands. He was knighted on the field of Flodden by his guardian the King. The Sleat seanachie relates

how Donald Gallda went to Lewis, accompanied by Malcolm Macleod's son—MacGillecolum of Raasay—and enlisted the support of the chief of the Siol Torquil, who convened a meeting at Kyleakin of his brother chiefs, to discuss the question of the succession to the Lordship of the Isles. The choice lay between Donald Gruamach, grandson of Hugh of Sleat, and Donald Gallda, grandson of Celestine of Lochalsh, the latter, like Hugh of Sleat, being either an illegitimate or a handfast son of Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles. Donald Gruamach, however, refused to put forward his claim while Donald Dubh was alive, and Donald Gallda, who had no such scruples, was ultimately proclaimed Lord of the Isles at Morvern.

The insurrection which was the outcome of the decision to enforce the claims of Donald Gallda, proceeded unchecked until 1515, when active steps were taken by John, Duke of Albany, for its suppression. Colin, third Earl of Argyll, and Macian of Ardnamurchan were the instruments chosen for that purpose, and as the result of their joint efforts, the rising collapsed. A free pardon was given to all except the leaders, who, however, had enriched themselves with sufficient booty to compensate them for the Regent's displeasure. Donald Gallda and his fellow conspirators seem to have escaped punishment; the former, who is called "Monsieur de Ylis," was indeed summoned in 1516 to join the army then about to proceed against Alexander, Earl of Home, the powerful and refractory Warden of the Scottish Border, with whom, there is some reason to suppose, Donald Gallda was acting by collusion.

Early in 1517, Donald Gallda again headed an insurrection in the Hebrides, one of his first acts being to gratify his revenge against Macian of Ardnamurchan, whose castle was burnt and whose lands were ravaged. A disagreement with his colleagues resulted in the detachment of Macleod of Harris, Maclean of Duart, and Gilleonan Macneill of Barra, all of whom submitted to the Regent. Maclean was particularly bitter against his former leader, in whose

veins ran "the wicked blood of the Isles," and he urged the adoption of extreme measures. Argyll was commissioned to pursue the rebels with fire and sword, and expel them from the Isles, of which on 8th March, 1516, he obtained the lieutenancy.* The slaughter of the Macians in 1518-19 at Craig-an-Airgid (Silver Craig)—which, the seanachie MacVurich states, was the result of a coalition between Macleod of Lewis and Macdonald of Dunyveg against them—was the closing incident in this renewed rising, which terminated with the death of its promoter, the pseudo-Lord of the Isles, at Tiree (or Mull) a few weeks after the fight at Silver Craig. Donald Gallda left no children.

On the death of Malcolm Macleod of Lewis, which occurred about 1528, his nephew, Torquil's son, John, took possession of Lewis with the assistance of Donald Gruamach; Roderick, Malcolm's son, being thus excluded from the succession, apparently by force. About the same time, John of Lewis helped his colleague, Donald Gruamach, to expel the Siol Tormod from Trotternish. A charter of 23rd August, 1505, had conveyed Sleat and other lands in Skye and North Uist to Ranald, son of Allan MacRuairi of Clan Ranald. Father and son met a mysterious death, the former at Blair-Atholl in 1509, and the latter at Perth in 1513. About 1506, Archibald Dubh, the illegitimate son of Hugh of Sleat, who had murdered his half-brothers Donald Gallich and Donald Heroch, assumed the headship of the Sleat family. He was expelled from the North Isles by Ranald MacAllan and became a pirate; obtained a free pardon by betraying his associates; was Bailie of Trotternish in 1510; and was killed a few years later by the sons of Donald Gallich and Donald Heroch. Such was the position of the Clan Ranald and Clan Huistein when, in 1516, Alastair Crotach of Harris got a tack of the whole of Trotternish, and in 1517 received, as a reward for throwing

* Appendix Report IV., *Hist. Mss. Com.*, p. 487. Bute and Arran were alone excluded from the lieutenancy. "The land of Malcolm Macleod of Lewis" is specially mentioned.

over Donald Gallda, a lease of the same lands from the Regent for a period of eleven years, his subsequent tenancy to be at the will of the Regent. A later heritable grant by the Earl of Angus, of Sleat and North Uist, further increased the power of Alastair Crotach.

It was in these circumstances that Donald Gruamach and John of Lewis invaded Skye, and drove the Macleods from Trotternish. On 11th March, 1528, summonses were issued against both, and they were mulcted in a smart fine of money and stock, payable to Alastair Crotach. Thus the latter recovered Trotternish, but it does not appear that he ever attempted to give effect to the charter by which he acquired Sleat and North Uist. The Clan Huistein, in the person of Donald Gruamach, retained possession, charters to their rivals notwithstanding.

About this time John MacTorquil paid a hostile visit to Assynt, where he fought a battle with Donald "Cam," chief of the Macleods of Assynt, who were cadets of the Siol Torquil. The origin of the quarrel is not stated. The Lewismen got the worst of the fight, their chief being taken prisoner. Donald Cam was, however, mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards.

The Act of 1528, which declared the non-availability of the grants made in the Isles and adjacent mainland by the Earl of Angus, and which provided that in future only such infestments as should receive the approval of Colin Earl of Argyll and the Lords of Council would be valid, naturally created much discontent among the grantees. The prestige of the Earl of Argyll was enhanced by the power conferred upon him by this Act, and he appears to have pushed his advantage until the patience of the Hebridean chiefs reached breaking point. In 1529, the irritation of the chiefs led to an open rupture between them and Argyll, the malcontents being led in their opposition to the Campbells by Alexander Macdonald of Dunyveg. The Islesmen were only too glad to have a pretext for striking a blow at their hereditary enemies, the House of Argyll, and Macdonald received their whole-hearted backing. The

insurrection was initiated by an attack by Macdonald, assisted by the Macleans, on the lands of the Campbells, which they ravaged with fire and sword. Argyll turned to the Crown for assistance, and a herald was despatched to Islay for the purpose of ordering the rebels to lay down their arms; but the King (James V.) did not propose to proceed to extreme measures if they were found amenable to reason. In the result, it was found impracticable to come to terms, and Argyll, who was in high favour for his services against the House of Douglas, received the Royal sanction to suppress the rebellion by force. This was exactly what Argyll wanted. For some reason, however, the preparations for an expedition were delayed, and it was not until the spring of the following year that they approached completion. The Crown launched its usual summonses against the refractory Islesmen. On 26th April, "Johane McCloyd de Lewis, Donaldo Gromych, McDonald Gallich de Dunskaich (Dunsaich), and Alexro Makcloyd de Dunvegane" were, among others, thus summoned, and two days afterwards, similar summonses were issued. The ostensible purpose of these proceedings was apparently harmless enough, for it was desired that the chiefs should assemble "to commune with his Majesty for good rule of the Isles." But the Hebridean lords had a wholesome suspicion of Royal conferences, and in the light of past experience, this is not surprising. And these suspicions were not removed by the continued preparations which were on foot for reducing them to obedience. A levy of men was laid on the loyalists of certain districts, and a levy of provisions on various Lowland burghs. These outward signs of the purpose of the Crown were not without their effect. On 9th May, nine of the leaders, including Macleod of Lewis, Macleod of Harris, Donald Gruamach, and Macneill of Barra, sent in their submission through Maclean of Duart.* Their submission was

* Gregory (p. 134) states that *nine* of the chiefs submitted, but in the note at the foot of the page, giving their names, only eight are mentioned. The ninth must have been Duart's ally, Macneill of Barra.

accepted, but their presence was still required before 20th June at the King's Court, where they were to remain during the Royal pleasure. Notwithstanding the safeguarding of their lives and property under the King's guarantee, for a period of twenty days after their departure home, the chiefs were still suspicious. On 26th May, and again on 9th June, John Macleod of Lewis, with two other chiefs, Maclean of Lochbuie and John Canochson (? John 'of Keppoch), was once more summoned.

While the preparations for subjugating the Islesmen were ripening, a set-back occurred by the death of the Earl of Argyll. His son and successor, Archibald, received the lieutenancy of the South Hebrides, while the North Isles and North Highlands were placed under the jurisdiction of the King's natural brother, James Stewart, Earl of Moray. The outcome of this dual control was a proposal on the part of Argyll and Moray to compel the Hebridean chiefs to take their lands on lease from themselves, the lessors engaging to guarantee the feu-duties payable to the Crown, and Moray offering to bear the whole expense of the projected campaign in the North Isles, if unsuccessful. This unscrupulous scheme for partitioning the Hebrides between the two ambitious nobles was nullified by the wise decision of the chiefs to submit to the King, rather than risk a conflict with his lieutenants. Foiled in one direction, Argyll endeavoured, by a series of irritating acts, to goad the chiefs into rebellion, but again he failed. He then endeavoured to effect the ruin of Macdonald of Dunyveg, but was unable to substantiate the charges which he brought against him. Not only so, but Macdonald's rejoinder placed his opponent in such an unfavourable light that, as the result of an inquiry, Argyll was imprisoned for a short period, and during the remainder of the reign of James V., lay under a cloud. So ended the Argyll-Moray plan for dominating the Hebrides. The events of 1530-1 may have had some bearing upon a grant of Moidart, Arisaig, Eigg and thirty merksland in Uist, conveyed by charter dated 11th February, 1531-2, to "John MacAlester" for "good ser-

vices."* The recipient of this grant was the famous John Moidartach, Captain of Clan Ranald, the illegitimate son of Alastair, second son of Allan MacRuari. John Moidartach's father was the uncle of Dougall (son of Ranald MacAllan who died, or was executed in 1513), whose cruelties so alienated his clansmen that they put him to death, and elected Alastair in his stead, to the exclusion of Ranald Gallda, a son of Allan MacRuari by his second wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat. The exclusion of Ranald Gallda led to a bitter feud between the Clan Ranald and the Frasers, which culminated, in 1544, in the bloody fight of Blar-na-leine,† at which the Frasers were almost decimated, among the slain being Lord Lovat, his son and heir, and Ranald Gallda himself.

In 1539, Ruari Macleod of Lewis (son of Malcolm) who succeeded John MacTorquil, joined the head of the Sleat family in a second attempt to wrest Trotternish from Macleod of Harris. Donald Gruamach had by this time been gathered to his fathers, and his son Donald Gorm succeeded him as chief of the Clan Huistein. Donald Gorm hankered after the lands in Skye which his father had seized, but had failed to hold. He found a ready and powerful ally in Ruari Macleod, who had probably formed with him an offensive and defensive alliance, in consideration of Donald Gorm resigning his claims to the possession of Lewis. For he had such a claim, and it was sufficiently strong to merit compensation for its renunciation. He was married to Margaret, the only child of John the predecessor of Ruari, and was thus entitled through his wife to lay claim to her father's possessions. As we shall see, this claim, although allowed to remain inoperative during the lifetime of Ruari, was covertly revived when the question of his successor came to be considered.

Passing over to the mainland from Trotternish, which they ravaged, Donald Gorm and Ruari Macleod took

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1513-1546), No. 1,131.

† The "Field of Shirts," so-called from the combatants, owing to the sultry state of the weather, having thrown off their coats and fought in their shirts.

advantage of the absence of John Mackenzie of Kintail to desolate Kenlochewe; and they then attempted to capture Mackenzie's Castle of Eilean Donain, which was defended by only a small garrison.* But the campaign and Donald Gorm's life were together ended by a barbed arrow, sped by the hand of an intrepid archer, Duncan Macrae, one of the defenders of the castle. Donald was wounded in the foot, and the wound, owing to his own impatience and the lack of an elementary knowledge of surgery on the part of his followers, proved fatal. According to the account given in the *History of the Mackenzies* (pp. 135-7), the attack on Eilean Donain Castle was the last of a series of raids made by Macdonald of Sleat on Mackenzie's country; Kintail in retaliation sending his son, Kenneth, to Skye on two separate occasions, to ravage Donald Gorm's lands of Sleat. After the death of Donald, his allies burnt the Mackenzies' boats and returned home—a sorry ending to a fruitless campaign.

That the King was aware of these disturbances, and alive to the danger of further trouble in the Hebrides, may be inferred from the fact that in 1540, summonses of treason were issued against Ruari Macleod of Lewis, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, John of Moidart, Cameron of Lochiel, and Macneill of Barra; and in the year 1540† James led in person an expedition to the Isles. Buchanan tells us that "the King resolved to circumnavigate Scotland and reduce the fierce spirit of the islanders to the obedience of the laws"; and this statement is borne out by Bishop Lesley, and by Lindsay of Pitscottie, as well as by the actual proceedings which took place. On the other hand, we are informed in a history of Scotland published in 1749 by "An Impartial Hand," that the object of the voyage was to enable the King to make himself acquainted

* According to Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, the castle was defended by three men only, of whom one—the Governor—was killed.

† Scottish historians appear to be in error in the different dates which they give to the voyage of James V. to the Western Isles. Extracts from the Treasurer's Accounts which appear in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* prove that it took place in 1540.

with the state of the fishery, "and to enquire fully into the abuses and violence committed by the English, especially the merchants of London who carried on a considerable fishery at the time on these coasts, and in the other northern parts of the German Ocean." The Lubeckers conducted at this period, with the help of the English, an illicit trade on the coast of Scotland, "encroaching upon the property of the Scots nation by carrying on their fishing upon their coast, without leave either asked or given"; and these proceedings, according to our historian, had formed the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the Courts of England and Scotland. This matter may well have engaged the attention of the Scottish King during his famous voyage, and we know that a complete survey of the coasts was made by Alexander Lindsay, a capable pilot employed for the expedition. That the main object was to quell the disorders in the Hebrides there can be no doubt. This was not the first visit of James to the Isles. In 1536, he left the Forth with five ships on a mysterious voyage, the destination of which was generally supposed to be France. The King, however, was out on one of his adventurous pranks. Instead of steering for France, he ordered the ships northwards, and "sailed about Skye and Lewis and the Isles." James V. was a genuine "sailor-king."

In May, 1540, a fleet of twelve ships, well equipped with artillery, and manned by picked sailors, left Leith under the supreme command of James. Six of the ships were for the "Kyng and hys trayne," three were for the provisions, while the remaining three carried, respectively, Cardinal Beaton, the Earl of Huntly, and the Earl of Arran, a notable absentee being the Earl of Argyll, who was apparently still in disgrace. The Cardinal had with him a force of 500 men from Fife and Angus, and Huntly and Arran had a following of 1,000 men. These numbers were augmented by the members of the Royal suite, besides "many barons and gentlemen" with their servants; so it is clear that James was well prepared for armed

opposition. In point of fact, there was no resistance offered. The expedition was from first to last a huge picnic for its participants, who doubtless experienced the same feelings of curiosity about the remote objective of their voyage, as might any band of modern excursionists joining a personally-conducted tour to the islands of the South Pacific.

The fleet sailed along the east coast to the Orkneys where provisions were requisitioned, and where the King was entertained by Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney. The next stopping-place was the coast of Sutherland, where Donald Mackay of Strathnaver was seized. The fleet then crossed the Minch to Stornoway.* Ruari Macleod, one of the most troublesome chiefs in the Hebrides, together with "the principallis of his kin," was compelled willy-nilly to appear before the King, and was forced to bid farewell to Lewis for a season. Macleod of Harris was next summoned from Harris (some accounts say from Dunvegan) to the King's presence, and Macneill of Barra had to obey a similar command. At Loch Duich, John Mackenzie of Kintail became an unwilling passenger, and at Trotternish, the King made quite a haul of Macdonalds, John Moidartach of Clan Ranald, Alexander of Glengarry, and others "quha allegit thame to be of the principalle bluide and lordis of the Iles"—doubtless the Sleat Macdonalds—being the recipients of the Royal attention. Mr. Gregory suggests that the Macdonalds hoped to secure the favour of the King by meeting him half-way, thus accounting for their collective presence in Skye. If that was their hope, it does not appear to have been quite realised, for some of them at least were forced to accompany the expedition southwards.† In the Southern Hebrides, Hector Maclean of Duart and James Macdonald

* Stornoway has been visited by only two reigning Sovereigns : by James V. in 1540 and by King Edward, with the Queen, on 2nd September, 1902. The objects of these visits differed as widely as did the nature of the reception accorded to the two monarchs.

† As is well known, the town of Portree (the King's Port) owes its name to the visit of James V. to Skye.

of Dunyveg, the two principal chiefs, were detained as captives on board the fleet. The King disembarked at Dumbarton, and sent the ships, with their Hebridean prizes, back to Leith by the way they came.

It cannot be supposed that the sole occupation of the King during his voyage was to kidnap chiefs and study the Gaelic language. To many of his followers, the whole affair may have proved of no greater gravity than a summer excursion, but James, with all his faults, was a ruler who had the best interests of all his subjects at heart. The suggestion about the settlement of questions connected with the fishing has already been noticed, and according to Pitscottie, the King "held justice courts and punished both thief and traitor according to their demerit." If the pictures of the Hebrides drawn by contemporary travellers are truthful, his time must have been fully occupied. Pitscottie also makes the statement that James "caused great men to show their holdings, and found many of the said lands in non-entry." These were promptly confiscated to the Crown.*

There are no definite particulars of the ultimate fate of the captured chiefs, but we know that some were set at liberty on giving hostages for their peaceful demeanour. Contemporary evidence serves to show that the principal men were kept in confinement until after the King's death, as pledges for the good behaviour of their clansmen. Lesley tells us that as the result of the captivity of the chiefs, great quietness prevailed in the Isles, and that the rents of the Crown lands were regularly paid to the Exchequer; a new experience evidently. William Drummond of Hawthornden states that "this voyage bread great fear in those islanders and savages, and brought long peace and quietness to those countreys thereafter."

Whether Ruari Macleod was kept in confinement or not, it is clear that he soon regained the Royal favour. In

* On 2nd April, 1538, Ruari Macleod received a grant of the non-entry and other dues of the lands and barony of Lewis from 30th June, 1511, to 1539.

1541, James granted him and his affianced spouse, Barbara Stewart, daughter of the Lord Chancellor (Andrew, Lord Avondale), the lands, island, and barony of Lewis, with the castle and other lands resigned by Ruari for that purpose ; whereupon the whole was erected anew into the free barony of Lewis. It may be convenient to state here that Ruari's first wife was Janet, an illegitimate daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail, her first husband being Mackay of Reay. After divorcing Janet Mackenzie under circumstances which will be noticed later on, Ruari married Barbara Stewart in 1541.

The premature death of James V. in 1542 placed Scotland at the mercy of rival parties which, during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots, kept the country in a perpetual state of domestic strife. The real master of Scotland during the regency of the Earl of Arran was the able but unscrupulous Cardinal Beaton, who used the great nobles as puppets to serve his own purposes. As the head of the Roman Catholic clergy, who were at that time the dominant party in the State, Beaton possessed sufficient influence to mould the Church and its adherents to his resolute will. His natural abilities as a statesman, as well as a Churchman, left him without a rival in shaping the policy of the country in foreign affairs. The Earl of Arran, the next heir to the Crown and the nominal Regent, was regarded by the Protestant party as their natural leader against the designs of the Cardinal. A weak and indolent man, Arran was a mere child in the hands of the crafty prelate, who took steps to counteract his influence by bringing over from France, Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, a rival for the regency, and a claimant, like Arran, to the succession, through their common descent from the House of Stewart. The advent of Lennox upon the scene had important results, both for himself and for the country.

Henry VIII. of England had been quick to turn the distracted state of the sister kingdom to his own advantage. The disastrous defeat of the Scots at Solway paved

the way for pressing his cherished design of adding Scotland to his own dominions, by means of a marriage between his son Edward, and Mary, the infant daughter of James V. To this end Henry used the arts of diplomacy, and succeeded in forming a faction, the members of which were pledged to further his aims. Whatever Cardinal Beaton's faults may have been—and he was a man to stick at nothing to accomplish his ends—he was at least consistent in his enmity to England and his friendship for France. Recognising that the independence of Scotland, the ascendancy of the Romish religion, and his own unrivalled influence and power were equally threatened by the proposed marriage, he resisted strenuously the schemes of the pro-English party, and looked to France, his early home and the ancient ally of Scotland, to save his country. Unhappy Scotland thus became the prey of two opposing factions, representing, respectively, French and English interests. Lennox came over to his native country with strong French proclivities, and was hailed as a powerful adherent of the French party. But he soon discovered that he had been used as a mere tool by the astute prelate, whose purpose he had served by intimidating Arran into repudiation of his English friends, resistance to the project of Henry VIII., reconciliation with the Cardinal himself, and renunciation of the Protestant religion. Having thus gained his ends, the Cardinal ignored Lennox, whom he had previously flattered with his attentions, and with a promise of the hand of the Queen-Dowager in marriage. The shifty policy of the prelate threw Lennox into the arms of the English party, and ultimately into the service of the English King.

The bearing of these events upon the Hebrides will now be noticed. As early as the year 1542, the attention of Henry VIII. had been drawn to the Isles by means of a letter of extraordinary interest,* written to the King by one John Elder, a Scotsman who appears to have been an

* *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, Vol. I., pp. 7-18.

exile in England, on account of his politics, or his religion, or both. Elder, who was a native of Caithness, and had been a student at St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, tells the King that he was brought up and educated in the West Isles, "namede the Sky and the Lewis, where I have bene often tymes with my friendis in ther longe galies arraywing to dyvers and syndrie places in Scotland where they had a do." He strongly counselled Henry to invade Scotland, assuring him of the support of the Highland chiefs—"the Yrische lordes of Scotland commonly callit the Reddshanckes and by historiographouris Pictis"—who, he states, had been greatly impressed by the King's magnanimous treatment of the rebels in Ireland. Elder's letter formed the introduction to a "plotte" or plan of Scotland which he forwarded to Henry, containing a description "of all the notable townes, castels and abbeis," together with "the situacion of all the principal yles marched with the same callid Orkney and Schetland, and of the out yles commonly namede the Sky and the Lewys." The writer of this remarkable letter, who calls himself a Redshank—the Highlanders were so called, he states, from their custom of making buskins of deershide—has a good word to say for his fellow Redshanks. He asserts that they surpass the Lowlanders in "faith, honesty, policy and wit," an *ex-parte* statement which, however, probably contains more truth than the ignorant and prejudiced opinions regarding the Highlanders expressed by Lowland writers of those and later times. Elder was bitterly opposed to Cardinal Beaton and his party, and whatever may be thought of his want of patriotism in counselling an invasion of his native country, he makes clear his desire that the union of the two kingdoms should be based on the marriage which Henry was striving so sedulously to bring about. The Scots generally were not averse from this marriage: they liked the match, but objected to the manner of wooing.

The English Ambassador in Scotland, Sir Ralph Sadler, an astute diplomatist, did not lose sight of the uses to

which the Islesmen might be put in checkmating the Cardinal and furthering the plans of the pro-English party. It may be—we cannot tell—that he was instrumental in effecting by bribery or otherwise the release of Donald Dubh from confinement, but certain it is that the escape of Donald coincided with a remarkable movement in the Hebrides directed against the National party. Sadler kept his Royal master well posted in all that went on behind the scenes in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Scotland, and his letters are instructive reading, as showing the utter want of cohesion, the grasping selfishness, the lack of patriotism, and the mutual distrust which prevailed among the Scottish nobles of his time. The Earls of Argyll and Huntly were exceptions among these time-servers. They at least never forgot that they were Scotsmen first and partisans afterwards. It is only bare justice to say that Argyll and Huntly acted the part of true patriots, who had no axe to grind by acquiescence in, or opposition to, the ambitious views of Henry VIII. They were therefore marked men by the English party: dangerous opponents, whose actions had to be carefully watched, and whose influence had to be skilfully counteracted.

The re-appearance of Donald Dubh in the Hebrides once more unsheathed the broadswords. His old supporters again rallied round him, and menaced their old enemies, the Campbells. A truce, however, was arranged between Argyll and the self-styled "Earl of the Isles," which lasted until May-Day, 1543. But Argyll made preparations for the inevitable trial of strength. According to Sadler, the news was current in Edinburgh, that Donald Dubh had decided to take part with the Earl of Lennox "against all Scotchmen his enemies," and was getting ready to attack Argyll and Huntly. In June, 1543, active hostilities were in progress, Argyll in the South and Huntly in the North, being fully occupied with the "Irishmen" (Gaelic-speakers).

Between June and August, the Hebrideans received a valuable accession to their strength. The Regent, insti-

gated by the Earl of Glencairn—the latter being under the influence of the English Ambassador—decided to release the chiefs who had been confined in the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar since 1540. We are left in no doubt as to the object of Arran, who at this period was completely dominated by the English party. Sadler tells us that “the Governor hath now let them loose and sent them home only of policy to keep the Earl of Argyll occupied. . . . So that, as the Governor and others here tell me, the Earl of Argyll shall have his hands so full, that he shall have no leisure to look hitherwards.” No sooner had the chiefs reached their homes, than a force of 1,800 Islesmen ravaged the country of the Campbells and their allies, and reaped a rich harvest in spoil. Sadler comments on this raid : “And yet the said Governor took bonds of the said Irishmen when he put them to liberty, that they shall not make any stir or breach in their country, but at such time as he shall appoint them. But how they shall observe these bonds now since they be at liberty, it is hard to say, for they be noted such perilous persons as it is thought it shall not lie in this Earl of Argyll’s power to daunt them, nor yet in the Governor’s to set that country again in a stay and quietness a great while. But once the Earl of Argyll shall by this means be so matched at home as he shall not dare nor be able to go from home, he shall have so much ado to keep his own; and this is done of policy as aforesaid.”*

The policy proved in the result short-sighted in the extreme, as far as Arran was concerned, for it ultimately recoiled on his own head. In a state of society where men changed their politics as readily as their coats, it was dangerous for these shiftily faction-mongers to adopt a course of action having far-reaching consequences, lest the food of to-day should prove the poison of to-morrow. The Earl of Arran changed sides soon afterwards, and reaped the fruits of his policy. He dug a pit for Argyll, into which the

* *Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler*, pp. 334-5.

latter fell, but he himself tumbled in after him. It was in vain that the Regent tried to win over Donald Dubh and his followers to his anti-English policy ; the only chief of note to side with him was James Macdonald of Dunyveg, and, as subsequent events proved, his adherence was at best half-hearted, if nothing worse.

Meanwhile, Donald Dubh and his followers, acting in conjunction with the Earl of Lennox, commenced operations against Argyll and Huntly, securing by this means the friendship and support of Henry VIII., until finally, they listened to his representations, and consented to transfer their allegiance to the English Crown. It must be acknowledged that so far at least as their leader is concerned, English gold was a determining factor in this decision. But before condemning the Islesmen for their traitorous conduct, it may be permissible to examine their attitude from their own standpoint. The claims of Scotland as their native land had always lain lightly on their shoulders ; so lightly, in fact, as to be scarcely felt. They regarded the Lowlanders as an alien race, permanent fusion with whom was distasteful to their instincts. From every point of view but their own, they owed loyalty and faithful service to the country of which the Hebrides had, for nearly three centuries, formed an integral part. But above their duty to Scotland, they placed their hereditary attachment to the Lords of the Isles, who had in the past exercised unquestioned supremacy over them, a supremacy which they acknowledged in a way that the Crown had never been able to secure by favours, or enforce by punishment. How far they were influenced by the motives attributed to them by Elder—the hope of reward from a master who showered favours on his rebellious Celtic subjects—cannot be known. That they expected generous treatment at the hands of the English King is not unlikely, but there is nothing to show that they embarked upon the enterprise for the sake of what they could get out of it. They were financed by England, it is true, but it is obvious that the mercenary

spirit was subservient to their loyalty to the pseudo-Lord of the Isles. As for Donald Dubh himself, he had nothing for which to thank Scotland save the walls of a prison, and his bitterness against her is at least intelligible. That the clans permitted themselves to be made the instruments of his revenge may be deplored, but it was neither the first nor the last time in their history that they suffered in the cause of loyalty, mistaken though it may have been. But this much may be said for the Hebrideans: they took service with England openly, while many of their Lowland countrymen worked for her secretly, while professing to be patriotic Scotsmen.

From the records of the Privy Council of England, we find that Donald Dubh received, in May 1545, a sum of £250 from the English King, and that in the following month, in consequence of the reports of Lennox as to the good services of Donald in the "avauncement of his Grace's affayres in those parties" (the Hebrides), he was granted by Henry a further sum of 1,000 ducats, with a yearly pension of 2,000 ducats. On 28th July, a commission was granted by Donald Dubh, with the advice and consent of his barons and Council of the Isles, to two commissioners to treat with the English King under the direction of the Earl of Lennox. The Council consisted of seventeen members (not one of whom could sign his name), the representatives of the Long Island being Ruari Macleod of Lewis, Alastair Macleod of Harris, John Moidartach of Clan-Ranald, Archibald Macdonald, Captain of the Clan Huistein, and Gilliganan (or Gilleonan) Macneill of Barra. The remarkable document constituting this commission sets forth, *inter alia*, that the Lord of the Isles disclaimed all allegiance to Scotland, of which realm he described himself and his ancestors as "auld enemies," and that he entered willingly into the service of England, binding himself to assist the Earl of Lennox with 8,000 men. It is perhaps unfortunate for the reputation of Donald Dubh that this offer followed, instead of preceding, the payment of English gold and the gift of a comfortable pension. It

gives an undoubted opening to the cynic, and especially to those historians who delight in finding weak joints in the Celtic armour. The two commissioners, Rory MacAlastair, "Bishop Elect of the Isles" (brother of John Moidartach and Dean of Morvern), and Patrick Maclean, brother of Duart, were empowered to enter into a treaty with the Earl of Lennox for the forthcoming campaign. We find from the English records that on the arrival of the commissioners, they conferred on matters of common interest with the King and Lennox, to the latter of whom they had brought letters from "sundry gentlemen of the Isles." All was now in readiness for striking a blow against Scotland. On 4th September, 1545, letters were addressed by the English Privy Council to Ireland "signifying the compact made with the Lord of the Isles of Scotland for annoyance of the Scots, and for the preparation of 2,000 Irisk kerne to go with Lord Ormond under the Earl of Lennox, lieutenant for the enterprise. To Chester letters were written for preparation of ships for the 2,000 men, and likewise a letter to one Mr. Bulkeley for the preparation of 'oone sumpter's shippe' lying at Beaumaris to serve at the coming of Lennox at Chester." And on 13th September, there is a "warrant for payments to the Earl of Lennox, the Bishop Elect of the Isles ('in rewarde') to the Lord Maclane's brother, and to Patrick Colquhoun" (a confidential vassal of Lennox).^{*} If Donald Dubh sinned as a mercenary, he sinned in good company.

The correspondence with England coming to light, the Regent and his Council took action. On 17th August, 1545, Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris with forty others had a remission from that date to 1st November, that they might go to the Regent and Lords of Council on their affairs. On 9th September, summonses of treason were issued against the Macleods and their fellow-con-

^{*} On 14th July, 1546, an order was sent to the Justice of Ireland "for delivery to such person as should be sent by the Earl of Lennox (of) the bodies of Patrick Maclean, the Bishop Elect of the Isles, and such his servants as were left in custody in Ireland." (*Acts of the Privy Council of England*, p. 483.)

spirators. On 28th September, "Roderick McCloid of Lewis" and the "remanent of his colleagues" were again ordered to appear to answer the charges of treason and *lèse-majesté*. The form of this summons is significant: it distinctly suggests that Ruari of Lewis was the arch-rebel, the chief supporter of Donald Dubh, as was Torquil of Lewis forty years previously. On 1st October, 1545, 3rd February, 1545-6, 6th April, 24th May, 1st and 30th July 1546, the summons was repeated, but brought no response.

Meanwhile, Donald Dubh had passed over to Knockfergus in Ireland with 180 galleys and 4,000 men. The despatch from the Irish Privy Council announcing their arrival describes them as "very tall men clothed for the most part in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords and longbows but with few guns." It was expected that the Earl of Lennox, with the 2,000 Irishmen under the Earl of Ormond, would co-operate at Knockfergus with the Hebrideans; but Lennox being summoned to the camp of the Earl of Hertford, then about to invade Scotland from the Border, a postponement of the contemplated campaign became necessary. After waiting some time in vain for Lennox, Donald Dubh returned to Scotland. This was the beginning of the end. The campaign, which had been initiated with such unwonted harmony between clans some of which were normally hostile to one another, terminated with a miserable squabble about money. MacVurich informs us that a ship came to Mull from England, carrying the sinews of war for the prosecution of the campaign. The money was given to Maclean of Duart for distribution among the chiefs, but Duart's disbursement of the cash gave rise to discontent, which led to the disruption of the army—and to the end of the rebellion, so far as the Islesmen were concerned. From first to last, there is little in the incidents of this insurrection which redounds to the credit of the Hebridean chiefs, except their blind devotion to the Head of the House of Clan Donald. On the arrival of Lennox in Ireland, he found that all his plans had been disarranged and his hopes dissipated, by the action of

Donald Dubh and his followers. He re-opened negotiations with the Lord of the Isles, but the latter was apparently powerless to stimulate anew the enthusiasm of the chiefs, who sulked in their castles. He died soon afterwards: according to Tytler, he found "an obscure grave in his own dominions," but according to MacVurich, who probably knew better, he went to Ireland to raise men, but died on his way to Dublin, at Drogheda, of a fever. He left one illegitimate son whom, on his death-bed, he commended to the care of his patron, Henry of England. Donald Dubh is one of the most pathetic figures in Highland history. From his birth to his death, his footsteps were dogged by misfortune. The last representative of the Lords of the Isles, in the main line, spent his declining years in prison, and died a pensioner of Henry VIII., who paid £400 for his funeral expenses.*

The succession to the Lordship of the Isles—the inalienable annexation of that title to the Crown in 1540 did not weigh with the Islesmen—now devolved upon James Macdonald of Dunyveg. The male representation of the forfeited Lordship and the forfeited Earldom of Ross centred in the Clan Huistein, but its chief, Donald Gormson, was a minor, and the influence of the family was less considerable than that of Islay. James Macdonald had hitherto posed as a partisan of the Regent and the national cause, but as Mr. Gregory put it, his "patriotism seems to have evaporated on his perceiving a possibility of obtaining the pension of 2,000 crowns promised to his predecessor." He appears to have received the support of the various branches of Clan Donald, but his pretensions were opposed by the majority of the other chiefs, particularly by the Macleods both of Lewis and Harris, and among the minor clans, by Macneill of Barra. The mal-

* As for Lennox, he continued to have a chequered career in the service of England. Queen Mary petted him. She sent the Dean of Durham to him on one occasion when he was ill "to comfort him by godly and learned counsel." Good Queen Bess sent him to the Tower. He ultimately returned to Scotland, and his son, Lord Darnley, became the unfortunate husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

contents endeavoured to make their peace with the Regent, and their efforts were successful. James Macdonald had no intention of serving England without receiving valuable consideration. But his application to be placed on the pension list of Henry VIII. met with either a chilling response, or with none at all: he never got his pension. And so his new-born attachment to England evaporated as quickly as did his questionable patriotism. The assassination of Cardinal Beaton and other political events of great importance which were happening in Scotland, claimed the attention of King Henry, who was, besides, probably too disgusted with the result of his previous dealings with the Hebrides to listen to fresh overtures from that quarter. No steps were taken by the Regent and his Council to enforce the processes for treason which had been instituted against the chiefs concerned in the recent rebellion—a policy probably dictated more by force of circumstances than by considerations of leniency. A state of peace now prevailed in the Hebrides which was undisturbed for some years. The Islesmen were learning that friendship with the powers that be had its compensations, and that their normal attitude of worrying the Government had its disadvantages. It is noteworthy that this period of comparative quiet in the Hebrides coincided with the final abandonment of native claims to the Lordship of the Isles. James Macdonald of Islay soon dropped an empty title, which brought no profit and much embarrassment. He was the last Macdonald to take up arms for the recovery of the forfeited Lordship of the Isles. Henceforward, the Islesmen found a vent for their quarrelsome nature in inter-clan feuds, which seem to have been stimulated by the absence of organised insurrections. And from this period dates the gradual diminution in the Highlands and Isles of the once paramount influence and power of Clan Donald.

As a sign of the times, it is remarkable that at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, a number of Islesmen fought against the Protector Somerset on the same side as their

hereditary enemy, the Earl of Argyll. Lindsey of Pittcottie states that the right wing of the Scottish army was commanded by the Earl with "West Highlanders," while on the left were "Macleod, Macgregor, and the Islesmen." The Macleod here mentioned was the head of the Siol Tormod—no doubt Alastair Crotach, who died in the same year, and was buried in the monastery of Rodil in Harris. We are expressly informed that Ruari Macleod of Lewis was absent from the battle. This is surprising, in view of the fact that he and some of his dependents—among them William, son of Hugh Morison the Brieve of Lewis—had received a remission for treasonable assistance given to "Mathew formerly Earl of Lennox." About the same time (1546), Macneill of Barra obtained a remission for assisting the English in burning the Islands of Bute and Arran.

In 1551-2, a well-meant attempt was made by the Regent at the instigation of the Queen-Dowager, to prevent a recurrence of the disorders which had in the past periodically broken out in the Highlands and Isles. With this object in view, the chiefs were invited to meet the Regent at the Justice Courts which he held at Aberdeen and Inverness.* Most of the leaders of the recent rising were quite willing to agree to the conditions laid down by the Regent, but some proved stubborn. On 2nd June, 1554, a commission was granted to the Earls of Huntly and Argyll "to pas with fyre and sword to the utter extermination of the Clanrannald, Donald Gorme, Macloyde of the Lews and thair complices that sends not and enters thair pledges as they ar chaired."† Argyll was provided with a ship and artillery to batter Stornoway Castle and the strongholds of the Clan Ranald and the Clan Huistein. The Earl proceeded to Lewis and laid siege to the castle, but the walls of the old building successfully

* One Patrick Davidson was paid ten pounds by the King's Treasurer on 23rd July, 1551, to go to Lewis "to charge McCleude of the Lewis and Hucheon of the Lewis (the Brieve) to come to my Lord Governor (the Earl of Arran) at the aire of Inverness."

† *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. XIV., p. 12.

resisted the bombardment, and the attempt to subdue the Macleods appears to have failed. Beyond the fact that the artillery proved ineffective against Stornoway Castle, there are no particulars whatever of Argyll's campaign in the Hebrides, or of its results.*

In April, 1555, a process of treason—the nature of which is not specified—was commenced against Ruari Macleod. In June of the same year, a commission over the Isles was given to the Earls of Argyll and Atholl. In the same month, articles were offered “be Macloyde of the Lews for his obedience and redres of wrangs and the Erle of Argyll as cautioner for him.” This suggests that what Argyll was unable to effect by force, he accomplished by diplomacy.

* “The house of Stornava in the Lewes is fallen, albeit it had biddin the canon be the Erle of Argyle of auld.” (Information by James Primrose.—*Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. X., p. 821.)

CHAPTER VI.

WE now come to what may be termed the prologue of a tragedy in which the Macleods of Lewis were the actors. It is a tragedy which for grimness, bloodthirstiness, and general subversion of the laws alike of Nature and the Decalogue, has been rarely equalled in history.

Sir Robert Gordon states that Ruari Macleod's first wife was Barbara Stewart, daughter of Lord Avondale, whom Ruari married in 1541. This, however, appears to be an error, for Torquil Conanach, a son of Ruari by Janet Mackenzie, is mentioned as engaged in active life prior to 1554, and Barbara Stewart—"Lady Lewis"—appears on record in 1566. It is evident that Janet Mackenzie was Macleod's first wife. The generally accepted account is that she eloped with John Macgillecolum of Raasay, but it is fair to mention the version which states that she fled from Lewis to Coigeach, to escape from the ill-treatment of her husband, who had tired of the lady's somewhat mature charms. According to this account, Ruari sent a large birling after her, which ran down the boat of the fugitive, drowning her and all her companions. But there is no doubt that Janet Mackenzie did actually marry John of Raasay ("Ian na Tuaighe," or John of the Axe) after she had been divorced by Ruari of Lewis. Determined that he would keep Janet's son, Torquil Conanach—so called from his residence with his mother's relations in Strathcarron—out of the succession to the estates, Ruari disowned and disinherited him, alleging that he was the son of Hucheon (or Hugh) Morison, the Brieve of Lewis. The Dunvegan Charter-Chest contains a document dated 22nd August, 1566, according to which, a statement was made

by Hugh Morison, "breoun" (Brehon) "of Lewis," who was then "in ye poynte of deathe," to his confessor, "Sir Patrick Makmaister of Barwas," acknowledging the pater-
nity of Torquil Conanach. Deathbed confessions are by their nature open to suspicion, and it is difficult to say whether pressure may not have been brought to bear, to extract a declaration which would prove gratifying to Ruari Macleod, and still more gratifying to Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat. And for the following reason.

By his second wife, Barbara Stewart, Ruari Macleod had a son, also named Torquil, who, to distinguish him from the disinherited brother, Torquil Conanach, was known as Torquil Oighre, or the heir. This Torquil, who is described as "a young chief of great promise," was the subject of a communication from Mary, Queen of Scots, which deserves to be quoted in full. The Queen's letter is as follows, the spelling being modernised :

"Torquil Macleod: We greet you well. We are informed that some of the Isles are desirous to have you allied to them by marriage; and because you have that honour to be by the Stewart blood, we thought expedient to give you advertisement, that it is our will and pleasure that you ally yourself to no party in marriage without our advice, and until we declare our opinion to yourself therein. Subscribed with our hand at Inveraray the 24th of July, 1563."*

Whether Torquil Oighre ever married or not we cannot tell. About three years after the above letter was addressed to him, he was drowned in the Minch, with sixty of his followers, when on his way to Trotternish or Waternish; another version being that he was driven by a storm on the Assynt coast, where he and his followers were slain by Donald Bayne who had usurped the lands of Assynt. He left no male issue, and the succession to the estates thus rested between his brother Torquil Conanach—the dis-owned and disinherited—and Donald Gorm Macdonald of

* Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*, Vol. I., p. xxxiv.

Sleat, whose mother was, as we have seen, the daughter of John MacTorquil of Lewis. The confession of the Brieve of Lewis as to the paternity of Torquil Conanach, appears to have been made immediately after the death of Torquil Oighre, and it was of paramount importance to Donald Gorm, who forthwith founded upon it his claim to the succession. Torquil Conanach and his friends on the mainland were meanwhile congratulating themselves on the way being clear by the removal of Torquil Oighre. Ruari Macleod may have been a truculent ruffian, but he appears to have possessed a saving sense of grim humour. He disappointed both parties by marrying, between 1566 and 1570, for the third time—and with male issue. The third lady who had the peculiar privilege of being the partner of his joys and sorrows was Janet, a daughter of Hector Maclean of Duart, and by her, his sons were two in number, Torquil and Tormod. Ruari had at least one fixed idea: that his eldest son by each wife should be named "Torquil." This third Torquil is distinguished from the others by the *soubriquet* "Dubh." In addition to these lawfully-begotten Torquils and Tormod—we may as well detail the whole of Ruari's progeny while we are on the subject—the old chief had a bastard brood of five sons, to wit, Tormod Uigach (of Uig), Murdoch, Donald, Rory Og, and Neil. It may be convenient to notice here, that the first two attached themselves to the cause of Torquil Conanach, while the other three supported their father, in the family quarrels which were now about to commence.

Ruari Macleod appears on record in 1565, when, by a proclamation dated 20th September, he was summoned with others to join the Earl of Atholl in Lorne, to take service against the coalition of nobles, headed by the Earl of Moray, who opposed the marriage of Queen Mary with Henry Darnley. The early discomfiture of the protesters, however, rendered the assistance of the Hebridean clans unnecessary. Torquil Conanach commenced, soon after this, to enforce his claims to Lewis, and was backed by Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. He had married Margaret, a

daughter of Angus Macdonell of Glengarry,* and by so doing, had further strengthened his hands. About 1568, he managed to get his father into his possession, and kept him in captivity for four years, only releasing him on Ruari undertaking to acknowledge Torquil as his lawful son and heir. Ruari complained bitterly of his treatment by Torquil and his accomplices, asserting that his "lugeing" was entered by them at night and burnt, and that he himself was kept in captivity in the hills and in caves, and almost starved to death by cold and hunger.† On 21st June, 1569, Torquil's name appears in connexion with an affray at Loch Carron—Glengarry's, afterwards Mackenzie's, country—in which the heir, wife and family and principal kinsmen of "John McIan Mòr" were killed. Colin Mackenzie undertook to cause Torquil Conanach to get a list of the slain, upon receipt of which, Robert Munro of Foulis bound himself to deliver to Mackenzie or Torquil, a sum of 200 merks placed in his hands by certain merchants of Edinburgh, "as for the assyithment of the slauchteris committit at Loch Carron." Apparently this somewhat cryptic entry in the Privy Council records has reference to a fishing fray at Loch Carron.

On 1st August, 1569, before the Regent (the Earl of Moray) and the Secret Council, a decret arbitral was signed by Colin Mackenzie and Donald Gorm, by which (*inter alia*), provision was made for the protection of Donald Gorm against Torquil Conanach. Failing the discontinuance of the latter's harassing tactics, Mackenzie was charged to withdraw his protection from him, and "pursue, invade, and expel" him from his lands. This shows that Torquil Conanach was wont to make excursions over the sea to Skye for the purpose of worrying his rival; a dangerous game, in which Torquil had the decided advantage of being without any land to ravage. The Mackenzies supported him, not only because his

* She was a widow of one of the Cuthberts of Inverness, by whom she became the progenitrix of Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV. of France.

† Traditions of the Morisons of Ness.

mother was a Mackenzie, but on account of the enmity which existed between them and the Gairloch branch of the Siol Torquil—an enmity which had recently been strengthened by the atrocities of Ruari Macleod (“the Venomous”) of Gairloch, who had murdered, among others, the sons of Janet Mackenzie by Ian na Tuaighe of Raasay.

After a captivity of four years, Ruari Macleod was induced to acknowledge in the most practical manner the legitimacy of Torquil Conanach. Being brought as a prisoner before the Earl of Mar, who succeeded the Earl of Lennox as Regent (the latter having had but a short tenure of office after the assassination of the Earl of Moray), he was forced to resign his estates to the Crown. Torquil Conanach then received by charter dated 14th February, 1571-2, a grant of the whole property, comprising Lewis, Assynt, Coigeach, and Waternish, with a life rent to Ruari, who formally resigned his interest to Torquil. The latter is designated his lawful son and heir, thus setting the Royal seal on his legitimacy, which however, it is unnecessary to say, was no proof of the correctness of the designation. The charter provided, that failing legal male heirs of Torquil, the estates were to go to Malcolm Macleod of Raasay, failing whom, to the nearest legitimate male heirs of Torquil, bearing the name and arms of Macleod.* The charter was granted on condition of Ruari and Torquil remaining good and obedient servants of the Crown. Thus the quarrel between father and son appeared to be satisfactorily settled, Mackenzie of Kintail being probably instrumental in securing so favourable a settlement for his *protégé*. But the peace thus patched up proved to be a hollow affair. No sooner was Ruari released from prison, than by an instrument of revocation, dated 2nd June, 1572,† he withdrew all promises made during his captivity, on the ground of coercion and the unfilial conduct of Torquil. The plea of *force majeure*

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1546-1580), No. 2,019.

† The document is in the Dunvegan Charter-Chest.

may not have been good in law, but it was sufficiently good for Ruari's elastic conscience. The fruit of this revocation was a recrudescence of the old quarrel.

Ruari Macleod next appears on record in 1573 when, by an obligation dated 26th April, he bound himself to John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, to bring in the Bishop's fruits, rents, and emoluments, and to cause all others under his authority to do likewise. He also promised to be obedient "anent all good ordinances, laws, and constitutions, and corrections concerning the Kirk, as the acts and constitution of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland bears, and was used in the last Bishop's time." * The document was written by Ronald Angusson, parson of Uig, at the command of "ane honourable man, Roderick McCloid of the Lewis, becaus he culd not writt himself, his hand led on the pen." To find Ruari a good Churchman fully compensates for his ignorance of penmanship. The truth, however, is only too patent; if his writing was bad, his morals were worse. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, in his *History of the Mackenzies*, calls him "an unprincipled villain." This is a little hard on old Ruari; he may possibly have been a villain, but he had principles: for, by the testimony of parson Ronald Angusson, was he not "ane honourable man?" And was he not a dutiful adherent of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland?

By 1576, the dispute between Ruari and Torquil Conanach had reached so aggravated a form, that the Regent (the Earl of Morton, who had succeeded the Earl of Mar) and the Privy Council summoned both parties to their presence to answer for their lawlessness. On 26th June, 1576, Ruari and Torquil became "actit and obleist" for themselves and their kin, friends, servants, tenants, assistants, and part-takers to "behave thameselffis as dewtifull and obedient subjectes"; to keep the King's peace and good order in the country in future; to refrain from molesting his Majesty's subjects in their lawful trade

* *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 6-8.

of fishing in the lochs of the Lewis or others in the North Isles ; not to raise any "towist" or imposition upon them, but to treat them as the Sovereign's good subjects : and to supply them with meat, drink, and other necessities, at reasonable charges.* This document is suggestive : it serves to show that strangers fishing at Lewis had had an equivocal reception at the hands of Ruari. The Regent managed to patch up once more the quarrel between father and son. But the latter was again recognised as the heir-apparent, and as such, received from his father, Coigeach and other lands, for his support during his lifetime. The Earl of Argyll became surety in the sum of five thousand pounds for Ruari's appearance, when required, before the Regent and the Lords of Council. In 1576-7, security had to be given for Tormod Uigach and Torquil Conanach to appear before the Regent and Council to answer charges made against them.

The peaceful relations again established between Ruari and Torquil Conanach were not of long duration. The old quarrel was resumed, and about 1585, Lewis was torn asunder by the family strife, as well as by feuds with mainlanders. Tormod Uigach had figured not long before in a fight at Carloway, between a force of Assynt men under Rory Hucheson, and a body of Lewismen under Tormod's leadership. There was a stiff contest between the two parties, but victory ultimately rested with the Lewismen, who routed the Assynt invaders, and compelled their leader to fly for his life. The cause of the quarrel is not stated. Tormod, the hero of this fight, became a violent partisan of Torquil Conanach, and as such, was killed by his brother Donald, another of the illegitimate brood, but a supporter of his father. Murdoch, who was also one of Ruari's bastards, but an opponent of his father, thereupon seized Donald, and handed him over to Torquil Conanach at Coigeach for punishment. He managed, however, to escape from Coigeach, and returning to Lewis, retaliated

* *Reg. of Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 534.

on Murdoch by seizing and delivering him to old Ruari, who imprisoned him in Stornoway Castle. Feeling that he was in honour bound to release his supporter, and resolved to bring matters to a definite issue, Torquil collected a force, with which he attacked the castle, captured it after a short siege, liberated Murdoch, and imprisoned the old chief, after killing a number of his men. He then left his son John as Constable of the castle and as his representative in Lewis, and returned to the mainland, carrying with him all the charters and other documents of the family which, later, he deposited with Mackenzie of Kintail. What has become of these papers it is difficult to say; all attempts to trace them have so far failed.

That John MacTorquil received legal recognition of his position is evident from a letter, dated 20th September, 1585, relating to the gift to John Macleod ("*oy* of Roderick Macleod") of the escheat and life rent of all goods, &c., which had pertained to Ruari. The document sets forth the circumstances under which the old chief had forfeited his rights to the Crown. It appears that on 22nd May, 1583, he was denounced as a rebel and put to the horn, for failing to find surety that he would appear before the Justice and his deputes to answer charges against him of pursuing Torquil Macleod, his son and apparent heir, as well as of "diverse slaughters and crimes." Old Ruari was obviously regarded at Edinburgh as a notorious ruffian, while his son Torquil Conanach, whose record is anything but blameless, was looked upon as an injured son, who had the misfortune to be cursed with an unnatural parent. But Torquil Conanach had probably powerful friends at Court, while at this time, there was possibly no one to say a good word for the quarrelsome old chief, his father.

John MacTorquil, who is described as "a brave young gentleman," seems to have proved a lenient jailer to his grandfather. He tried to make things as easy as possible for the old man, and succeeded so well that the two lived

together in Stornoway Castle on terms of cordiality, if not, indeed, of genuine friendship. He strove to pacify the island, and his methods of pacification were sufficiently diplomatic to secure a tacit acknowledgment of his authority. A disturbing factor, however, still existed in the persons of his natural uncles, Donald and Rory Og, and so long as they remained as thorns in his side, John recognised that there would be no permanent peace in Lewis. He therefore resolved to banish them from the island. Donald and Rory Og, on learning his intention, determined to assassinate him. But they were obliged to resort to strategy in order to give them their opportunity. They revealed their plot to "one ill race of people who lived there called Clan Illoyhenan" (Macleans or Macleennans) who entered into their plans. Having concealed their men, who were armed with bows and arrows, at seven different points between the castle and Sandwick, near Stornoway, the conspirators sent one of their adherents to John MacTorquil, with a message that seven swans had been seen on the loch of Sandwick, and that he was likely to have good sport if he came out. Being a keen sportsman, John eagerly embraced the opportunity, and left the castle, accompanied only by two men from Kenlochewe. His grandfather, scenting danger, tried, but in vain, to dissuade him, telling him that never before had a swan been seen on that loch, and that he feared there was treachery in the air. This incident reveals old Ruari in a favourable light. It shows that he must have been really attached to his grandson, and that his kindlier feelings were proof against the manifest advantages which would accrue to himself, if the heir of Torquil Conanach (and his own jailer) were put out of the way. A wholly "unprincipled villain" would hardly have allowed his feelings of humanity to overcome his baser inclinations. The headstrong young man reached Sandwick, only to find that his grandfather's forebodings had been but too accurate. The men concealed at Sandwick shot a flight of arrows at John and his companions, whereupon the latter took to their heels and fled to the castle.

As they passed the points at which the other assassins lay hidden, a shower of arrows met them. The Kenlochewe men were shot dead, but John managed to reach the castle in an exhausted condition, with several arrows sticking in his body, "whereof," says our chronicler, "he immediately died, to the great misfortune of all his friends and the utter ruin of that whole family." Thus, says Sir Robert Gordon, "was old Rorie Macleod made againe commander of that island, which he did possesse dureing the rest of his troublesome dayes."

The assassination of his son was a serious blow to Torquil Conanach. Revenge was the first consideration, and that was duly exacted. Donald MacRuari, one of the ringleaders of the plot, fell into the hands of Torquil, who promptly had him executed at Dingwall. Rory Og escaped his vengeance, but he too fell a victim, later on, to his quarrelsome disposition. The death of John MacTorquil was an unfortunate occurrence, for old Ruari liked him, and was probably reconciled to the succession falling to him. But between Ruari and the youth's father there could be no permanent reconciliation. It is obvious that the old chief cordially detested Janet Mackenzie's son, and it appears that no sooner did he regain his power in Lewis than, influenced by his adherents, he appointed Torquil Dubh to rule with him as his colleague and successor; thus repudiating his former undertaking to acknowledge Torquil Conanach as his lawful son and heir. This roused the latter to action. It was unfortunate for him that the two great families with which he was connected by ties of blood and marriage—*i.e.* the Mackenzies of Kintail and the Macdonnells of Glengarry—were at that time at feud with one another. No material help was therefore obtainable from them, but he succeeded in setting up in Lewis a faction in opposition to Torquil Dubh, and skirmishes between the two parties were of daily occurrence.

In April, 1585, an order was promulgated by the Council, charging Maclean of Duart, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Ruari Macleod of Lewis, and Tormod Macleod of Harris—

who, by the way, was by this time in his grave!—"personalie gif thai can be apprehendit," otherwise by open proclamation at the market crosses of Inverness, Dumbarton, Inveraray, and other places, to appear before the Council to answer under the pain of rebellion "tuicheing the gude reull and quieting of the Ilis and Hielandis." This invitation is curiously ingenuous: it arouses the suspicion that the stern Lords of Council were, after all, not devoid of a sense of humour. How it was received by the chiefs we are not informed; but it may be taken for granted that they treated the proclamation with derision. That they could be "personalie apprehendit" was clearly not anticipated: there is great virtue in a "gif." And yet, on 29th September, 1585, John Gordon of Petlurg gave caution in the sum of 5,000 merks to enter Ruari Macleod of Lewis, "presentlie deliverit to the said John, to be transported to George Erll of Huntley" before the Privy Council or the Justice, upon fifteen days warning. From this it would appear that the old chief had actually got into the clutches of the law, but we find no record of the subsequent proceedings, if any, against him.

In 1586, a complaint was made by the united burghs against a number of Highland chiefs, for obstructing the fishings in the northern parts of the kingdom, and for exacting extortionate dues from the fishermen. Among the chiefs so charged are found the names of Ruari Macleod of Lewis, Torquil Macleod of Coigeach (Torquil Conanach), Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. The culprits were ordered under pain of rebellion to answer these charges, and to find caution for their future good behaviour. Having failed to appear, they were forthwith denounced as rebels.

The order of 1585 was probably the outcome of a deadly feud between Clan Donald and Maclean of Duart, into which practically the whole of the chiefs of the Hebrides had been drawn. It is unnecessary to explain minutely the origin of this feud. Suffice it to say that

Lauchlan Mòr Maclean of Duart,* and Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg—a well-matched pair in the arts of treachery—came into collision over certain disputed districts, and the breach was widened by subsequent events. These were accompanied by acts of perfidy, which showed a savage disregard alike for the laws of hospitality and the dictates of humanity. Donald Gorm Mòr of Sleat—son and successor of Donald Gormson—was drawn into the quarrel, and ranged himself on the side of Macdonald of Dunyveg, whose partisans also included the Macleods of Lewis, the Clan Ranald, the Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan, the Macneills of Gigha, the Macalastairs of Loup, the Macfies of Colonsay, and other families of lesser note. The Macleans were supported by the Macleods of Harris, the Macneills of Barra, the Mackinnons, and the Macquarries. In a letter dated 18th September, 1585, addressed by the King to “traist friend,” William Macleod of Harris, the latter is requested to assist his “well belovit Lauchlane McClayne of Doward” . . . “a faithfull trew and obedient subject” against Clan Donald; so it is obvious on which side of the dispute the Royal sympathies lay. Maclean of Duart was married to a daughter of the Earl of Glencairn, whose influence was probably exerted on his behalf.

The disorders in the Hebrides at length reached a point at which the Government found it imperative to interfere. The revenues of the Crown were affected, and that fact, to a monarch whose financial resources were strained by extravagance, was an unforgivable crime. Accordingly, on 16th April, 1587, Macdonald of Dunyveg and others were charged to deliver up certain hostages for Maclean who were in their possession. Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Allan Macdonald of Moidart and Angus his son, John Macian of Ardnamurchan, Roderick Macneill of Barra, William Macleod of Harris, Roderick Macleod of Lewis, and

* Maclean was educated on the Continent, where, we are told, he learned “civility and good manners.”

Torquil Macleod "his son," and all other chieftains of the clans were charged "personalie," or at their dwelling places if they could be apprehended, otherwise by open proclamation, to "contane" themselves in quietness, abstain from armed gatherings, and from attempting anything whereby they might offend anew against "his Hienes." Ultimately, the ringleaders in the quarrel settled their differences, temporarily, with the Crown, by a liberal payment of fines, a form of punishment which strongly appealed to the cupidity of James VI.

In July of the same year, an Act of Parliament was passed, requiring all landlords and bailies on whose lands "broken men have dwelt and presently dwell" to find sufficient sureties, within fifteen days after being charged, under pain of rebellion, that they and all for whom they are bound to answer by the general bond shall keep good rule in the country, and also that they shall make themselves and other men answerable to justice. In the list of Highland landlords enumerated under this Act, are found the names of "McCleud of the Lewes, McCloid of the Harrich, Torquill McCloyd of Togoyth (Coigeach), MacNeill of Barrey and the Laird of Knoydert" (Clanranald). In the roll of clans that have "captains, chiefs, and chieftains on whom they depend, oft-times against the will of their landlords, as well on the Borders as the Highlands, and of some special persons of branches of the said clans," are found the "Clan Lewid of the Lewis, Clan Lewd of Harray, Clan Neill and the Clanrannald of Knoydert, Modert and Glengardy" (Glengarry).^{*} On 15th December, 1590, a charge was delivered to a number of Highland landlords and heads of clans, to find caution for good rule in their districts, as appointed by Act of Parliament, and among the names are found those of Torquil Macleod of Lewis† (ten thousand pounds caution), Ruari

^{*} *Acts of Parliament*, Vol. III., p. 467.

† It would appear that at this time Ruari Macleod was under the ban of forfeiture.

Macleod, Tutor of Harris (ten thousand merks), and Donald Gorm of Sleat (ten thousand merks).

In March, 1589-90, the names of Donald Gorm of Sleat and Donald (should be William) Macleod of Harris, appear in company with those of Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg and Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, on the re-constituted Commission for putting in force the Acts against the Jesuits and seminary priests. These chiefs were appointed Commissioners in the Isles. It reads somewhat oddly to find them posing as representatives of a religious party. Religious feeling at this time ran high in Scotland. The Protestants were peculiarly embittered against the Roman Catholics, and the strife was intensified by the discovery of a supposed plot to suppress, with the aid of Spanish troops, the Protestant religion, or obtain full toleration for the Popish faith. The incident known as the "Spanish Blanks" gave the Presbyterian ministers a handle against their enemies, which they worked assiduously. The Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, the leaders of the Catholics, were, with their adherents, solemnly excommunicated by the Kirk, and notwithstanding the shilly-shallying policy of the King, were ordered to stand their trial for complicity in the Jesuit plot. On their refusal to do so, they were put to the horn. But in a list dated 16th March, 1592-3, of persons released from the horn, we find the names of these three noblemen, together with certain Hebridean chiefs, including Ruari Macleod of Lewis, Torquil Macleod of Coigeach, Ruari Macleod, Tutor of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Clanranald, and Macneill of Barra. The Catholic Earls, however, who were thus received to "the King's peace," were not suffered to remain long unmolested. Their enemies proved too powerful for them in spite of the King's benevolent attitude towards them. Their continued refusal to stand their trial led to an expedition being sent against them under the young Earl of Argyll, with whom were the Macleans, Macneills, Macgregors, Mackintoshes, and Grants. The Earls of Huntly and

Errol, with a much inferior force, met them near Glenlivat, where a battle was fought which resulted in the total discomfiture of Argyll. A son of Macneill of Barra, who is described as "ane of the most valiant men of the party," was killed by a discharge of artillery, which is said to have "bred a confused tumult" among the Islesmen. Maclean of Duart, who commanded the van of Argyll's army, proved, with all his faults, a brave and capable captain. If properly supported, it is probable that he would have succeeded in changing the fortunes of the day. As it was, he stood firm amid the general confusion, and retired from the field in good order with his Hebrideans. The victory of Huntly and Errol did not save them from the consequences of their contumacy. Vigorous measures were directed against them by the Crown, and they were forced to fly the country. They were soon afterwards permitted to return to Scotland, and were received into the Royal favour.

While these events were taking place, Donald Gorm of Sleat, who was again forfeited in 1594, and Roderick Macleod of Harris (Rory Mòr) were busy in another direction. These chiefs, each with 500 men at his back, passed over to Ulster to assist Red Hugh O'Donnell, who was then in open rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, in which he was afterwards joined by Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. On their way to Ireland, the Hebrideans were attacked and worsted by English ships of war. This defeat so rankled in the breast of Macleod of Harris, that after the Macdonalds had returned to Scotland, he remained in Ireland to revenge himself on the English for the losses sustained by him. Throughout this Irish campaign, the chiefs of the Hebrides were divided by their sympathy with the Irish, and their readiness to accept English gold for their services to Queen Elizabeth. Lauchlan Mòr Maclean of Duart was particularly active in the service of England, his exertions being probably stimulated by a gift of 1,000 English crowns and the promise of a pension. In conjunction with Argyll, he was largely

instrumental in preventing further accessions of Islesmen to the ranks of the Irish rebels. Donald Gorm Mòr, who is called in the English records the "Lord of the Isles," offered in 1598 to disclose to the Queen of England, for a consideration, the "secret courses" of Tyrone, and of the lately restored Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol.* The expedition to Ulster was a fiasco, and brought neither honour to the Macdonalds and Macleods themselves, nor material assistance to their Irish allies. The vigorous policy of England successfully frustrated the object of the campaign.

It needs no great stretch of the imagination to realise that Lewis was not at this time the abode of tranquillity. Ruari Macleod appears to have died about the year 1595, having reached, according to a Lewis tradition, the great age of 94.† His son, Torquil Dubh, who seems to have been, during the last few years of his father's life, the acting chief of the Siol Torquil, succeeded him with the consent of the clan. His bastard brother, Rory Og, having quarrelled with him, was banished from Lewis, and consigned to the tender mercies of Torquil's uncle, Maclean of Duart, from whom, however, he escaped, only to perish miserably in a snowstorm. Thus did Black Torquil rid himself of troublesome relatives. The succession of Torquil Dubh was naturally not regarded with equanimity by his rival, Torquil Conanach, who, so far as charters and agreements with his reputed father could legalise his claims, was the undoubted heir to the estates.

In 1594, an Act of Parliament was passed, having as its object, the punishment of "thift, reif, oppressioun, and sorning." Among the clans concerned are found the

* Donald Gormson, the predecessor of Donald Gorm Mòr, had long maintained friendly relations with England. On one occasion, when on a visit to Queen Mary of England, he was presented with some garments which had belonged to Edward VI. In 1572 (about twenty years later), he told Queen Elizabeth that he was still wearing them! He was ready in 1572 to give his services to England "with all his power." (*Cal. of State Papers* (Foreign Series, 1572-4), pp. 48-9.)

† According to an official statement dated 1595, he was alive in that year. The same statement calls Torquil Dubh (Og) a bastard and usurper. (See Appendix A.)

Macleods of Lewis and Harris, the Clan Ranald, the Clan Donald, south and north, and the Clan Neill. Notwithstanding, so the preamble runs, the sundry Acts made by the King and his predecessors, for punishing theft, reiff, oppression, and sorning, the clans named still practised their cruelties and daily "heirschippes."* The Act was intended to put a stop to such practices, as well as to end the system of sorning (*séjourner*), or commandeering free quarters, then so prevalent in the Highlands and Isles. There was evidently a good deal of truth in these assertions, exaggerated though they may have been. It is difficult, from the evidence, to resist the conclusion that the Long Island, at the end of the sixteenth century, was a hotbed of disorder and oppression.

The chief supporters of Torquil Conanach were the Morisons of Ness, under their leader John, the Brieve of Lewis, son of Hugh Morison, whose relations with Ruari Macleod's wife had been of so compromising a character, if his own confession is to be believed. Among the most active partisans of Torquil Dubh were the Macaulays of Uig, whose leader, Donald Cam (so called because he was blind of an eye), bulks so largely in Lewis tradition. In 1596, active hostilities between the two Torquils appear to have taken place, and the Macleods were included in the list of turbulent chiefs against whom the King proposed to proceed in person, a task to which, as events proved, his spirit was unequal. Certain of the chiefs, among whom were Ruari Macleod of Harris, promptly made their submission, and upon the rival claimants of Lewis offering to agree to an increase of duties and other requirements of the Exchequer, they were also removed from the list of disobedient clans. Each of the Torquils doubtless hoped, by his ready acquiescence in these demands, to receive legal recognition of his claims, but in this hope Torquil Dubh was disappointed. By a charter dated 10th August, 1596, his rival was infest in Lewis, the only reservation to the

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. IV., p. 71. Hership, *i.e.*, cattle-lifting.

Crown being the Castle of Stornoway with the twenty merklands adjoining, which, in the grants of the island, always formed an appanage of the castle.*

Both competitors had strengthened their hands by powerful alliances. On attaining his majority, Torquil Dubh married a sister of Rory Mòr of Harris, while the eldest daughter of Torquil Conanach was married to Roderick, brother of Mackenzie of Kintail. Neil, the second son of Torquil Conanach, had died of a fever at Coigeach, and Torquil was thus left without a male heir. Under these circumstances, he threw himself into the arms of the Mackenzies, who espoused his quarrel with Torquil Dubh, and afforded him in secret that support which it did not then suit their policy to give openly. Torquil Dubh, for his part, continued to defy his rival, and kept possession of Lewis, with the consent of his clansmen, with whom he was very popular. Resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, he invaded Coigeach and Loch Broom with a powerful force, and ravaged these territories with merciless ferocity.

A complaint to the Privy Council, dated 11th February, 1596-7, by Torquil Conanach (who describes himself as of "the Lewis") and by Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, against "Torquill Dow McCleude usurpar of the Lewis," gives a highly coloured picture of this invasion. The complaint states that, accompanied by a force of "Hieland brokin men," numbering about seven or eight hundred, Torquil Dubh had "committit sic barbarous and monstrous crueltie as the lyk hes not bene hard of, spairing nowther man wyffe nor barne quhome they nicht apprehend," so that a great number of his Majesty's true subjects are "cruellie mordreist and slane, the haill boundis foirsaidis displenneist and layd waist, and the haill bestiall and guidis thairof goirit and slane." Mackenzie, being himself a member of the Council, may be presumed to have emphasised these charges in a way which boded ill for

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1593-1608), No. 465.

Torquil Dubh. The latter, being summoned to answer the charges, was, not unnaturally, unwilling to trust himself to the tender mercies of a Court, where his case had probably been pre-judged. He therefore disobeyed the summons, and was consequently declared a rebel. His father-in-law, Rory Mòr, was on 21st March, 1596-7, compelled to bind himself in the sum of ten thousand merks, "be the faith and treuth of his body," to acknowledge the supremacy of the King, and to make his men obey the King's lieutenant in "repressing of the insolence" of the inhabitants of the Isles and Highlands, the hostage for his obedience being Donald, son of John Macleod of Raasay. It is probable that Rory Mòr had assisted his son-in-law in the raid on Coigeach and Loch Broom.

Rebel or no rebel, Torquil Dubh retained possession of Lewis, and the other Torquil was not a whit nearer the consummation of his desires. Some decisive step had to be taken, and a secret meeting was held between Torquil Conanach, Mackenzie of Kintail, Murdoch, the bastard son of old Ruari, and the Brieve of Lewis, to concert measures for ousting the man in possession. It was decided that there was only one way out of the difficulty, and that was to get rid once for all of Black Torquil. "Bot," says Sir Robert Gordon, "ther laiked one to execute the interpreyse"—and considering the nature of the enterprise, this is not surprising. In consideration, however, of a large reward, the Brieve was at length induced to undertake the dirty work of Torquil Conanach, who had neither the means, nor perhaps the pluck, to enforce his claims in an open and honourable manner. And this is how the treacherous plan was carried out.

The Brieve, who seems to have varied his judicial duties with acts of downright piracy, was one day sailing with his men in his great galley towards Rona, when he fell in with a Dutch ship carrying a cargo of wine. We are told with suggestive simplicity that he "took" the Dutchman. The ship was brought to Ness, the Brieve's head-quarters being at Habost. This capture led to important issues. Here

was an opportunity for John Morison to implement his agreement with Torquil Conanach and his friends. With a show of cordial hospitality, he invited Torquil on board of the prize, and requested him and his party—which included the redoubtable Donald Cam Macaulay—to sample the wine. The wine was good, and the guests were enjoying themselves. Presently, Donald Cam, who had kept his head tolerably clear, became conscious of the fact that the ship was moving, and was beginning to roll. He immediately hastened on deck and discovered that they were in the open sea. With a warning cry to Torquil Dubh that they were betrayed, he rushed for his arms, only to find that they had been removed. Then the plot was revealed in all its perfidy. The ship's cable had been secretly cut; the weapons of Torquil Dubh's party had been taken away; and a band of selected and well-armed warriors, who had been carefully concealed by the Brieve, now came upon the scene. A gigantic follower of John Morison, named John Roy Mackay of Bragar, seized Donald Cam and lashed him to the mast, a number of bravos meanwhile standing with their swords at his breast. Another party seized Torquil Dubh and bound him; and his fate was sealed. The wine of the Dutchman proved his ruin, and the strategy of the treacherous Brieve was crowned with complete success. The ship was steered for Ullapool, where the prisoners were handed over to Torquil Conanach. Donald Cam and his son-in-law were fettered together by a heavy chain, attached to a large block like an anvil. They were, however, not too closely watched, and managed to make their escape to Applecross, whence they reached Skye. From Skye they crossed to Harris, and at length reached their Uig home in safety. The return of Donald Cam alarmed his enemies, for they knew the character of the man. John Mòr Mackay fortified Dun Bragar, and built himself a hut close by as a dwelling-place. Donald Cam mustered the Uig men, captured Mackay in bed, and afterwards despatched him without mercy. A number of Morisons took refuge in Dun

Carloway, but the vengeance of Macaulay followed them. With the aid of two dirks, Donald Cam climbed to the top of the broch, threw bundles of heather inside, set fire to them, and smothered and burnt the inmates. The Morisons had their revenge subsequently at Brue, Barvas, where a fight took place between the rival clans, resulting in the overthrow of the Macaulays.*

Torquil Conanach having his rival in his power, had no scruples about putting him out of the way. Doubtless, it would have been more to his liking had the Brieve conveniently dropped Torquil Dubh overboard, or otherwise disposed of him without throwing the responsibility on his shoulders. Morison shrank from extreme measures, and wisely left his employer to incur the odium of his rival's murder. Torquil Conanach had now gone too far to draw back. It is probable that a sham trial took place, at which the enormity of the crimes attributed to Torquil Dubh was duly set forth. All we know is that in July, 1597, Torquil, by the orders of his competitor, was made "short by the head," to quote a Mackenzie manuscript. It is not unlikely that Torquil Conanach justified the execution of Torquil Dubh, by asserting that it was a fitting punishment for the ravaging of Coigeach. It is quite obvious that the real motive was the removal of a rival; and the act was one of sheer murder, in which Torquil Conanach, Mackenzie of Kintail, and the Brieve were all accomplices, directly or indirectly.† Sir Robert Gordon relates that "at the verie instant of the execution, ther wes ane earthquak which much astonished the malefactours, though naturallie hardened with crueltie and mischeiff." And there is a Lewis tradition which states that when the murder was committed, the hands of every milkmaid in the Isles became bloody.

So great an impression did the execution of the unfortunate Torquil Dubh create among his contemporaries,

* Traditions of the Macaulays of Uig.

† Writing to Queen Elizabeth in 1598, Donald Gorm of Sleat informs her that Torquil was betrayed and murdered "be ye craft and meyanne of McKeanze of Kyntaill." (*Clan Donald*, Vol. II., Appendices, pp. 757-8.)

that a meeting of the chiefs friendly to his interests was held in Skye, "to consult about the affair," those present at the conference being Macleod of Harris, Maclean of Duart, the Captain of Clan Ranald, Macdonald of Dunyveg, and Donald Gorm of Sleat. It was felt by the chiefs that Torquil Conanach could only have resorted to such an extreme measure at the incitement of Mackenzie of Kintail, and they decided to act in concert against Mackenzie and his tool. Whether the suspicions entertained of Kintail were justified by facts or not, he was at least a man whom they could not catch napping. On learning of the inimical measures about to be directed against him, he promptly abducted from school in Glasgow, Tormod, the younger brother of Torquil Dubh, resolved to keep him as a pledge against any unfriendly acts on the part of his supporters. At the same time, he took steps to protect the borders of his territories against hostile attacks. His men succeeded so well in guarding their charge, that the first attempt at invasion was repelled, with fatal results to the aggressors. This was a discouraging beginning. The members of the coalition, realising at the very outset of their campaign, that Kintail was a dangerous foe to tackle, wavered in their resolution; Maclean was reluctant to proceed further; and ultimately the enterprise was abandoned, all the more readily, seeing that the immediate interests of the confederacy were not directly assailed or threatened.

Meanwhile, Torquil Conanach was as far off as ever from the attainment of his ends. The execution of Torquil Dubh, instead of opening the way to Lewis, shut him out of the succession even more decisively than before. Torquil Dubh had left three young sons, and the clan, furious with Torquil Conanach, were determined to support to the death the offspring of his victim. In Neil Macleod, by far the most distinguished of old Ruari's bastard sons, they found a man with a fertile brain and a strong hand, who was well qualified to lead them. Neil willingly undertook the guardianship of the orphans, and meanwhile, by virtue of

his relationship to them and his superior abilities, took command of Lewis and ruled as their representative. The Morisons of Ness were the objects of his vengeance, and tradition has preserved accounts of many sanguinary fights which took place between that clan and the Macleods. The Morisons appear to have got the worst of the encounters, for many of them were forced to take refuge in Durness and Eddrachillis in Sutherlandshire, where a branch of the clan was settled. According to the *Old Statistical Account*, the inhabitants of those districts in 1793 were, with a few exceptions, all Morisons, Macleods, and Macleays.

From these local feuds, we now turn to consider a matter of wider importance, viz., that epoch in Lewis history which is known as the attempted settlements of the Fife Adventurers.

CHAPTER VII.

IN December, 1597, two important Acts were passed by the Scottish Parliament, both of which had a direct bearing upon the Long Island. One, entitled "The Inhabitantis of the Iles and Hielandis suld schaw thair haldingis," required that all landlords, chiefs of clans, and other proprietors of land and fisheries in the Highlands and Isles, should appear in Edinburgh before 15th May, 1598, and produce their deeds. The other, entitled "Anent the bigging of burrowes townes in the Iles and Hielandis," ordained that for better "civilitie and polecie" in those parts, there should be erected a burgh in Kintyre, one in Lochaber, and one in Lewis, each with lands to be granted by the King, and to be endowed with all the privileges enjoyed by any other burghs within the realm.*

The preamble of the first Act sets forth that the lords of the districts concerned had neglected to pay the feuduties, or to perform the services due by them to the Crown. They are called hard names for their barbarity and cruelty, which, it is affirmed, had resulted in the fertile lands and rich fisheries in their possession being left undeveloped. Then follows the charge to produce title-deeds, failure to do so involving absolute forfeiture of the lands to the Crown. It is easy to see what lay at the root of this drastic Act. The impecuniosity of the King, in consequence of his extravagance, was notorious. Money had to be raised somehow and somewhere. The Act was plainly devised to replenish the Exchequer at the expense of the Highlanders and Islesmen. It was the first step in the policy of confiscation upon which James the Sixth

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. IV., p. 139.

had set his heart. The Act enabled him to initiate his plan with an imposing show of legality. It was well known to the King and his advisers that several chiefs had lost their title-deeds. It was well known that some of them would find it difficult, if not impossible, to find the required security for their good behaviour. It was shrewdly suspected that certain of them, who possessed title-deeds and could find the necessary bail, would nevertheless fail to put in an appearance at Edinburgh. All these contingencies were clearly well considered, before the machinery of the Law was put in motion to grab the land of ignorant or careless chiefs. This remarkable Act of Parliament was conceived in guile, drafted with duplicity, and executed, as we shall see, with violence.

The Act for creating three free burghs in the disaffected districts was, to all appearance, an innocent measure. That it was likely to prove beneficial to those districts may be readily conceded. But that it was part of the great scheme for swamping the natives with Lowland colonies, or improving them out of existence, is also tolerably clear. To this Act, the burghs of Campbeltown in Kintyre, Fortwilliam in Lochaber, and Stornoway in Lewis owe their origin, but Campbeltown is the only one of the three whose claims to the full privileges of a Royal burgh are undisputed; and its erection did not take place until 1700—the last creation of the kind previous to the Union of Parliaments. On 4th May, 1598, a Council was appointed to consider how the meaning of the Act was to be effected, the Isles reduced to obedience, and “justice and quietnes establishit thairin.” Of the ten Councillors thus appointed, two—Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and Colonel Sir William Stewart, Prior of Pittenweem—soon afterwards appear as participants in an act of legalised robbery: the seizure of Lewis by the Fife Adventurers. So much for the constitution of this Council, and the disinterested motives of its members.

There are no records to show what chiefs failed to present their title-deeds by 15th May, 1598. We know,

however, that Lewis, Harris, Dunvegan and Glenelg, were declared to be at the disposal of the Crown. The title of Rory Mòr to his estates was unimpeachable, but whether his failure to fulfil the requirements of the Act was due to ignorance and simplicity (as he himself afterwards pled), or to other unexplained reasons, his estates were, as stated, declared forfeited; and it was not until after a lapse of many years that he succeeded in re-establishing his proprietary rights. There is some reason to believe that the Act may have been mainly designed to enable the King to grab Lewis, and dispose of it to good advantage. Torquil Dubh, the late chief of the Macleods, had been declared a rebel; the title-deeds had been carried off by Torquil Conanach, and subsequently deposited with Mackenzie of Kintail; and finally, the island was torn asunder by family and inter-clan feuds. Truly, this was a most promising territory to fall like ripe fruit into the waiting hands of the King. According to the reports received by James, it was a pleasant land, a land flowing with milk, yellow with corn, and teeming with fish, within and around its bounds. What wonder was it, therefore, that this, his remote Hebridean territory, should strike the imagination of its most high and mighty prince, and that its supposed store of wealth should arouse his easily awakened cupidity?

In the records of the Privy Council, there is an entry relating to the ratification of a remarkable contract dated 28th June, 1598. The parties to this contract were the King on the one hand, and on the other, Patrick, Commendator (Prior) of Lindores, James Leirmont of Balcomie, Sir James Anstruther, younger of that ilk, James Spens of Wormiston, Sir James Sandilands of Slamannanmure, Captain William Murray, John Forret of Fingask, Sir William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem (one of the ten Councillors), Sir George Home of Wedderburn (Comptroller, and another of the Councillors), his son and heir David Home, and last but not least, Ludovick (Lewis), Duke of Lennox, cousin and prime favourite of the King.

The contract thus ratified bound the undertakers "to plant policy and civilisation in the hitherto most barbarous Isle of Lewis, with Rona-Lewis and Trotternish, and to develop the extraordinarily rich resources of the same for the public good and the King's profit." The full particulars of the agreement are to be found in the Parliamentary records which contain its ratification. An analysis of the conditions is here given.

The contract, which is a lengthy one, lays stress upon the difficulties experienced by the King in reducing the lands to obedience, "be reasoun of the evill dispositioun and barbaritie" of the inhabitants, who from time to time have directly opposed the introduction of "ony policie or civilitie" among them. His Majesty "perfytelie understands" that the lands are "be speciall Providence and blissing of God inrychit with ane incredibill fertilitie of cornis and store of fischeingis and utheris necessaris, surpassing far the plenty of any pairt of the inland. And yet, nevertheless, the same ar possest be inhabitantis quha ar voyd of ony knowlege of God or His religioun, and naturallie abhoiring all kynd of civilitie, quha hes gevin thameselfis over to all kynd of barbarietie and inhumanitie . . . occupying in the meantime and violently possessing his Hienes proper landis without payment of maill (feu-duty) or greffum (fine of entry) thairfoir."

Then follows a statement of the undertakings entered into by the Syndicate of Adventurers. As a definition of their general attitude, they are most willing, to the uttermost of their power, to "advance and set fordwart the glorie of God, the honour of thair native countrey, and his Majesty's service." They undertake to augment the yearly rent and revenue of the Crown. They undertake to plant "kirkes" and other "policie" within the lands in question, all at their personal expense, besides hazarding "thair owin bodyis and lyves and the lyves of utheris thair kyn and freindis." The consideration to be paid to the King for his grant of the lands is next stated. Until the year 1600, the Adventurers, in view of their initial

expenses and expected improvements, are to be free from any payment of feu duty. Afterwards they are to pay for Lewis, Rona and "Ilanshand" (the Shiant Isles), with their pertinents, an annual rent of 140 chalders of beir (barley), to be delivered annually at any part or most convenient port in Lewis between Christmas and Easter. For the eighty merks Crown lands of Trotternish (which in 1596 had been leased to Donald Gorm of Sleat at an annual duty of 380 merks), they are to pay a feu duty of 400 merks, in half-yearly instalments, at Whitsuntide and Martinmas. And certain stipulations are also specified regarding payments by the heirs of the Adventurers, on their entry to the lands.

The contract goes on to lay down regulations for the government of the burghs of barony which the Syndicate are empowered to erect, and of any ports and havens which they may create. Provision is made for the building of four parish churches within the lands of Lewis and Rona, and two churches in Trotternish, the patronage of which is to be vested in the Syndicate, being dissolved from the Bishopric of the Isles. Provision is also made for the erection of a Stewartry or Justiciary to be independent of the Sherifffdom of Inverness, and to be endowed with ample powers for the administration of justice, the nominations to this office to be in the hands of the Adventurers.

Exemption from service other than in foreign wars, or in expeditions to conquer the other islands, is granted to the members of the Syndicate, and even the exceptions are to be binding only on occasions when they are charged to accompany the King and his successors in "proper person." Nor are these exceptions to apply, unless the commissions ordering them to accompany the King or his lieutenants have reference to districts north of the Ness.

The Adventurers are also exempted from all taxation, except special imposts, Lewis to be reckoned as forty pound lands and Trotternish as eighty merks. But even this tax is not to be recovered from them by law nor are any of them to be dispossessed by "violent force."

When the Adventurers are infest in the lands of Lewis, Rona, and the Shiant Isles, either by resignation of the lawful proprietors or by lawful recognition of their (the Adventurers') rights therein, they are to resign Trotternish into the King's hands *ad remanentiam*, and are thereupon to be infest anew in warrandice, an equal distribution to be made to them and their heirs male.

And finally a stipulation is made for the ratification of the contract by the next Parliament.*

On 7th July, articles anent Lewis, in favour of the Syndicate, were drawn out by the Privy Council. With reference to the Act "maid aganis the Hielandmen and Isles" for non-production of their titles, it was ordained that a process of forfeiture be prepared against them (for "the crymes of tressoun following, specialie raising of fyre, steilling, murtheris") and a new title made out in favour of the Adventurers. It was further ordained that a commission of lieutenancy be given to the Duke of Lennox, empowering him to issue proclamations in all parts of the North for concurrence and assistance—the Duke's household and companions to be furnished with shipping and "viveris" (provisions) at the King's expense for at least two months after the arrival of the party at their destination. And to obviate the danger of attack by the natives, a charge was to be given to the principal men of the Isles to assemble together and "demolische and destroy" the whole of their birlings and lymphadst† within fifteen days after being so charged. Likewise, "they upon the mainland" were to be charged to deliver, within the same time, their vessels for the use of the Syndicate, the only exceptions to these orders, both in the case of the Islesmen and the mainlanders, to be "all sic boittis as rowis with thrie airis in the syde." And further, no more vessels were to

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. V., pp. 462-3. *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. IV., pp. 160-4.

† A "birling" was a long-oared boat of twelve to eighteen oars. A "lymphad" (long-bhata=long-boat) was a galley with one mast. Galleys carried from eighteen to twenty-four oars. The crews of birlings and lymphads varied in number, according to the number of oars, reckoning three men to each oar.

be built for the space of three years. It was also ordained that a dispensation be granted to the Adventurers, freeing them from all actions against them, and from all taxation, for at least a year after their arrival in Lewis.

By the same articles, the King granted the Syndicate a commission for "uplifting of men in quhatsumevir part within this realme, in burgh or land, be all ordiner meanis observit in sic caissis," a somewhat cryptic reference which apparently applies to the levying of assistance for the enterprise, or the planting of settlers in the new colonies.

The articles further provided for the ratification by the next Parliament of the securities and infestments granted to the Syndicate, with all "neidfull solempnities in ample forme."*

So far as the natives themselves were concerned, the sting of the document lay in its tail. For the last clause stipulated that no part of the Highlands or Isles should thereafter at any time be "disponit in few, tak or utherways bot to Lowland men," or at least to such Highlanders as could find Lowland cautioners.

By an Act of the Privy Council dated 17th August, an assignation of the 140 chalders barley appointed to be paid for Lewis, Rona, and the Shiant Isles, was made to the Duke of Lennox for a period of five years, beginning with the crop of 1600, and ending with that of 1604; and the feuars were commanded to pay the Duke their feu-duties accordingly during that period. The consideration for this assignment consisted in the forthcoming services of Lennox as the King's lieutenant in Lewis, with its pertinents, and Trotternish, "quhilk office will not onlie be hazartus to the said Lord Duke's persone," but also an expensive undertaking for him. The arrangements for the expedition were then in progress, for the Duke, it is stated, was to "pas schortlie accompaniet with the gentilmen aventuraris."† On 25th August, the authority of Lennox was limited by an instruction to consult the King, or

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. V., pp. 467-8.

† *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. V., p. 480.

those nominated by him, before showing favour or oversight to any of the Islesmen. King James was a little suspicious of his lieutenant exceeding his authority.

An Act of Parliament during the same year, entitled "Anent the Lewis Adventurers," refers to a petition by the members of the Syndicate, craving that the exemption from actions against them, as granted by the Privy Council on 7th July, be extended to themselves and their followers, as well for causes to be "intentit" as for those already "intentit." But Parliament, considering that this extension might cause the ends of justice to be defeated, referred the decision to the senators of the College of Justice, who were to be requested by the King to find a way of granting the petition of the Adventurers, without prejudicing the interests of suitors. And the Estates agreed to ratify whatever action might be taken in the matter.

The preamble of this Act deserves special attention. The cloven hoof is displayed in the avowed intention of "ruiting out of the barbarous inhabitantis occupiaris of the same of befoir, void of all religioun and humanitie."* The Adventurers were to teach the Lewismen religion and humanity by deporting or exterminating them.

On 30th October, the Adventurers, who were then ready to set out for Lewis, petitioned the Privy Council for amplification of a supersedere, and exemption from actions, granted by the Council for one year on 7th July, and remitted to the King and the senators of the College of Justice. The importance attached by the Adventurers to this dispensation is significant.

The foregoing official records clearly demonstrate the origin, nature, and objects of the plot laid by the King for the "ruiting out" of his subjects in the Island of Lewis. It originated in his impecuniosity ; its character was ruthlessness itself ; its purpose was to fill the Exchequer. To justify a course of action which was wholly indefensible, he had recourse to hypocrisy ; and James VI. could play the

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. IV., pp. 175-6.

role of hypocrite to perfection. It cannot be denied that the Lewismen were wild, unruly, and irreligious ; that they stood sorely in need of civilising influences ; nor that their code of ethics was laxness itself. But the statements of the crimes attributed to them by their King—crimes, the enormity of which grew in a crescendo fashion with each successive Act of Council or Parliament—are too highly coloured to be received without the most profound suspicion. It is only too obvious that the character of the Lewismen was purposely limned in the blackest colours, and the reason for this exaggeration is not obscure. It is no uncommon circumstance for a man to bolster up a weak case by damaging the character of his opponent, and that was precisely the course followed by his most Christian Majesty. It may be argued that the Lewismen had no character to lose, and that the extirpation of a set of barbarians such as they were held to have been, was justifiable. But they possessed at least a character for bravery, as the Fife filibusters discovered to their cost. When King James and his Council found that the primitive instinct of self-defence still flourished in Lewis with undiminished vigour, their language became more abusive than ever. They exhausted their vocabulary of vituperation.

The logical expression of the King's passion for civilising Lewis would have been the despatch of a band of missionaries and schoolmasters to the island, instead of an organisation of land-grabbers, backed by a military force. The process of civilising a people by "ruiting" them out of their homes has yet to be discovered. Muskets, not missionaries ; swords, not schoolmasters, were the weapons of civilisation chosen by the King. All too tardily it was discovered by James and his advisers, that force was a means of permanent subjugation which it was futile to employ against the warlike Hebrideans, for it frequently recoiled upon the heads of those who used it. And when a more enlightened policy was adopted, the beneficent results were immediately apparent. That the Lewismen were amenable to genuine methods of civilisation, is proved

by the fact that when, in 1610, Lord Kintail brought the Rev. Farquhar Macrae to the island, his ministrations were gladly welcomed, and his own person was treated with the utmost respect. But the colonising scheme of James was obviously a brazen attempt to fill his coffers by means which stultified his professions, and revealed his insincerity. He appears in the light of a company promoter who places a concession on the market, puffs it by crafty advertisement, and disposes of it on the most advantageous terms to himself. The gentlemen from Fife and the Lothians, impecunious like their Royal master, acquired the concession with the firm resolve, as business men, of making as much as possible out of it for themselves. This Syndicate of chartered buccaneers was brought into being, with aims which the most hardened association of money-grubbers of the twentieth century might hesitate openly to avow. By their King, they were directly incited to accomplish the process of "civilisation," much in the same manner as the early settlers in Australia "civilised" the aboriginal black-fellows.

While these preparations were proceeding in the South, fighting was proceeding in the North and West. Taking advantage of the disturbed state of Lewis, Donald Gorm revived the pretensions of the Sleat family to the island, and invaded it with a strong body of followers. Neil Macleod, the bastard son of Ruari, called out the Lewismen to defend their homes, and a battle was fought at the west side of the island, resulting in the discomfiture of the invaders.* Reports, however, reached the Lowlands that Donald Gorm had "spoyled and left the Lewes voyd and bare,"† so he had apparently succeeded in working much mischief before his defeat. The Southern Hebrides were also disturbed by a revival of the feud between the Macdonalds of Dunyveg and the Macleans of Duart, in which Macleod of Harris and Macneill of Barra sided with the Macleans, and helped to defeat the Mac-

* Traditions of the Macaulays of Uig.

† Anderson's *MS. Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. III., fol. 295.

donalds at Bern Bige in Islay (1598). These disturbances roused the King to assert his authority, and a proclamation was issued in June, 1598, calling out a levy to meet him at Dumbarton, James avowing his intention of proceeding in person to Kintyre and other parts of the Highlands and Isles to reduce the clans to subjection. Two months later, a further proclamation of a similar but more peremptory tenor, was issued, and all the shipping at Glasgow, Ayr, and Irvine was impressed into the King's service. At the end of August, James actually proceeded to Dumbarton with a portion of his Court, leaving part of the Council in Edinburgh under the presidency of Lord Seton. He had made elaborate arrangements for his personal safety. He selected for his own use a ship of Ayr, whose owner was charged to find a crew of the best and ablest mariners that the town could produce, and to get a loan of artillery or munition from any burghers who possessed them. But he never reached Kintyre, much less the Hebrides. The shires and burghs had gauged his pusillanimity to a nicety; hence their neglect to obey his first proclamation. They were convinced that he would hesitate to trust his sacred person in the Hebrides, being a man of big words but timid action. The expedition was abandoned from no known cause save the King's indecision. In 1600, a similar farce was enacted, and with the same result. One of the proclamations of that year was particularly concerned with the "suirtie of his Heynes persone," which it did not accord with his "honnour" to "hasard in thay pairtis," unless adequately supported. Not thus was James IV. accustomed to arrange his expeditions to the Hebrides. But James VI. was more careful of his person than of his honour and dignity. The personally-conducted expedition was once more abandoned, never again to be proposed.

The exact date of the Adventurers' departure for Lewis is uncertain, but they appear to have sailed early in November, 1598, and this is confirmed by a contemporary diarist (Moncrieff of that ilk). *Birrel's Diary* and *Moyse's*

Memoirs (p. 138) state that they sailed in October, 1598, but, as we have seen from the official records, they had not taken their departure by the 30th of that month. Mr. Gregory says (p. 290) they did not leave until October, 1599, and is at a loss to account for the delay in setting out on their voyage. From documents which have recently been published, as well as from the evidence already mentioned, it is now established beyond any doubt that they were actually in Lewis before the first week of December, 1598.

Under the supreme command of the Duke of Lennox, the expedition sailed from Leith, and appears to have reached Stornoway within four days of the date of departure. The members of the Syndicate were accompanied by several gentlemen volunteers, keen on so promising an adventure, and on the prospects of plunder. The military force consisted of some five or six hundred hired soldiers. A number of miscellaneous tradesmen represented the intended permanency of the settlement, and the expedition was thoroughly equipped with all the requisites for an encampment. Contemporary historians were under no illusion as to the severe measures which were intended to be taken, nor as to the ultimate object of the scheme. Archbishop Spotswood declares that the intention was "to plant Lowlandmen in the Isles and transport the inhabitants into the mainland, where they might learn civility," and that the Adventurers "made a beginning at the Isle of Lewis."*

At the time of the invasion of Lewis, the government of the island was in the hands of Murdoch and Neil Macleod, the surviving illegitimate sons of old Ruari. Murdoch was a man of superior education, who possessed not only the distinction of being able to sign his name, but could actually draft legal documents with a precision and shrewdness which could not be excelled by an Edinburgh lawyer. Neil, too, could write a good letter, as we shall have occasion to

* The late Dr. Fraser-Mackintosh informed the author that he had in his possession a holograph letter from the King, being one of several addressed to influential Highland gentlemen, requesting them to aid the Adventurers.

see hereafter ; but he was more at home with the sword than with the pen. The suggestion, therefore, that these men were mere savages, who were destitute alike of manners, morals, and education, is not borne out by facts. Murdoch, as the elder brother, was in supreme command of Lewis ; according to Spotswood, he "carried himself as Lord of the Isle," but used his authority in a tyrannical manner. The two brothers, who were probably made aware of the departure of the expedition to Lewis, prepared to resist the Lowlanders. There are no details of the fighting which took place, but the resistance appears to have been of an obstinate character. It was, however, finally broken down ; and in December, the news reached Edinburgh that Stornoway Castle had been captured. Murdoch Macleod, who is said to have distrusted the fidelity of his followers, fled from Lewis, and apparently took refuge with Torquil Conanach, whose partisan he had consistently been throughout his career. Neil seems to have remained in Lewis, with the object of worrying the colonists by means of guerilla warfare.

Having temporarily overawed the natives, the Lowlanders now commenced preliminary operations for an effective settlement of the island. Towards the Lewis people generally, they appear, notwithstanding their blood-thirsty mandate, to have acted with moderation. Either the power, or the will, or perhaps both, were wanting to initiate a policy of extermination. It is not improbable that they quickly made the discovery, that they had to deal with a people whose character had been painted in darker colours than the facts warranted. Their own position was not particularly enviable. They found themselves threatened with a scarcity of provisions, for the natives had apparently cleared the country of supplies. Their shelter was inadequate, the encampment they had formed being insufficient to protect them against the November gales and the dampness of the climate. Exposure brought on an epidemic of flux or dysentery, to which many of the colonists succumbed. It was under these circumstances

that one of the members of the Syndicate, James Leirmont of Balcomie, was sent South, probably to apprise the King of the progress which had been made, to discuss general matters connected with the settlement, and to obtain a supply of provisions against the winter months.

Leirmont never reached his destination. On 7th December, 1598, his ship was attacked off the coast of Ross-shire (or Sutherlandshire) by Murdoch Macleod, who commanded a small fleet, consisting of a galley, two birlings, and one smaller boat. Murdoch had with him, besides his own men, his brother William—another son of old Ruari whose name has never before appeared on record—and his followers; William MacAllan, and his sons and servants; Alexander MacAllan and his men; and two sons of the Brieve of Lewis, viz., Angus McLan "Bref," and Ian Dubh "McBrief"; thirty men in all. Murdoch Macleod was in command of the galley, and, according to his own account, took no part in the actual fighting: he was, he says, without "ony wapin usit be me, bot steiring the galay." His associates used their "wapins" to some purpose, for several of the passengers, as well as the crew of the Syndicate's ship, were killed, the names of the slain which are known being Arthur Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, Joseph Leirmont, and David Short. Two of the Lowlanders attempting, apparently, to escape in the ship's boat, were captured by the birling, which was under the command of William MacAllan, and were killed and stripped. The laird of Balcomie himself, with those of his company who were left alive, was kept, for ransom, a prisoner in the Isle of Ristol (one of the Summer Isles) from 7th December, the date of his capture, until the 26th of the following January, that is, for fifty days. On 28th December, he signed at Ristol a bond in favour of Murdoch Macleod, for the sum of 300 merks, as ransom for Thomas Cunningham, a burgess of Crail who had been captured by Angus Morison and eight comrades. The person who negotiated most actively for the release of Balcomie was Donald, son of the bloodstained Neil Mac-

leod of Assynt. For some unexplained reason, Assynt espoused the cause of the Fife Syndicate; perhaps he hoped to reap some advantage to himself by being on what appeared to be the winning side. Murdoch Macleod fixed Balcomie's ransom at 3,000 merks, and a bond for that sum was signed by the prisoner, with Assynt and nine of his friends as cautioners. Assynt also became cautioner for an additional sum of 500 merks, as ransom for Thomas Cunningham, the Crail burgess, and one John Mure, who were fellow-captives with Balcomie. Murdoch showed considerable shrewdness in drawing up the bond for the 3,000 merks. In order to keep the principal and his cautioners strictly to their agreement, he stipulated that if the whole sum were not forthcoming by Whit-Sunday, 1600, he was to be paid interest on the unpaid balance at the rate of ten per cent.* This was not bad for a simple barbarian, an untutored savage! The ransoms, together with the captured ship and the money found in her (consisting of 200 merks and 40 merks of Spanish reals), constituted a good haul for one day's work. But Murdoch did not enjoy his triumph long.

On the news reaching Lewis that the laird of Balcomie had been captured, the colonists seem to have sent Colonel Stewart, Spens of Wormiston, and others, to perform the mission with which Leirmont had been charged. Stewart was probably the ablest military commander the colonists possessed. He had been chosen Lieutenant of the Isles in 1596, and Queen Elizabeth had been solicited to aid him in subduing the Hebrideans; but her refusal seems to have rendered his commission inoperative. Taking advantage of the absence of Stewart and Spens, Neil Macleod suddenly attacked the colonists with what an indictment of 1613† calls, "200 barbarous, bludie, and wiket Hielandmen," armed with bows, darlochs (quivers of arrows), two-handed swords, hackbuts (arquebuses), pistols, and other weapons; it is evident that the arms of the

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. XIV., Appendix to Introduction.

† Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., pp. 244-7.

Lewismen were well up-to-date. They killed twenty-two of the colonists, burnt property valued at 20,000 merks, and carried off horses, cows, oxen, sheep, and other "bestial" worth ten thousand pounds.

The news of the raid soon reached the ears of the King. In a letter dated 15th June, 1599, to the Chancellor and other Lords of the Privy Council, he commanded them to "haist" Colonel Stewart and his comrades in concluding the consideration of matters connected with the Isles which was then proceeding. "For," added the King, "we have ressavit letters out of the Lewis" showing that their "returne is maist ernistlie craved and thocht maist necessar to be haistned." Four days after the date of this letter, Stewart, Spens, and Thomas Cunningham, the Crail burgess, appeared before the Privy Council, craving for themselves and for the Syndicate, that a day should be appointed for charging Mackenzie of Kintail with such "crimes" as they were prepared to advance against him; and the 25th September was fixed for the purpose. It is probable that the worthy burgess of Crail had discovered, during his imprisonment on the Isle of Ristol, that Kintail was a secret enemy of the Syndicate, and knew more about Murdoch Macleod's doings than he openly professed. No doubt Cunningham was to have been the chief witness against Mackenzie; but the application, so far as the records show, was fruitless. Kenneth Mackenzie had a perfect genius for getting himself out of a tight place.

It is not surprising that there should have existed in the Highlands and Isles generally, a feeling of great irritation, not unmixed with profound disquietude, at the intrusion of the Lowland strangers. The fate of the Lewismen to-day might be that of their neighbours to-morrow. The conquest of Lewis was the thin end of the wedge. The cession of Trotternish was sufficient to stimulate the active antagonism of Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat, both of whom laid claim to that territory. The great chiefs of the western seaboard viewed with alarm the

planting at their doors of a strong body of vigorous Lowlanders, who in time might spread their tentacles across the Minch, and grab the fertile territories on the mainland. The hostility of Mackenzie of Kintail is therefore intelligible on grounds other than his desire to acquire Lewis for himself. It was bad policy to have aroused the well-founded suspicion of the powerful clans of the West. It could only have one effect: that of arraying them in secret, but none the less active, dangerous, and solid antagonism towards the schemes of the King and his Land Syndicate. A man like Mackenzie of Kintail was a particularly undesirable foe. Of great ability, and of no greater scrupulosity than the majority of Scotland's magnates, Lowland and Highland alike, he was sufficiently powerful to be able to make or to mar the success of the enterprise.

A commission of lieutenancy to last for a twelvemonth was, on 9th July, 1599, granted to Lennox and Huntly, the latter of whom had been pardoned for past offences, and during this year was created a marquis. The Act of Council constituting this lieutenancy commences with the usual recitation of the "frequent villanies and barbarous cruelties" of the "wicked and rebellious" inhabitants of the Isles (the Highlands are this time included in the category), who are "void of all feir or knauledge of God," destitute of reverence for prince, law, or justice, and guilty of treason, murders, and intolerable actions, "very aft every ane of thame batheing themeselffis in the blude of utheris." Then comes the old complaint—the crux of the whole matter—about the loss of revenue to his Majesty, owing to the shocking state of society in those parts; and reference is made to the "daily practice by force and policy" of disappointing the King's service in Lewis. To remedy this state of matters, Lennox and Huntly are appointed Lieutenants and Justices within the whole bounds of the Highlands and Isles, and full indemnity is given them and their assistants for any "slauchter, mutilatioun, fyre-raising or utheris inconvenientis" which they might commit in

the discharge of their duties. They are specially ordered to assist with their whole forces the Lewis colonists, and they are charged to expel from Lewis any who refuse to submit to the Adventurers. They are further charged to "prosequite with fyre, sword, and all kind of hostilitie" all open enemies or secret thwarters of the colonists. Full general powers are conferred upon the lieutenants to do everything necessary for settling the Isles, and they are empowered to convocate, with the counsel and advice of certain specified landlords, the lieges north of the Dee, as often as they think expedient in the fulfilment of their commission. And lastly, the lieges themselves are charged to obey the lieutenants, who are also empowered to appoint the Lewis colonists as their lawful deputies. In the instructions to Lennox and Huntly, they are charged to pacify the Isles, and to assist the Lewis colonists to enable the King to receive yearly, "ane thankfull payment of the dewiteis contenit in thair infestment, quhairby his Majestei's rentis salbe greatlie augmente."* And in the performance of this task, the lieutenants are to be counted worthy of great reward—as indeed they well deserved to be. The Earl of Errol, the Earl Marischal, Lord Forbes and others named, are to act as counsellors to the lieutenants in the matter of raising levies of men for service in the Isles and the disaffected parts of the Highlands. The hands of the lieutenants were further strengthened by an Act of Council, dated 19th November, 1599, making landlords and chieftains of clans answerable for the conduct of their men. And a year afterwards (25th November, 1600) a decree in favour of Lennox was published, transferring to him the rights of jurisdiction over the western seas hitherto held by the Argyll family.

The powers thus conferred upon the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Huntly were of a sufficiently comprehensive character. In effect, the lives as well as the lands of the Islesmen were handed over to the tender mercies of

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VI., pp. 8-10.

these two noblemen. Lennox might perhaps be trusted not to abuse the absolute powers with which he was invested, but as subsequent events show, Huntly was quite willing to undertake the extirpation, root and branch, of half the population of the Hebrides. That these men should have received unlimited authority to slaughter the Islesmen at their will, is a further indication of the policy of the King. Little recked he of the lives of his Hebridean subjects, so long as his rents were "greatlie augmente."

On his release from captivity, Leirmont of Balcomie sailed for home in January, 1599. But the unfortunate laird never again saw Balcomie. Attacked by a fever, he was landed at the Orkneys, and enfeebled as he was by the hardships of his captivity, quickly succumbed to the disease. The laird of Balcomie must have formed a striking contrast to the rough islanders. He was on one occasion denounced from the pulpit by a plain-speaking minister (Alexander Melville) as a "Frenchiest, Italianest, jolly gentleman,"* the adjective "jolly," as the context shows, being a back-handed compliment, implying that his morals were far from being unimpeachable. The death of Leirmont infuriated the colonists in Lewis, who were now determined to get hold of Murdoch Macleod, and punish him for his outrage on their comrade. But Murdoch was far too wary to permit himself to fall into their hands. In their extremity, they resolved to come to terms with Neil, hoping thus to obtain their revenge on Murdoch, and rid themselves of Neil's guerilla warfare. They succeeded almost beyond their expectations. Neil was irritated with his brother for the friendship which he maintained with the Brieve and his clan, whom Neil cordially hated. The complicity of the Morisons in the capture and death of Torquil Dubh had never been forgotten by Neil, in whose rugged breast there beat a heart full of loyalty for his murdered chief. The colonists promised him that if he would deliver Murdoch into their hands, they would give

* *Chambers's Domestic Annals*, p. 309.

him a grant of land in Lewis, and secure a free pardon from the King for all his offences. Neil's cupidity thus aroused proved too much for his fraternal instincts, and he gave his assent to the proposal. Whatever the means he adopted for getting his brother into his power, he succeeded, by an act of base treachery, in capturing Murdoch, with twelve of his followers. The latter were at once executed without further ceremony, and their leader was handed over to the tender mercies of the colonists.* As Moysie puts it, by means of "ane speciall Hielandman of that Ile"—thus is Neil described—twelve were seized and beheaded; their heads were sent in a "pok" to Edinburgh and set upon the city gates. A ghastly cargo of human heads in a sack from the distant Island of Lewis was an object-lesson to the burgesses of Edinburgh which, it may be hoped, they took to heart. But it was, after all, a poor freight for an impecunious King, whose chief concern was to secure his rents.

Murdoch Macleod—such is the irony of fate—was sent to Balcomie in Fife, where he was detained as the prisoner of John Leirmont of Birkhill, brother and successor of the laird who ended his days in the Orkneys. While at Balcomie, he made a written confession, dated 30th January, 1600, of the events of 7th December, 1598. Four days afterwards, he signed a written discharge of all sums stipulated as due to him for the ransom of James Leirmont, and a quitclaim of all right to pursue either the executors of the late laird, or Donald Macleod of Assynt, for recovery of the money. The document was drafted by Balcomie's factor, John Orme, and one of the witnesses was Thomas Cunningham, the quondam prisoner of Murdoch.

It is fairly evident from these documents that the prospects of a pardon were held out to Macleod, in consideration of his renouncing all benefits derived from his capture of Leirmont. But the very day he signed the quitclaim at Balcomie (3rd February), a Royal order was despatched

* Spotswood (p. 468), who states that Neil laid an ambush for his brother.

to the Justices of Fife charging them, notwithstanding all precepts to the contrary, to proceed to the immediate trial of Murdoch, who is described as "of Sebuste" (? Shawbost), and as the brother of Torquil Macleod of Coigeach, no longer, be it noted, "of Lewis." The trial was ordered to take place at St. Andrews, and the Justices were commanded, if they found the prisoner guilty of the "crimes" with which he was charged, to sentence him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head to be affixed above the "Nether Bow" of Edinburgh, as a warning to others.* This letter put an effectual stop to whatever negotiations may have been set on foot for the pardon of the culprit. Murdoch was found guilty by the Fifeshire Justices—to whom his trial was entrusted because his "crimes" were committed against the Fife Adventurers—and the sentence prescribed by the King was carried into effect at St. Andrews. Looking at all the circumstances from an impartial standpoint, it cannot be said that the sentence was a just one. The members of the Syndicate and the dispossessed Lewis chief were at open warfare. The resistance of the Macleods to the invasion of the Adventurers was wholly justifiable, and indeed patriotic; while the attack on Balcomie's ship was a fair stand-up fight; and whatever barbarities may have accompanied the victory of the islanders were, according to Murdoch's statement, committed without his authority. But it was useless to expect such considerations to weigh with judges who were deliberately chosen for their local prejudice against the prisoner, and who dared not run counter to the plain wishes of their Sovereign. After all, in their view, the execution of Murdoch Macleod made one Lewis barbarian the fewer for their friends, the Syndicate, to cope with.

Murdoch being now disposed of, the Adventurers made overtures to Mackenzie of Kintail for a compact whereby they might secure his powerful friendship. Accordingly, a minute of the heads of an agreement was drafted at Perth

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. XIV., Appen. to Intro.

on 1st April, 1600, by one Patrick Orme, and signed by Mackenzie and three witnesses. The heads of the agreement are briefly as follow :—

1. The Syndicate having suffered great loss through Murdoch Macleod and his accomplices, Mackenzie binds himself to call to account any of his friends, servants, or tenants, who may be implicated in the theft of goods or gear from the colony ; and that any such cases shall be adjudicated upon by two arbitrators, to be chosen by Kintail and two members of the Syndicate.
2. In view of the strained relations between Mackenzie and Donald Macleod of Assynt—due, it is alleged, to Macleod's friendliness to the colonists—it is agreed that if Mackay of Strathnaver, who is acting as umpire in the quarrel, does not succeed in restoring the friendship of the two chiefs, the matter shall be referred to four arbitrators as before stated ; and that in the meantime, Kintail shall not molest Macleod, nor his friends and servants.
3. It is agreed that Mackenzie shall do his best to arrange a compromise between Torquil Macleod and the Syndicate ; and that in the event of Torquil refusing to accept whatever reasonable terms may be offered him by a Board of Arbitrators, Kintail shall withdraw his protection from him ; with the reservation, however, that without breach of bond, the Syndicate shall have power to pursue the Coigeach men for the theft of boats and ships.
4. In view of certain allegations by Kintail that Neil Macleod had, since last May, committed "divers wrongs and injuries" to Mackenzie's tenants, the Adventurers are willing, in the event of Neil's refusal to submit to arbitration, to adjudicate upon the matter and to give Mackenzie satisfaction. They also agree to Kintail taking any lawful means he pleases, for punishing Neil in respect of whatever charges may be proved against him ; but that any wrongs committed by Neil prior to May shall not be accounted a breach of friendship between Mackenzie and themselves.
5. That each of the partners of the Syndicate and Mackenzie shall maintain friendly relations with one another, and shall perform the mutual duties demanded by law, conscience, and friendship.*

This document serves to explain the general situation.

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. XIV., Appen. to Intro.

The heads of the agreement seem to show (1st) that Mackenzie had been a party to the worrying tactics of the natives ; (2nd) that he had bitterly resented the friendly attitude of Macleod of Assynt towards the Lowlanders ; (3rd) that he had been backing Torquil Conanach in his rightful claims to Lewis ; (4th) that Neil Macleod had been annoying Mackenzie by attacks on the mainland ; that his compact with the Syndicate was made in May, 1599 ; and that since that time he had maintained friendly relations with the colonists. True to their promises, the Adventurers, or those of them who went South to give evidence against Murdoch Macleod, had taken Neil with them and obtained for him a free pardon from the King. He returned to Lewis with his Lowland friends, the latter, who were accompanied by the new laird of Balcomie, rejoicing doubtless in the fact that they had put one of their two principal enemies out of the way, and secured the co-operation of the other, and the more dangerous, foe.

According to Sir Robert Gordon, Murdoch Macleod revealed certain incriminating facts about Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, which placed that clever schemer in a perilous situation. He was ordered to Edinburgh to answer these charges—the head and front of his offending being apparently his secret thwarting of the Adventurers—and was committed to prison, but escaped trial through the influence of his friend, the Earl of Montrose, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. In view of these statements, the compact between him and the Syndicate, which must have immediately followed his release from imprisonment, is rather curious. We must believe either that he succeeded in clearing himself from the charges said to have been made against him, or that the Adventurers, convinced of his enmity towards them, powerless to crush him, and dreading his further machinations, resolved to make a deal with him. It is possible that the evidence of his secret hostility to the Lowlanders was sufficiently strong to have secured his conviction, if he was brought to trial, but that the

King and his Council dreaded at this stage his open enmity. Hence his escape from trial on the charges of the Syndicate; and, subsequently, on the charges by Murdoch Macleod. It is quite conceivable that the King and his Councillors actually connived at his release from prison, and that the Syndicate had special instructions to conclude an agreement with him, in order to prevent further trouble through his instrumentality. There are no records to show whether or not the agreement between him and the Syndicate was ever signed. If the bargain was actually carried out, its conditions did not long remain in operation.

Whether or not as the result of the negotiations between Mackenzie and the Adventurers with reference to Torquil Conanach, it is a curious fact that the latter, who was in February described as "of Coigeach," appears on 2nd April in the Privy Council records as "of the Lewis." A complaint was on that date lodged with the Council by George Monro of "Mekle Tarrell" that on 15th June, 1599, certain persons named, "all household men" of Torquil, had threatened and "dang" his tenants and "spuilzied" twenty-one "pece of hors and meris." Torquil and his men, not appearing to answer to the summons, were ordered to be denounced as rebels. As showing the intimate relations between Torquil Conanach—the "poor unable" as a contemporary calls him—and the Morisons of Lewis, it may be mentioned that among the names of his men are to be found those of "Hucheon Breiff" and "Allane Brieff," who were probably sons of John Morison, the Brieve of Lewis. The denunciation of Torquil Conanach as a rebel must have modified that part of the proposed compact between Kintail and the Syndicate which related to Mackenzie's *protégé*.

In the same month, the name of Tormod Macleod, the younger brother of Torquil Dubh, whom Kintail had abducted from school, appears in the Privy Council records. By one John Davidson, Tormod lodged a complaint with the Council against his guardian, setting forth that Mackenzie had seized and detained him without just cause.

If Tormod complained at the instigation of Neil Macleod—which is not improbable—he quickly discovered that he had made a mistake. Kintail not appearing to answer the charge, was merely ordered to present Tormod before the Council, the latter understanding that Tormod “is a chieff and speciall man of that clan, and that thairfoir it is necessair that ordour be tane for his deutifull obeidyence and gude behaviour.”* But neither Mackenzie nor Tormod appears to have complied with the order.

Ruari Macleod of Harris also came in for his share of attention by the Council during this year. Donald Macleod of Raasay, whom he had in March, 1596–7, left as his hostage, disappeared before 30th November (the date by which Ruari was ordered to attend personally before the Council), and the lord of Harris stayed at home. Proceedings were instituted against him in November, 1599, and in May, 1600, a protest was lodged by the Treasurer and the King's Advocate in the matter of the 10,000 merks which Ruari had forfeited by his contumacy. The wily chief naturally enough threw every obstacle in the way, hoping to defer payment as long as possible if he did not succeed in evading it altogether. He had requested the Crown officers to produce before the King and Council the letters charging him to pay the fine, and had succeeded generally in wearing out the patience of those officials. In view of the experimental stage which the King's great colonising scheme had then reached, it was good policy at that juncture to handle so powerful a chief as Ruari Macleod somewhat tenderly, and this fact Ruari was shrewd enough to perceive. He appears neither to have obeyed the summons to appear before the Council, nor to have paid the fine of 10,000 merks. The charming nonchalance displayed by the chiefs, in face of the numerous orders for their appearance before the Privy Council, is the best proof of their well-grounded belief that the arm of authority was not long enough to reach them, nor powerful enough to compel their obedience.

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VI., p. 101.

Meanwhile, the members of the Syndicate were being confirmed in their possessions, so far as legal titles could do so. The Parliament of 1600 ratified an Act of 14th December, 1599, conveying the infeftment of Lewis and Trotternish to the Adventurers. The lands specified in the ratification comprise, besides the two main territories, Rona, the Shiant Isles, Great and Little Bernera, the Flannan Islands, and "twa cunying islands."* The customary strong language is used about the Lewismen. They are accused of "maist detestabill, damnabill, and odious murthers, fyiris, reveisching of wemen, witchcraft, and depredatiounes maid amangis thameselffis, extendit maist unmercifullie to all sorttis of persounes, without ony pitie or mercie ather of young or auld," as well as of the usual "treassonabill practeisses." The document sets forth how the members of the Syndicate had conquered the lands, and somewhat naively remarks that they have set an example which others would do well to follow. In consideration of their patriotic services, the yearly duty has been reduced to one thousand pounds in money, 1,000 keling (codling), 1,000 lingfish and 1,000 skates. A charter of the lands under the Great Seal is to be prepared by the King for himself, as legal representative of his son Henry Frederick, "Prince and Stewart of the realm and Lord of the Isles," by the tenor of which the Syndicate, consisting of the Duke of Lennox, Patrick of Lindores, Stewart, Leirmont, Anstruther (the Queen's Master of the Household), Spens, Sandilands, Murray, Forret, and David Home, heir of Wedderburn, are to be confirmed in their possessions in equal shares, including the fishings, patronage, teinds, &c.

Power is given them to build ten parish churches in Lewis, and as many in Trotternish as they may think proper, such churches to be independent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Isles. They are also empowered to

* Dean Monro calls them Sigrain-na-Goinein (coinein) "wherein there are many cuninges" (rabbits). Blaeu calls them Sigram-na-geinen, and places them near Pabaidh in Loch Roag. They are doubtless the islets named Shiaran Mhor and Shiaran Bheag.

construct harbours and collect for their own use the petty dues, reserving for the King the "great customs" on all fish and other goods imported and exported. Encouragement is given them to open taverns, &c., for the accommodation of strangers. They are empowered to erect as many burghs of barony as may be requisite, such burghs to have all the privileges of "free" burghs of barony, and to call them by whatever names they please; to appoint weekly market days and free annual fairs, to be held within each burgh so erected, with a special protection to all people resorting thither; and to create and incorporate what is to be called in all time coming the free Stewartry of Lewis, with all the privileges of a free Stewartry.

The Act further ordains that Lewis and the other lands are to be equally divided into ten parts, each part to be erected into a free barony under a special denomination, with a principal messuage appertaining thereto; that the Adventurers are to be exempt from all military service, except for foreign wars, for expeditions undertaken for the conquest of the rest of the Isles, and for the quelling of disturbances north of the Ness.

Then follow valuations of Lewis and its pertinents (40 pound lands of old extent) and Trotternish (80 merks) for taxable purposes; stipulations as to the nature of the tenure (feu-farm heritable); and the terms for payment of the rent, that for Trotternish being fixed at one-third of the money payment for Lewis. Concerning the salaries of the ministers, "ane ressonabill stepend" is to be provided from the teinds "for thair sustentatioun and intertenement."*

It will thus be seen that so far as Royal encouragement could make the enterprise a success, the Adventurers continued their efforts under the most favourable auspices. The project set forth in the foregoing Act was an ambitious one. Its aims were nothing short of revolu-

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. IV., pp. 248-250.

tionary; and on the whole, it may fairly be said that they were apparently beneficent. But it cannot be too frequently emphasised, that at the root of these civilising measures lay the canker of gross injustice, and utter disregard for the rights and liberties of the natives. It is not too obscurely hinted, that the conquest of Lewis was to be the first of a series of similar conquests throughout the length and breadth of the Hebrides. A scheme such as is here set forth would have been wholly commendable, had it been undertaken with the object of teaching the natives the arts of peace, and diverting their turbulent and warlike habits into channels of industry and progress. We are bound, however, to examine the motives of the undertaking: and it is only too plain that these were dictated by selfishness alone. We are forced to the conviction—a conviction which becomes stronger with every Act and proclamation relating to the plantation of Lewis—that the intention was to extirpate the natives, and replace them with strangers from the South. If the Adventurers adopted a more humane policy, it was in spite of, rather than in obedience to, the spirit of their instructions.

As a supplement to the confirmation of the Adventurers in their possessions, there is an engagement dated at St. Andrews, 7th October, 1600, by Stewart, Leirmont, Anstruther, Spens, Forret, and Murray, which ratifies a contract entered into on the previous June, obliging the members of the Syndicate, among other things, to plan a town in Lewis, apportion land for the purpose, build houses thereon, and divide the whole of the remaining land among themselves. The signatories to this engagement state that they are prevented by weighty reasons from being present in Lewis to fulfil their part of the contract, but they give authority to their associates to carry out, in their absence, at any time before Michaelmas, 1601, the arrangements made in respect of the points stated; the agreement in all other particulars to remain intact. An imperfect memorandum has come to light setting forth the

Contract Articles submitted for the consideration of the partners in the enterprise. The points so submitted relate to their minister, their kirk, their schoolmaster and their school ; to the bounds of the town, its fortifications, its first houses, and the burgh roads ; to the division of the lands, people, and goods ; to the salmon fishings, mines, minerals, whales, teinds, and the duty on fish ; to the social duties of the colony ; to compensation for those colonists who suffer most severely from attack ; to shipping matters ; to the institution of a common fund ; to the debarring of marriage or friendship with the natives unless by general consent ; to the protection of the Syndicate against an increase of partners without the consent of the contractors ; and to the prevention of any individual member attempting to exercise undue authority to the prejudice of the common good.*

The framework of the Society is seen from the foregoing synopsis. The provisions are in the main excellent enough, so far as the internal economy of the colony is concerned. But it is evident that the colonists were to form a separate and superior caste in the island. The natives were to be treated as pariahs. No intercourse between the two races was to be permissible except in the relations of masters and serfs. The King was for extermination ; the colonists preferred segregation ; no one suggested amalgamation.

Having secured temporary immunity from attack, the colonists commenced to carry out their programme. They planned their town and proceeded to build houses, the material being stone, timber, and "sail" (turf). Finally, they completed what Sir Robert Gordon calls a "prettie town," which they fortified. There is no reason for doubt that the modern town of Stornoway covers the site of this village. The remains of some ramparts and fortifications existed at the point of Holm, a short distance from Stornoway, although they are no longer discoverable ; and it

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. XIV., Appen. to Intro.

has been supposed that these were relics of the occupation of the Adventurers, but it will be shown that they belonged to a later period. That the village of the colonists adjoined the old Castle of Stornoway—the most natural site for it—is proved by a charter of 1607, in which the location of “Villam de Stroneway” is so described.

Everything was now looking bright for the young colony ; and a peaceful occupation seemed assured. But it was a delusive peace ; it was the calm which precedes the storm ; for soon their dreams of security were rudely dispelled. That stormy petrel, Neil Macleod, was the disturbing element. The alliance between him and the Lowlanders never contained the germs of permanency. The incongruity of their friendship is easily apparent. Neil was with them, but not of them. His proud and restless spirit could ill brook to see the ancient possessions of the Siol Torquil parcelled out among insolent strangers. The restraints of civilisation, too, probably became irksome ; he despised the trading instincts of the Lowlanders ; he longed for the old life with its ploys and its plunder. His was a masterful personality, a revengeful disposition, an uncurbed temper, and a code of ethics that was in many respects different from the laws which governed the conduct of his temporary associates. It is probable that his relations with the Adventurers gradually grew less cordial, and that the hollow friendship patched up between them became more and more distasteful, and mutually so. And then an event occurred which hastened the inevitable severance of association. Irritated beyond measure by some unnamed injury at the hands of Spens of Wormiston, Neil suddenly broke off all amicable relations with the colonists, and being a man who never did things by halves, became once more the bitter enemy whom they dreaded. This quarrel, initiated perhaps by some trivial incident, changed the whole face of Lewis history. Had Neil Macleod continued to be the friend of the colonists ; had they been sufficiently politic to avoid giving him offence ; the descendants of the Fife men might to-day be the ruling caste

in Lewis, and it is difficult to say what the consequences might have been to the Hebrides generally. And yet it is not easy to conceive that a man of Neil's temper could have become a permanent ally of the Lowlanders, with whom he had so little in common; nor is it easier to imagine the turbulent Lewisman playing the part of a peaceful trader, or a meek agriculturist.

No sooner had he quarrelled with the Adventurers than he re-commenced active hostilities against them. The colonists now determined to get rid of this troublesome foe once for all. Being unable to seize him by force, they had recourse to strategy. One very dark night in December, 1601, Spens of Wormiston, who was the cause of the quarrel, sent a body of men from the camp to capture Neil and one Donald Dubh MacRory, "a gentleman of the island" who had also incurred the enmity of the colonists. But Neil was on his guard, and discovering the plot, turned the tables on his would-be captors. He suffered them to leave the camp some distance behind them, and then burst upon the surprised Lowlanders like an avalanche. The latter, taken completely off their guard, made no stand. The darkness of the night accentuated the confusion. Hither and thither ran the colonists seeking in vain to break their way through the Lewismen, who barred their retreat to the camp. Their comrades sent a force to the rescue, and the remains of the punitive force at length found safety behind their friendly ramparts, leaving, according to one authority, sixty, and according to another, fifty men stark and stiff outside. Neil Macleod now became a more dangerous antagonist than ever, and the Adventurers realised that far from their colony being secure, they were now only on the threshold of their difficulties, and that the re-conquest of Lewis was imperative.

Watchful eyes were directed from the mainland on the events transpiring in Lewis. Mackenzie of Kintail, negotiations with the Syndicate notwithstanding, maintained inviolate his purpose of ruining the colony. He was sufficiently far-seeing to realise that the alliance

between Neil Macleod and the Lowlanders was bound to be evanescent. As soon, therefore, as his expectations were fulfilled, he made a move in carrying out his carefully-matured plans. Knowing the attachment of the Lewismen to Torquil Dubh and his family, he released Tormod Macleod, and sent him to Lewis, feeling assured that Neil and the islanders generally would rally round the brothers of their old chief and rise in revolt against the colonists. Nor were his hopes disappointed. No sooner had Tormod reached Lewis, than Neil placed his sword at his disposal, and the revolt received a fresh impetus. Commenting on the enthusiasm with which Tormod was welcomed in Lewis by his clansmen, Sir Robert Gordon remarks, "for all these ilanders (and lykwayes the Hie-landers) are by nature most bent and prone to adventure themselves, their lyffs, and all they have, for their masters and lords, yea, beyond all other people." Sir Robert has here struck the right nail on the head. For the attributes which he mentions are precisely those which rendered possible the numerous rebellions in the Highlands and Isles already noticed, and those which were to follow.

Tormod Macleod lost no time in following up the success obtained by Neil. Accompanied by the latter, and a strong body of natives, he attacked and stormed the camp of the colonists and burnt their fort. The Lowlanders, though taken by surprise, defended themselves stubbornly, and it was not until the greater number of them were killed that the remainder surrendered unconditionally. Tormod, a generous conqueror, was not averse from treating the vanquished colonists with consideration. He agreed to set them at liberty on the following conditions, viz. :—

- 1st. That they should "purchase" from the King a remission for all offences present and past of himself and his followers.
- 2nd. That they should resign to him their rights in Lewis.

3rd. That Spens, with his son-in-law Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, should remain in Lewis as pledges, until the first two conditions were satisfactorily fulfilled and confirmed.*

The colonists had no option but to accept these conditions, which they accordingly did, very much against the grain, as may be imagined. Under the leadership of Sir James Anstruther, the prisoners made a humiliating departure from Lewis, the attenuated remnant of the company who had so blithely undertaken the conquest and colonisation of the island three years previously. The detention of the pledges was a prudent move on the part of Tormod, for the King was forced to grant the desired remission, and give the required security for the transference of the colonists' rights to Macleod, in order to obtain the release of Spens and his son-in-law. Subsequent events show that the conditions would never have been fulfilled but for the prisoners in pledge. The King and the Adventurers acted with "Punic" faith towards the Lewismen: according to their code of honour, promises to wild Hebrideans were made only to be broken at a favourable opportunity. The rough islanders came out of this transaction far more creditably than the civilised Lowlanders. Eight months elapsed before James Leirmont, son of the Laird of Darcie, was sent to Lewis to obtain the release of the pledges, by ratifying the treaty entered into by Tormod and the colonists. The islanders honourably performed their part of the agreement, and the last of the Fife men sailed from Lewis, glad enough, no doubt, to cross the Minch on their homeward journey. And thus ended, in miserable failure, the first attempt to make the subjection of the island a dividend-paying concern.

Tormod Macleod was now in undisputed possession of the island, with the faithful Neil as his lieutenant. One of his most active partisans was John MacDonald Mac-

* Spotswood, p. 468.

Hucheon Macleod of Sandey, a short but powerful man, and a redoubtable fighter. Apparently, he had been watching for a chance of seizing Torquil Conanach, and finally succeeded in apprehending and bringing him to Lewis. And thus the arch-enemy of Tormod's brother was at length in his power. Tormod demanded from him the writs and infeftments of Lewis, but Torquil Conanach truthfully enough replied that they had passed out of his possession into that of Mackenzie of Kintail. The question now arose, what should be done with Torquil? Tormod's followers demanded his blood. But here again the Macleod chief showed that whatever other lessons he may have learned from Kintail, inhumanity was not one of them. With a generosity which contrasts strongly with the bloodthirsty spirit which actuated the rest of the Macleods, he refused to butcher his relative, and instead, set him at liberty, unconditionally so far as we know. This forbearance is all the more remarkable, in face of the fact that Torquil Conanach was primarily responsible for the execution of Torquil Dubh, Tormod's brother. But it is probable that Tormod regarded Torquil Conanach as being merely a tool in the hands of Kintail, and such, indeed, he appears practically to have been.

During Tormod's government of the island, John Morison, the Brieve of Lewis, met his end in the following manner. The Brieve, who had been compelled to leave Ness and had taken refuge in Assynt, was in an unenviable condition. His act of treachery towards Torquil Dubh had made him a marked man. John Macleod, the active fighter, and the captor of Torquil Conanach, was on his track. Macleod had previously fought against the Morisons in Lewis, and had suffered defeat at Carloway, so he had a score to wipe off. He met the Brieve in a house at Inverkirkaig in Assynt, Morison having six men with him, and John Macleod only four. As might be expected, it was not long before the two parties fell to blows, and a "pretty play" ensued. The result of the fight was, to say the least, surprising. The Brieve and

no fewer than five of his followers were killed, while of their opponents, not a man fell. Sir Robert Gordon piously ascribes the remarkable outcome of this fight to the interposition of Providence in favour of the Macleods, the wicked Brieve and his followers being deprived of the power to resist. Evidently the Morisons had met better men than themselves; picked swordsmen, perhaps, who had come upon them, apparently by accident, but really with the set purpose of fighting them.

Among the numerous islands on the coast of Eddrachillis is one called *Eilean na Breitheamh*, or the Judge's Island, which derives its name from the following circumstances. The friends of the Brieve, hearing of his death, came across from Lewis in a galley to bring the corpse home, but owing to contrary winds, they were driven to this island; whereupon they decided to disembowel the body and bury the intestines, which they did; and on the wind changing, they set sail again, and arrived in safety at Ness. John Morison was succeeded in the chiefship of his clan by Malcolm Mòr MacIain, who was determined to avenge the death of the Brieve when chance should throw John of Sandey in his way. They met at length at Coigeach, when a fight took place, in which the Morisons were worsted and Malcolm himself was taken prisoner. His captor handed him over to Tormod Macleod in Lewis, who forthwith made him "short by the head."* He had no qualms of conscience about despatching a Morison.

The year 1601 was marked by strife in parts of the Long Island other than Lewis. The Lowland colony in Lewis was harassed by the natives; the two most powerful clans in Harris and North Uist were at deadly feud. Donald Gorm Macdonald—who, on 17th August, 1596, got a charter of Sleat and North Uist, with lands in South Uist, and Benbecula†—had married a sister of Ruari Macleod of Harris. The marriage proved an unhappy one.

* Traditions of the Morisons of Ness.

† *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1593-1608), No. 472.

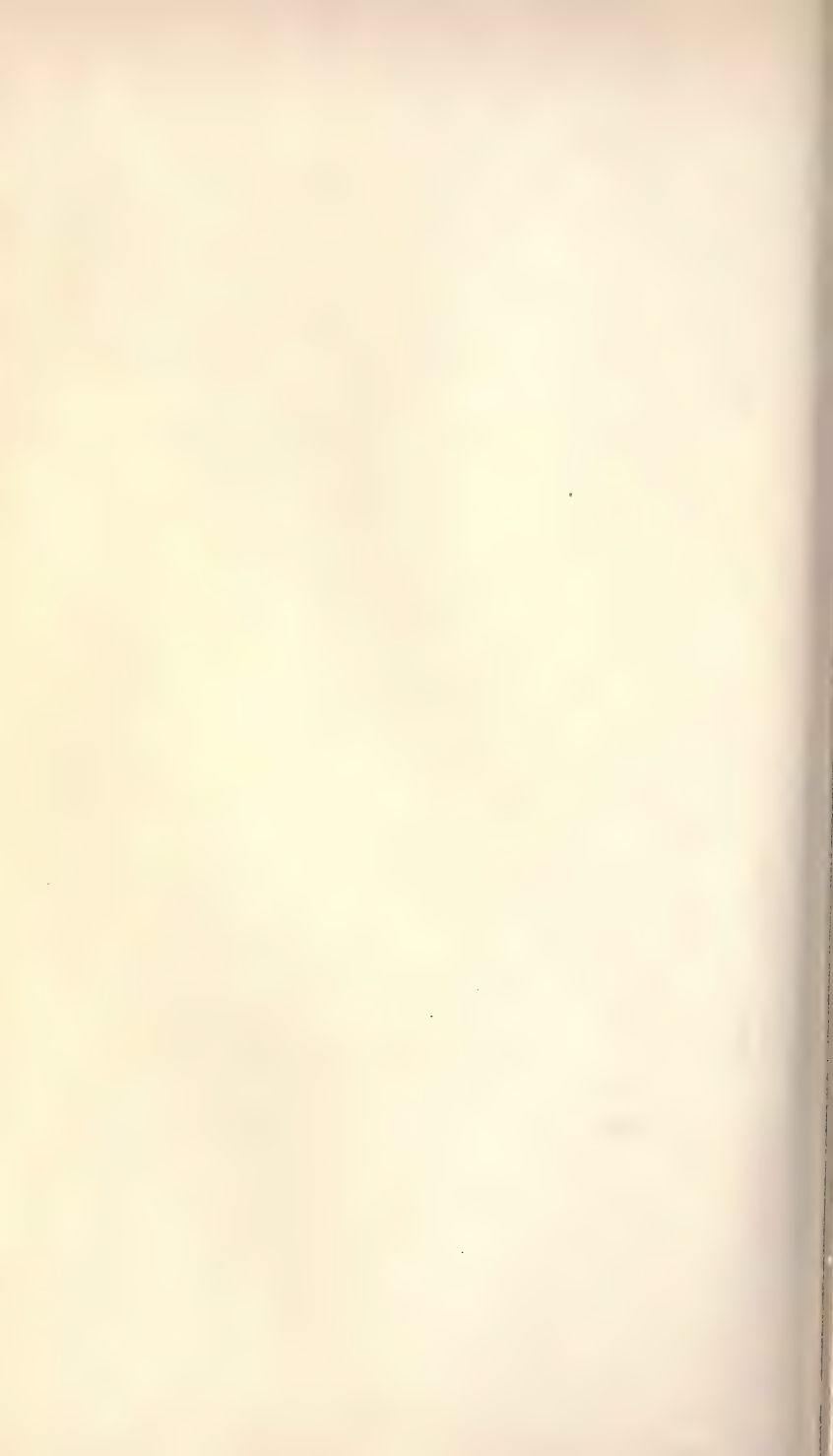
The husband took a violent dislike to the wife, owing to jealousy or some other cause of displeasure. He thereupon packed the lady off to her friends, repudiating her as his wife. This high-handed proceeding roused the ire of Rory Mòr, who sent to Donald Gorm desiring him to take his wife back. The latter not only refused, but promptly divorced her, and married a sister of Mackenzie of Kintail. Macleod thereupon took his revenge by devastating Trotternish. Donald Gorm retaliated by invading Harris, which he wasted, killing some of the inhabitants and carrying away much booty. Ruari Macleod then instructed his cousin, Donald Glas, to invade North Uist, and carry off from Trinity Church, at Carinish, the goods which the Uist people had placed there for safety. With forty men, Donald Glas proceeded to obey these instructions, but was met by John MacIan Mac Sheumais Macdonald, a near relation of Donald Gorm, with twelve men. Although the Macleods so greatly outnumbered the Macdonalds, they were utterly routed, their leader with all his men, except two, being killed. This repulse disheartened Ruari Macleod, who retired from Port-na-Long to Rodil, Harris. Donald MacJames, while on his way to Skye to report the Carinish affair to Donald Gorm, was driven by a storm to take refuge at Rodil, where he and his followers were hospitably entertained by Rory Mòr, who was unaware of the identity of his guests. When it became known who they were, the strict laws of Highland hospitality were strained almost to breaking point. They stood the strain, and bloodshed was averted. But some of the Macleods, thirsting for revenge, set the Macdonalds' dormitory on fire during the night. The birds had flown, however, for the Macdonalds had wisely determined not to trust their hosts too implicitly.

The feud now became more deadly than ever, and the two clans raided and spoiled one another's territories so mercilessly that the inhabitants were reduced to the direst extremities. Food became so scarce that the wretched clansmen were forced to the necessity of sustaining life by



TRINITY CHURCH, CARINISH, NORTH UIST.

[To face page 200.]



eating their horses, their dogs, their cats, "and other filthy vermin." This is a striking example of the misery inflicted upon the common people by the vindictive personal quarrels of their chiefs. The slaughter and starvation of innocent, but blindly devoted clansmen, was a heavy price to pay for an unhappy marriage.

Donald Gorm finally decided to bring matters to a definite issue, and crush the Macleods in a decisive fight. Collecting his forces, he invaded Macleod's lands in Skye, while the chief was away seeking the assistance of the Earl of Argyll against the Macdonalds. Alexander Macleod, brother of Rory Mòr, assembled the whole fighting strength of the Siol Tormod to repel the assailants, and with him were some of the Siol Torquil of Lewis, who had been summoned to help their namesakes. The Macleods posted themselves on the shoulder of one of the Coolin Hills and awaited the attack. A fierce and obstinate fight ensued, lasting nearly the whole day. Both sides realised the decisive nature of the contest, and each was resolved to win; the Macleods were compelled ultimately to acknowledge defeat. Two near kinsmen of Rory Mòr, John MacTormod and Tormod MacTormod, were killed, with many others of lesser note; and the chief's brother, Alexander, with thirty-two of the leading men of the clan, was taken prisoner.

What the final issue of this bloodthirsty feud would have been, if the clans had been left to themselves, can only be conjectured, but the Privy Council now interfered in the quarrel. Assistance by others to either of the contending parties was strictly forbidden; and the chiefs themselves were ordered to disband their forces and leave Skye temporarily. Macleod was enjoined to give himself up to the Earl of Argyll, and Macdonald to the Earl of Huntly; and both were charged to remain with these nobles until their dispute had been adjudicated upon by the King and the Council. In the end, a reconciliation was effected, through the instrumentality of Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, Maclean of Coll, and others. Donald Gorm handed

over his prisoners to Ruari Macleod, and thus the feud was terminated.* But what of the divorced wife, and still more, what of the starving people? In after years, when a dispute arose between the Macleods and the Macdonalds, they referred it to the Law Courts, for the arbitration of the sword was too expensive an operation. When the Highland and Hebridean chiefs substituted the pen for the sword, they became as famed for their litigious proclivities as they had previously been for their prowess in arms. Fighters always, they found in the Law Courts a safety valve for their pugnacity, which in other times had been provided by their interminable feuds.

The events just narrated may have been the direct cause of a fresh commission of lieutenancy, to last for a year or until discharged, which, on 16th June, 1601, was issued to the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Huntly. The King having already proof of the "guid and happie succes" which had attended the efforts of Lennox, enlarged his scope of jurisdiction to include Kintyre, Islay, and other lands of Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg; also Mull, Tiree, Iona, Coll, Barra, Rathlin, Morvern, and Ardnamurchan. Absolute authority over the lives and liberties of the people was vested in the lieutenant, with an indemnity for "slaughter or any other inconvenient" committed in the execution of his commission.

Similarly, Huntly was granted autocratic sway over Skye, Harris, Hert (St. Kilda), Uist, Scalpa, Rum, Canna, Raasay, Eigg, Eilean Tirrim, and Arisaig; and his commission was extended to cover any Highlanders on the mainland who were the avowed partisans of the Islesmen against the authority of the lieutenant. The earls, lords, barons, and "substantious" landed men of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, Caithness, Cromarty, and the burghers of these counties, were charged to assist Huntly under pain of treason. And a reward was promised to the Marquis if he were successful in "settling" the Isles.

* *Conflicts of the Clans* (from MS. written circa 1620).

Ruari Macleod of Harris having been charged to appear before the Council on 10th August, a promise was exacted from Huntly not to put his commission in force against him or any of his friends until the expiry of that date.

It is evident that suspicions were entertained of Mackenzie of Kintail being an active instigator of the Lewismen against the Lowland colonists, hence the veiled threat to Highlanders on the mainland contained in the commission. But all the Acts of Parliament and of Council, all the proclamations, and all the commissions of lieutenancy failed, and failed utterly, to effect the permanent conquest of Lewis, much more of the Hebrides generally.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE failure of the first expedition to Lewis disheartened the Adventurers and exasperated the King. In spite of the undertaking given to the Lewismen, no sooner were the hostages released, than preparations were set on foot for a fresh attempt to conquer the island. In June, 1602, James appointed a Convention of the Estates to be held at Perth on the 26th of that month, for the express purpose of considering a new scheme for "repossessing" Lewis, and for bringing the Isles generally under subjection to the Crown, whereby the King's revenue from them might be increased. These matters were duly discussed by the Estates. It was proposed to send an army to Lewis to re-conquer the island, and the King asked for a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds sterling to be raised by the Church and the burghs, to carry out the project. On 16th July, James addressed Parliament in a speech lasting half-an-hour—"after his accustomed manner when his lords meet"—the major portion of which was occupied with his scheme for invading Lewis. He represented to the Estates that it was not consistent with his honour, to submit to the indignities which he had suffered at the hands of the "barbarous" Lewismen. He told his hearers that the people of England were saying, that a King who could not rule a handful of people like the inhabitants of Lewis, was not fit to govern them.

To this appeal the Estates turned a deaf ear. The truth was, they were tired of hearing about Lewis, and they doubtless realised that it was hopeless to attempt a permanent settlement there. They were willing to endorse the King's fulminations against the islanders; they were

ready to describe them officially as the vilest wretches that cumbered the ground ; they would bless the Adventurers and curse the Lewismen to the heart's content of their Sovereign. But on the question of supplies they were adamant ; none of the nation's money, they were resolved, would be spent on such a wild-cat scheme. The Adventurers were welcome to waste the whole of their private means on the undertaking, if they pleased ; but that was entirely their concern.

Foiled in his attempt to extort money by lawful means, King James had the effrontery to propose the coinage of base money, wherewith to pay the soldiers who were to serve in Lewis. The English people were laughing at him, their future Sovereign, and all on account of a few stubborn islesmen who had set him at defiance. Such a thing was not to be tolerated. He would crush the rebels and punish their insolence—while keeping his own sacred person at a safe distance. But the soldiers had to be paid, and his Parliament would grant no supplies. What matter ? He would cheat his soldiers by paying them in false coin, and would thus revenge himself on the Lewismen at a minimum of expense, and with a clear conscience, if Parliament sanctioned the proceeding. To their credit, the Estates did no such thing. The King who stooped to make such a proposal could be defied with impunity ; and defy him they did.*

The matter then passed into the hands of the Privy Council, the members of which were more pliant than the stubborn Estates. As the result of the deliberations of the Council, it was resolved that a proclamation be issued, calling out the Highlands to assist the Marquis of Huntly to re-conquer Lewis, and place the Adventurers again in possession of the island. Mackenzie of Kintail was in Edinburgh at this time, for the purpose of interviewing the King, relative, probably, to affairs in Lewis. He appears to have succeeded in disarming the suspicions which were,

* MSS. in Public Record Office (*State Papers, Scotland, Eliz.*, Vol. LXVIII., Nos. 73 and 86). (See Appendix B.)

not unreasonably, entertained of his fidelity to the cause of the Adventurers, for on the 9th December, 1602, he was formally admitted as a member of the Privy Council, having previously been a nominal member only. As for the Marquis of Huntly, it is evident that the marks of the Royal favour conferred upon him, were not universally well received. The feeling against Roman Catholics was strong in the country, and the influence of the Presbyterian ministers was powerful. Huntly, as the most prominent of the Catholic pseudo-converts, and as a brand plucked from the burning, was well watched by the suspicious Presbyterians. James was fond of lecturing people, and his lieutenant did not escape the infliction. About the time that Huntly was preparing to undertake the invasion of Lewis, we find the King exhorting him to conform and keep himself in "the religion," and to avoid "Papist traffickers"; promising, if he did so, to be his friend, and warning him of his enmity if he failed to follow his advice. Thus exhorted, counselled, and strengthened by his Royal patron, Huntly proceeded to his task of subduing the Islesmen, who, for their part, were little concerned whether their invaders were Papists or Presbyterians. They were *Sasgunnaich*; and that was enough for them.

In accordance with these preparations, a proclamation was issued on 19th July, calling out an armed force for the recovery of Lewis. The preamble of this proclamation is in the strain to which repeated allusion has been made. But on this occasion, it was apparently found necessary to travel beyond the bounds of Britain to find wickedness parallel to that of the Lewismen; a sign that the vocabulary of epithets was getting exhausted. Obviously, the acme of vituperation was intended to be reached, when it was declared that the "monstrous cruelteis" of the Lewismen were such "as hes not bene hard of amangis Turkis or Infidellis." Incidentally, the incredible "fertilite" of the land and richness of the fishings were again touched upon, as having a direct bearing on the enterprise which the Adventurers had undertaken. A *résumé* was given of the

events which followed the conquest of Lewis : how certain of the "principallis" of the island had taken the colonists by surprise, and set upon them with fire and sword, and how they had re-captured Lewis, intending to hold it in defiance of the King, with the help and concurrence of "utheris disorderit theiffis and lymmaris of the Ilis." The King having resolved to "re-take the island and repres the insolence of the lymmaris," now called upon all his subjects, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, in Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forbes, Nairn, Inverness, Cromarty, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, to assist their Sovereign, or his lieutenant, in carrying out his purpose. The lieges were charged to prepare for war, and provide themselves with sufficient provisions to last for forty days after their arrival in Lewis. The Orkney and Shetland men were to meet Huntly in Lewis on 10th October. The men of Caithness and Sutherland were to be in readiness to meet him, at such days and in such places, as should be appointed by proclamation or otherwise. The levies from all the other places were to assemble at Inverness on 20th September, and pass forward with the Marquis as directed. And all, without exception, were to follow the instructions of Huntly, under pain of loss of life, lands, and goods.*

It is clear that the prime mover in this fresh enterprise was the King himself, for there is evidence to show that most of the Adventurers were utterly disheartened by their want of success, and were not altogether averse from washing their hands of the whole affair. Such, at least, is the inference to be drawn from a charge to Stewart, Home, Leirmont, and James Forret, son of the late John Forret, the father not improbably having been killed in Lewis. These partners of the Syndicate had neglected to find caution for the rent of the island due to the King, and were now attempting to "schaik af that yok and burdyne" altogether. Others of the partners, who had found caution, were repenting of having done so, and

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VI., pp. 420-1.

wished to draw back. Stewart and his colleagues, who had not found caution, and their comrades who regretted having done so, were ordered to appear before the Council on 27th July, the former to be accompanied by their cautioners. Stewart and his friends were to bind themselves to fulfil their undertaking, or forfeit their shares, while those who wished to be freed from their caution were to have their wish granted on renouncing all their rights in Lewis.* The friction between the King and the Adventurers appears to have been overcome by means of this order, for the necessary caution was ultimately found. The members of the Syndicate were very much in the position of shareholders in a good many modern Companies, who realise that they have made a bad investment, but, having to choose between forfeiture of their shares and finding fresh capital for a re-construction scheme elect, after many misgivings, to do the latter, on the chance of getting their money back, if nothing more.

On 28th July an order was issued, charging all chieftains and heads of clans in the Highlands and Borders to appear before the Council, and find caution for keeping the general Bond, and for maintaining the laws against sorners and broken men; and in October of the same year, a fresh bond was entered into by the landlords of those districts against "thieves, murderers, and oppressors," among the subscribers to which appear the names of Lennox and Huntly. So far as the bearing of these measures on the Outer Hebrides is concerned, they seem to have been utterly useless in quelling the turbulence of the natives, or in fitting these islands as a dumping ground for Lowland colonists.

The muster of men for the invasion of Lewis was an intolerable hardship for the lieges of the North, who had no direct interest in the undertaking, and who, not unreasonably, must have anathematised the very name of the island, and with still greater reason, the name of the

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VI., p. 421.

Fife Syndicate. They endeavoured to escape service by representing its great inconvenience, at a time of the year when the crops had to be gathered, and when the winter was approaching. These representations prevailed, and a proclamation was issued on 15th September, delaying the expedition until the following spring.

Accordingly, on 3rd March, 1603, each of the partners of the Syndicate was ordered to hire thirty soldiers, well furnished with "armour, powder and bullet," and sixty bolls of meal; to proceed in person with his company to Lewis "for recoverie of the same"; and to find sufficient provisions for a year, under a penalty of a thousand pounds and forfeiture of his share. Each of the principal shareholders was instructed to build a "sufficient" house of stone and lime, or mortar, for his own defence and safety, within a year from the date of his landing in the island; and was to pay the rent due to the King at Whit-Sunday and Michaelmas—silver at the former, and fish at the latter term. Failing in the performance of these conditions, he was to forfeit his share to the partners who fulfilled them. The King on his part agreed, that if by means of his levies, he failed to succeed in re-instating the Adventurers in the possession of Lewis by Midsummer, the bond and caution furnished by them should be null and void.*

It will be seen that the re-organisation of the Syndicate's affairs involved fresh sacrifices on the part of the members, which were by no means inconsiderable. It is not surprising that they hesitated, or appeared to hesitate, about undertaking new liabilities; but the glamour of Lewis and its undeveloped resources was irresistible. So far, it had proved a delusive Eldorado; but with the help of the King's levies, re-inforced by their personal exertions, they might hope to make the investment pay, and pay handsomely. But an event occurred which drove Lewis and its affairs clean out of the King's head, and effectually

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VI., pp. 545-6.

stopped all preparations for the intended invasion of the island. Queen Elizabeth died on 24th March, and James VI. of Scotland became James I. of Great Britain and Ireland.

During 1602-3, the feud between the Mackenzies of Kintail and the Macdonnells of Glengarry over their lands in Wester Ross, reached its height. The bitter enmity between the two clans was intensified by acts of a retaliatory character, which were marked by more than usual barbarity. In the result, the Mackenzies acquired the disputed lands; the Castle of Strorne, the last stronghold of the Macdonnells in Wester Ross, was blown up; and the influence of Clan Kenneth became paramount in the North. That the increased power of the Mackenzies had a direct bearing upon the affairs of Lewis, is evident from the events which we are now about to relate.

In 1603, the enmity between Macleod of Harris and Donald Gorm of Sleat seems to have broken out afresh, but there are no details of what actually happened. Lord Fyvie, writing to the King on 29th April, soon after the departure of the latter for England, makes a passing reference to the matter. He writes: "Since your Highness' departure from us (thanks to God) all is in reasonable good quietness, nor we have heard of no break as yet of any consequence, except in the far Highlands, some trouble among themselves between Donald Gorm and Macleod Harris—which does not trouble the Lowlands."* The words in parenthesis in this letter are deliciously, although unintentionally, ambiguous. Doubtless, not a few Scotsmen thanked God when James VI. left his native country to become James I. of Great Britain and Ireland.

The burden of three kingdoms pressed too heavily on the shoulders of James to admit of his paying immediate attention to the distant island in the Hebrides, which had in the past proved a veritable nightmare to him. But

* *Abbotsford Club Collection*, pp. 46-7. On 20th October, 1603, the Earl of Argyll was commissioned to restore order in the Isles. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report IV., p. 489.

Lewis was not permanently forgotten by the monarch whom the islanders, on his own showing, had made the laughing-stock of England. In July, 1605, an Act for pacifying the "rebels" in Lewis was noted in the Minute Book of Processes. On the 18th of that month, a fresh Commission was appointed. The conventional tirade against the natives is again in evidence, the "beastlie crueltie" of the rebellious "theives and lymmers" being held up to reprobation. The Lewismen are declared to be the avowed enemies of traffic and of the profitable trade of fishing, whereby the lieges might be greatly benefited. It was not in accordance with the King's honour that such a state of matters should be allowed to continue.

James (now Sir James) Spens of Wormiston, Sir George Hay of Netherliff, and Sir Thomas Ker of Hirth, were therefore appointed to act for a year as the King's Justices and Commissioners in Lewis, with full power to convocate the lieges in arms, to seize and search any persons in the island whom they might suspect of crime, and to detain them pending trial. Courts of Justice were to be constituted in convenient places. Power was given to pursue fugitives from the law who might take refuge in "strenths and housses," and to seize them by force, not sparing the use of fire or any "warlyke ingyne" in reducing the "strenths"; and from all consequences of violent measures used in apprehending the fugitives, full exoneration was given.

In addition to Lewis, the adjacent islands of the Outer Hebrides and Skye were now directly threatened. Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Macneill of Barra, and Mackinnon of Strathswordale were specially charged to deliver up their castles to those appointed to receive them, as pledges for the obedience of their people. That this order was intended to embrace the whole of the castles in the North Isles, is clear from the context. Among others, the "havers, keipers, and detainers of the castell, tour, and fortalice of Sternoway" were charged as above. The peremptory nature of the order is shown by the fact, that the

chiefs were to remove themselves and their servants from the castles within twenty-four hours after being charged, otherwise the castles were to be besieged with fire and sword, and their defenders treated as traitors and rebels.

As with the castles, so with the shipping of the islands. The King having resolved to employ some of his own ships and forces in the conquest of Lewis, and the Council realising that the aggressiveness of the natives and their sympathisers, and their means of escape from punishment, were much facilitated by the number of galleys, lymphads, boats, and birlings at their command, enabling them to move about freely among the islands, ordered the owners of these craft to bring them to Loch Broom, and deliver them to those empowered to receive them. And a strict charge was given that no help, direct or indirect, was to be afforded the Lewis "lymmaris" to escape. In case of refusal to deliver up the castles or the shipping, full power was vested in the Commissioners already named—with the additional name of Robert Cunningham of Airdrie—to compel obedience to the order, with a dispensation for whatever steps they might take in enforcing it. And the commanders of the King's ships were charged to assist the Commissioners, and to employ the King's "ordinance, powder, and bullet to that effect."

A further proclamation emphasised the order to ostracise the people of Lewis. The preamble sets forth how the Lewismen had "violentlie expellit" the Adventurers, and "instrusit thaimselfis" in the island, where they live "most lasciviously and insolentlie." They are declared to be the avowed enemies of the King's peaceful subjects, and of all strangers engaged in fishing, or driven to Lewis by stress of weather. The King deemed it inconsistent with his honour to suffer "sic a unfamous byke of lawles lymmaris" (wasp's nest of lawless vagabonds) to remain in any part of his dominions, seeing he had the power to root them out; and he accordingly directed that this expedition be undertaken. In view of the practice of the natives, when pursued, to betake themselves, with their goods, to the other islands,

where they were befriended while they formed fresh plans for harassing the colonists, the King ordered that no such assistance be given in future, and commanded the lieges by proclamation at the market cross of Inverness and at other needful places, that none of them were to presume to "reset" or supply any of the inhabitants of Lewis, their wives or children, nor show them any "comfort, countenance, or relief." On the contrary, they were to seize any of them or their goods that came within their bounds, and detain them until they could be conveniently handed over to the Commissioners; failing which, they were to be counted as part-takers with the Lewismen, and punished severely.*

These elaborate preparations for the re-conquest of the island appeared to spell disaster for the natives. The toils seemed at length to be closing around them; every avenue of escape was to be closed. We shall see how the uncompromising spirit of these proclamations was carried out. Incidentally, there is light thrown on the methods of warfare adopted by the Lewismen. They present a close analogy to those of the Boers in the South African War, after their resistance had degenerated into the guerilla attacks of predatory bands. When pursued, the natives dispersed, apparently to Harris, the Uists, Barra, and perhaps to Skye, where they found the same active, though secret, sympathy as the Boers experienced among their compatriots, when chased by the British troops. Safe among their brother Hebrideans, the Lewismen concocted their plans for fresh raids on the Lowlanders, just as the "peaceful agriculturists" of the Transvaal and the Orange Colonies assisted their brother Boers in organising the means of harassing the foreign invaders anew. And in respect of elusiveness, the Lewismen had their De Wet in the person of the redoubtable Neil Macleod. The plan adopted by James and his Council for effectively stopping the supplies of the Lewismen and forcing them to surrender, embodies the precise principle upon which the advocates

* *Reg. of P.C.*, pp. 84-90.

of extreme measures towards the Boers and their sympathisers founded their claims to be heard.

That service in the Isles was unpopular is shown by a petition from the nobles in the West, asking to be relieved from the duty. They urged various reasons for their unwillingness to serve, one of which was that most of the Hebrideans already stood forfeited, and the rest were at the horn! Exemption, however, was refused, and the petitioners were ordered to perform the service required of them.

Meanwhile, Tormod Macleod and the "Tutor of the Lewis"—as Donald Gorm described Neil Macleod in a letter to Queen Elizabeth—were undisputed masters of that island. The restless Neil seems to have varied the monotony of life by occasional piracies on the mainland. One of these is recorded, for Neil had to answer for it later on. Crossing to Loch Broom, he attacked and captured the fishing boat of two peaceful burgesses of Perth; put the owners ashore; murdered the crew, consisting of seven or eight men; burnt the vessel; and made off with the plunder, including the very clothing of the crew.* This atrocious crime is one of the blackest marks against the far from blameless record of Neil Macleod.

The second expedition to Lewis sailed in the month of August, 1605. It is clear that by this time most of the original shareholders had finally abandoned all hope of the island proving a lucrative investment, and we learn from Spotswood, that the lairds of Netherliff and Airdrie† acquired the rights of some of them. Spens of Wormiston is the only member of the old Syndicate who appears to have taken an active part in the new enterprise. The records are strangely silent about the Duke of Lennox, the leader of the original grantees, and subsequently the King's lieutenant, jointly with Huntly, over the Highlands and Isles. It is probable that his stay in Lewis was as short

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., pp. 244-7.

† Spotswood seems to have confused Robert Lumsden of Airdrie with Robert Cunningham of Airdrie.

as he could decently make it : to a man like Lennox, life in the Outer Hebrides meant exile in an aggravated form. After his departure for England with the King, this Duke of the blood-Royal practically severed his connexion with Scottish affairs.

The military force which accompanied the expedition was strengthened in the North by Mackenzie of Kintail, Donald Gorm of Sleat, and Mackay of Strathnaver. The Earl of Sutherland sent a body of men under William Mac-Vic-Sheumais, Chief of the Clan Gunn. Thus were impressed into the service of the King, the secret enemies and lukewarm friends of the Adventurers. On their arrival in Lewis, the leaders sent a message to Tormod Macleod offering terms. They promised, in the event of his submission, to send him to the King in London, obtain a pardon for his attack on their predecessors, and offer no opposition to any attempts he might make to gain the favour of James and a means of livelihood. Realising that resistance was useless against so powerful a force, Tormod agreed to the terms, against the advice of Neil, the irreconcilable. The invaders then took formal possession of the island, the stalwarts under Neil retiring to a place of safety, there to bide their time. Tormod went to London, and having obtained an audience of the King, laid his case before him. The generous terms which Tormod had granted to the defeated colonists, four years previously, must have prepossessed the King in his favour, and the personal accounts by the Adventurers of Tormod's demeanour must have deepened the favourable impression. Here at last appeared in his presence one of the wicked Lewismen, who, far from answering the description which he had so frequently fastened indiscriminately upon the islanders, was a person of a modest and gallant bearing. James became interested in the young man, and listened not without sympathy to his tale of injustice, and to his request to be re-instated in the possession of his patrimony. It is not conceivable that the King ever thought seriously of restoring the *status quo* in the island ; but that he was

desirous of bringing about an amicable arrangement between Tormod and the colonists seems likely. The Adventurers had their friends at Court—some of them being the domestic servants of James—who kept them advised of what was going on. Alarmed at the prospect of Tormod's supplications prevailing with the King, they instructed their friends in London to poison the mind of his Majesty against the young chief. The King's suspicious nature was not proof against their insinuations. By whatever diplomatic arts or downright lies they effected their purpose, the fact remains that the unfortunate Tormod was dismissed from Court and sent to Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned for ten years, his only crime being a not unnatural desire to get back the land of which he had been robbed. This is another instance of the "Punic" faith displayed by the Honourable Company of Adventurers. We may as well state here, in a few words, what remains to be told of Tormod's career. He never saw Lewis again. Receiving, in 1615, the gracious permission of the King to enter the service of Maurice, Prince of Orange, he was released from Edinburgh Castle, and crossed over to Holland, where he ended his days. Whether he left any issue is unknown. For aught we can tell, he may have descendants at the present day, in the persons of stolid Dutchmen, who may have never as much as heard of the Island of Lewis.* Tormod Macleod stands out in Lewis history as a brave and chivalrous man, whose character is not marred by the acts of cruelty and treachery which disfigure the lives of most of the members of his family.

Having got rid of Tormod, the partners concluded that their troubles were practically over, and in that belief returned to the South in November, 1605, leaving a force of soldiers to protect the young colony from any possible incursions by the natives. During the winter months, the colonists were subjected to periodical attacks by Neil

* In Stodart's *Scottish Arms* (Vol. II., p. 43) it is stated that "many cadets of Macleod settled on the Continent, and there is at least one existing branch in Holland."

Macleod and his companions, but these were successfully beaten off.

A number of Tormod's adherents had been banished from Lewis by the Adventurers, and had promised never to return. They continued, however, to maintain communication with the island by means of their spies, who watched the colonists closely, and succeeded in conveying information to their exiled friends. The spies pretended to be in the service of such of the natives as professed friendship to the Adventurers, and had thus opportunities, of which they availed themselves, for stirring up a fresh insurrection. The plot which was being hatched came to the ears of the colonists, who forthwith applied to Edinburgh for assistance in checkmating the conspirators. To meet the threatened revolt, the Privy Council issued, on 13th March, 1606, a proclamation setting forth the designs of the Lewismen, charging the whole of the inhabitants of the Isles, under pain of death, that none of them repair to Lewis without the permission of the Adventurers; and forbidding such of the "auld" inhabitants of Lewis as were allowed to remain in the island, to bear, wear, or use any armour or weapons, save one knife "without ane point to cute their mait"; disobedience to this order to incur the death penalty.* This proclamation seems to have proved effective in staving off for a time an organised rising in Lewis; but there was no cessation to the harassing tactics of the natives.

In the spring of 1606, the laird of Airdrie returned to Lewis with a supply of fresh provisions; building operations were vigorously renewed; and the colonists commenced to prepare the land for their crops. But before long, there was fresh trouble. Money began to run short, and a number of the artisans left the island. The soldiers, too, for the same reason, began to desert; it was a thankless task for them to be constantly harassed by the natives, without being well paid for their services. Emboldened

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VII., pp. 204-5.

by these defections, Neil Macleod and his friends became more troublesome, and by the summer of 1606, the colonists were in a parlous state. It was under these circumstances that the Adventurers sent a memorial to the Privy Council, describing the events connected with the colonisation of Lewis, and complaining of the aggression of the natives, which was hampering their work so grievously. The names of the islanders whom they charge with harassing them are detailed. The spelling suggests that they were taken down from dictation by some one unacquainted with Gaelic, and the phonetic rendering is not a little curious. The list commences with the names of Neil Macleod and his nephew, Malcolm.

According to the statement of the colonists, "a number of the poor inhabitants and labourers of the ground had submitted themselves to their rule, glad to be rid of the tyranny and oppression" of the insurgents. The latter not only remained in Lewis against the will of the complainers, but molested the "poor country people" who had submitted, compelling them by threats to join their ranks. The insurgents were also charged with holding secret communication with their neighbours in the other islands, urging them to act in concert with them against the Lowlanders, and preparing for a general and open rising, to the "heavie hurt and prejudice" of the colonists.

In reply to these charges, the Council, on 31st July, 1606, ordained that letters be sent to the Officers of Arms and Sheriffs of the district, directing them to denounce the persons named in the complaint, and put them to the horn.*

Truly, the Island of Lewis proved anything but a bed of roses to the Lowland colonists, or at best, a bed of roses so plentifully strewn with thorns as to make their settlement the reverse of comfortable. It is probable that their statement about the country people—the agriculturists and non-fighters—was correct. But that the secret sympathies of the latter lay with their compatriots there can be little

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol VII., pp. 229-30.

doubt, notwithstanding the statement of the colonists to the contrary. Two points may here be noticed. The first is, that the policy of exterminating the islanders was definitely abandoned, if, indeed, it was ever seriously attempted on a wholesale scale. Either the impossibility of giving effect to it, or its unnecessary and inhuman nature, determined the Lowlanders in adopting milder measures. The second point is, that the elaborate precautions taken against any assistance being given to the insurgents by their fellow-Islesmen proved ineffective.

That the Lewismen were not only secretly but openly assisted by their neighbours, is proved by a commission granted on 30th September, 1606, to Mackenzie of Kintail. Mackenzie was charged by the Council to convocate the lieges of Inverness and Nairn in the King's name, and proceed with fire and sword, by sea or land, against certain chieftains, notably Macneill of Barra and the Captain of Clan Ranald, who had gathered together their followers, invaded Lewis, assailed the camp of the colonists, and "committit barbarous and detestable murthouris and slauchteris upon thame." Kintail was ordered to "tak and slay" the invaders, or carry them to Edinburgh for trial, and was empowered to proceed to Lewis for the relief of subjects "distressit and grevit" by them, or prisoners in their hands; this end to be accomplished by force or "policie," as he might see fit.*

There is no record of Kintail's doings in connexion with this commission. Whether he carried it out by force or by "policie," it is impossible to say, but in view of the fact that there does not seem to have been a serious outbreak in Lewis for six months afterwards, it may be assumed that the powers with which he was invested bore fruit.†

In March, 1607, there occurred a recrudescence of the

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VII., p. 255.

† In October, 1606, a minister named John Ross was ordered to be banished to Lewis, as a punishment for having taken part in the General Assembly held at Aberdeen on 2nd July, 1605. He was to exercise the functions of his ministry in the place of exile. He had plenty of scope there, if his mission was to the natives.

troubles in Lewis. On the 2nd of that month, the King sent a letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, charging the members with remissness in dealing with matters connected with the Isles. He greatly marvels that nothing has been done, the spring having arrived, which was the best season for making preparations, and seeing that the partners of Lewis, who had been harassed so much last year, were fearing that trouble was again brewing. He mentions that the Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Argyll, on the occasion of their last visit to London, had completed arrangements with him for reducing the Isles to order, and that nothing now remained but to carry out their plans. He tells the Council that if Huntly and Argyll were responsible for the delay, he should have been advised of their remissness. But if the Council were to blame, he has just cause to weary of continuing to be their instructor, and reminding them of his orders, "as tutoris are accustomat to repeat thair lessonis to thair childrene." He concludes by hoping that this admonition would save them from further reproof. This letter, written in the best fatherly style of King James, is the first clear intimation we have of a comprehensive scheme for "dealing" with the Hebrides, the outcome of which we shall presently notice.

There is a curious charter under the Great Seal to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, dated 17th March, 1607. In addition to his properties on the mainland, the Island of Lewis, with Assynt and Waternish, is included in the grant.* Sir Robert Gordon informs us that the grant of Lewis was obtained through Kintail's friend, the Chancellor, after the Adventurers had returned to Fife; and this statement is probably correct. The fact seems to be that the leaders of the colony went south to represent to the King their unenviable position, and that Mackenzie took advantage of their absence to obtain the charter, construing, possibly, their departure into an abandonment of the enterprise. He was in Edinburgh, doubtless on this

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1593-1608), No. 1,879.

business, about 5th March, for on that date he is charged before the Council with having pitched Alexander Bane of Logy downstairs in an Edinburgh house, and broken his ribs. Mackenzie was not the man to do police duty in Lewis for nothing, and the grant of the island was apparently regarded both by him and the Chancellor as a fitting reward for his services, apart from his claim by virtue of Torquil Conanach's resignation in his favour. But for once, the cautious chief over-reached himself, and the grant of Lewis was not allowed to stand.

The Council, after the lecture by the King for their dilatoriness, quickly set to work to avoid a fresh rebuke. Argyll appears to have retired from the business, and it is much to his credit to have done so, for the Council and the King on the one hand, and Huntly on the other, now initiated a series of negotiations which, for sheer rascality, it would be hard to beat. The Council, in the name of the King, submitted to Huntly certain proposals for reducing the North Isles, and ensuring to James a safe annual revenue therefrom, and Huntly was asked to state his terms in writing. These embraced the infestment to him of Uist, Eigg, Canna, Rum, Barra, Raasay, and St. Kilda, with the rest of the North Isles, except Skye and Lewis; a commission of lieutenancy extending from the Dee northwards, with power to raise levies within these bounds to assist him in his enterprise; and the gift of a "pynnage" for the service. For those islands he offered the feu-duty that had been paid "at ony time heirtofoir," with an exemption for nine years; and engaged to complete the subjugation of the natives within that period. He was willing, however, to modify his terms if they were not agreeable to the King.

These proposals were considered by the Council, who decided to forward them to the King with their own opinion. Briefly, that opinion was altogether unfavourable, the terms being, in their estimation, unreasonable. The proposal as to feu-duty they thought unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the islands never having been rented, nor under

perfect obedience, except the half of Uist (the duty for which was one hundred and twenty pounds) the total offer of the Marquis seemed to amount to only 300 merks, including the duty for Uist. They held, therefore, that the rent of the North Isles should be made proportionate to that of the South Hebrides, and that each island should be separately valued. The proposed exemption for nine years they also considered unreasonable, seeing that the Lewis Adventurers, notwithstanding the more difficult nature of their services, were exempted for two years only. Nor did they think it desirable to confer upon the Marquis the powers of lieutenancy which he desired, as it was manifestly unfair to the King's lieges to serve in a private enterprise of this description. The "gentlemen of Lewis" never sought such a commission, notwithstanding their inferiority in means and influence to the Marquis. And they were further of opinion that the service should be completed within the space of one year.*

In the following month (April), a fresh rising took place in Lewis. The plan of campaign adopted by Neil Macleod on this occasion, was more creditable to his astuteness than to his bravery. But to a man of his stamp, the end justified the means, especially when dealing with *Sasgunnaich*. Neil and his friends planned to effect by treachery what they could not accomplish by force. He sought and obtained an interview with the leaders of the colonists, who had by this time made considerable progress in founding villages, all of them doubtless in the vicinity of Stornoway. He professed to them that he had been mistaken in their intentions, which he now perceived were for the good, and not, as he had supposed, for the ill of the island. He frankly acknowledged his mistake, submitted unconditionally for himself and his followers to their will, promised their obedience, and offered their services in promoting the prosperity of the colony. Completely deceived by his plausibility, the Lowlanders

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VII., pp. 340-2.

accepted the submission of Neil and his friends, only too glad to be rid of their troublesome attentions. They actually gave Neil a post of superintendence, which enabled that cunning schemer to mature his plans for their ruin. When these were completed, the storm burst upon the deluded colonists. In the dead of the night, Neil, with 300 men armed with swords, dirks, bows, darlochs, arquebuses, muskets, and pistols, entered the camp of the sleeping Lowlanders and commenced the work of destruction. The houses of the lairds of Netherliff, Airdrie, and Wormiston, recently erected on the South Beach of Stornoway, were burnt to the ground. The servants of these lairds, aroused from their slumbers by the heat and smoke, rushed for their lives from the burning houses, only to be met by the Lewismen and mercilessly put to the sword. Several newly-built houses were similarly reduced to ashes, and the total destruction of property in the colony amounted to ten thousand pounds.*

The disaster to the Lewis colony infuriated the King, and was probably responsible for the sudden change which took place in his policy of bringing the North Isles to a state of obedience. To no other reason can be attributed the savage orders with which the Marquis of Huntly was now charged. We have seen the stage at which the negotiations with Huntly had arrived in the month of March. On 30th April, the Privy Council made definite proposals for the acceptance of the Marquis. The service in the Isles was to be completed in a year, and rent was to be paid on the expiration of that period. The whole of the North Isles, with the exception of Skye and Lewis, were to be held by Huntly in feu, as being the King's property, either by forfeiture of the possessors "or uthir-ways." A "reasonable" rent to be fixed by the Comptroller, on the basis of the revenue derivable for similar lands in the South Hebrides, was to be paid. The whole of the expense connected with the enterprise was to be

* Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, Vol. III., pp. 244-7.

undertaken by the Marquis, without the assistance from others which his appointment as the King's lieutenant would involve. But the most remarkable of the proposals was that which provided that the service was to be ended, "*not be aggreement with the countrey people, bot be extirpation of thame.*"*

That this brutal order was given at the instigation of the King is clear, for the preliminary negotiations had been submitted to him, and the definite proposals, as set forth above, were obviously the result of the correspondence. That the Council would make such a stipulation on their own initiative is altogether incredible.

Without hesitation, Huntly agreed to extirpate the whole population of the Isles in question within a year, and waived his stipulation for a lieutenancy to assist him in the work. He "craved," however, a commission of lieutenancy and justiciary over the islands after their subjugation, with the special object of preventing the re-setting of the people. But the money question blocked the way to a final agreement between the parties. The massacre of hundreds of fellow-Scotsmen was a matter of little moment, compared with the rent of the lands of which they were to be robbed. Huntly, a cautious man of business, tacitly refused to leave the rent to be fixed by the Comptroller. He offered 400 pounds Scots, three-fourths of which was to be for Uist, and the balance for the rest of the islands, with an exemption from payment for one year.

The Council considered his terms to be very reasonable, with the exception of the feu-duty, which they thought was a very "meane" offer. A report of the negotiations was forthwith prepared for the consideration of the King, with whom lay the final decision. The letter sent by the Council to James reported that all the conditions had been arranged with Huntly, except the rent, which, he argued, should be low, in view of the expense entailed

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VII., pp. 360-2.

by the undertaking. It was with difficulty that he was induced to improve upon his original offer, but, "to draw him on," the Council offered him the islands—Skye and Lewis excepted—for a rental of 10,000 pounds, which was considered to be about the equivalent of the amount paid by the Lewis Adventurers. The Council were prepared to reduce this offer—no doubt very considerably—had Huntly shown any disposition to meet them, but he refused to budge from his offer of 400 pounds Scots;* and there the matter rested. The report concluded with an ominous reference to proceedings pending against Huntly, touching his obedience to the Kirk. The difference between the Council's offer and that of Huntly is, it will be noticed, so great as to be farcical. Either the Council asked far too much, or Huntly offered far too little. Obviously, the Marquis having considered the expense and trouble of subjugating the islands, and having weighed the chances of making the enterprise ultimately a profitable one, deemed himself justified in offering so small a sum; whereas the Council based their valuation on the revenues of the richer and comparatively loyal islands south of Ardnamurchan Point. Huntly's offer was doubtless well on the low side, but the Council's demands were, under all the circumstances, preposterously high. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, in view of subsequent events, that the intention of the King and the Council was to force an unfair bargain on the Marquis, the alternative being, that if he failed to accede to their terms, the storm which was then gathering about his head would be allowed to burst.

On 20th May, James sent his reply. After expressing surprise that Huntly should have modified his terms so considerably in such a short time, he protested that his selection of the Marquis for the work was not dictated by any personal preference for that nobleman, but by

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VII., pp. 523-4. Sir Walter Scott states that Huntly's offer was £400 sterling, but the Privy Council records clearly state that the amount was 400 pounds "Scottis."

his desire for a speedy settlement of affairs in connexion with the islands in question. Huntly was to be instructed to specially undertake and bind himself to "extirpat and rute oute the Captane of Clan Rannald with his hole clan and their followaris within the ilis of Knoydert or Moydert, and als McNeill Barra with his clan, and the hole Clan Donnald in the North." The Marquis was to be further charged to assist the partners of Lewis against all their enemies, either in Skye, Lewis, or any other part of the North Isles; and to plant, within a year, a colony in those islands of "civile people," Badenoch and Lochaber men being, however, specially excluded. And James concluded his letter by expressly excepting from the islands to be thus colonised, Skye, Lewis, "that part of the Lewis callit the Hereis," and the small isles appertaining to Skye and Lewis. There is no reference in the King's letter to the real point at issue, viz., the amount of rent to be paid, an omission to which, in acknowledging receipt of the letter, the Council called attention, and suggested that the matter be left to the decision of James and the Comptroller, who was shortly due in England. That the King's reply was deliberately evasive is obvious, and his rejection of Huntly's offer is tacitly shown by the proceedings which were soon taken against that unprincipled but harassed nobleman.

On 23rd June, Huntly was charged by the King's Advocate with failure to attend the services of the Kirk "and heiring of the sermone," and with teaching his family doctrines opposed to the tenets of Presbyterianism. The Marquis confessed that he was not fully "resolvit" in the doctrines of the Kirk, and did not desire to communicate until he could more fully accept the established religion. The Lords of Council therefore ordained, as a punishment, his confinement within the burgh of Elgin and a circuit of eighteen miles round it; that while in this durance, he must be ready in public and private to listen to the sermons of Presbyterian ministers for his instruction in the Reformed faith; and

that he must forbear from trafficking with seminary priests or excommunicated Papists.

From these proceedings, it may be inferred that having failed to extort better terms from Huntly for the subjugation of the islands, the King, chagrined by his stubbornness, determined to abandon him to the intolerance and rancour of the extreme Presbyterians, who were bent on the ruin of the Catholic Marquis. The interference of the Kirk was as opportune as the deadlock over the rent was fortunate, for the latter circumstance led to the withdrawal of the King's favour, which would otherwise have protected Huntly against Presbyterian bigotry. It may be hoped that the Marquis profited by the sermons. Homilies on the sixth and eighth commandments might have proved more efficacious than expositions of the principles of Calvinism, for the Marquis of Huntly was apparently impervious to the teaching of both commandments. As for the King who deliberately consigned hundreds of his subjects to extermination, like so much vermin, he has to thank religious intolerance and a sordid money squabble for saving his memory and the Stuart* name, from being stained by a crime which would have horrified the civilised world, caused the Stuart dynasty to be execrated by Highlanders, and, perhaps, rendered the risings of 1715 and 1745 impossible.

The following despatch in the Venetian archives, dated 23rd May, 1607, summarises the situation created in the Highlands by the negotiations between Huntly and the King and his advisers. It states: "News has come from Scotland that certain inhabitants that look towards the islands and Ireland have risen, and opposed armed forces to the King's officers. The reason is, that as these people were always turbulent, some of the Scottish gentry offered to subdue them, and a few months ago obtained leave to do so. When this was known, the people rose. The rebels do not exceed 3,000, though their numbers may increase, for

* The popular spelling "Stuart" is here and in the following pages adopted, instead of the more strictly correct rendering of "Stewart."

they have elected chiefs and given other signs of growing tumult. No steps have been taken here (in England) as they do not wish to exacerbate that haughty race, especially as the Earl of Argyll—the greatest person in that kingdom—who seems destined to the command against the rebels, promises to reduce them speedily without any further trouble. All the same, the matter has greatly disturbed his Majesty.” And on 30th May, it is stated that orders were given to Argyll to use “dexterity rather than force” in warding off the peril.*

No other records are traceable to show how Argyll accomplished his mission, but it is likely that he used “dexterity” and thus averted the danger. It might be inferred from the document quoted above, that the Western Highlanders were threatened with extermination as well as the inhabitants of the islands mentioned in the negotiations with Huntly. It is more likely, however, that the despatch relates to the latter only, although the islanders in rising to resist their proposed extirpation, doubtless received assistance from the mainland. It will be remembered that the inhabitants of Knoydart and Moidart and the “hole Clan Donnald in the North” were included among those sentenced to destruction. The determined resistance which his intended victims were preparing to make, seems to have alarmed the timid soul of King James; hence, doubtless, the instructions to Argyll to use “dexterity rather than force.” The King perceived that he had aroused a dangerous rebellion in the Highlands, and was anxious to smooth matters over. He never openly revived his inhuman scheme: it was too risky an experiment.

We now return to Lewis, where the situation had further developed. Ruari Macleod of Harris had made common cause with the Lewismen against the colonists. Landing in Lewis with a body of his clansmen, he surprised and captured Stornoway Castle and other “fortalices” belonging to the Lowlanders; and refused to give them up. An

* *Cal. of State Papers* (Venetian, &c.), Vol. X., pp. 500-1

order of the Council was sent on 13th August, charging him to deliver the fortresses to the Commissioners nominated by the colonists, within six hours after being so charged, under pain of being declared a rebel and being treated accordingly. The result of this peremptory order is not stated; it appears, however, to have proved effective. But the castle was not long in the hands of the colonists before it was again surprised and captured by the Lewismen, under Neil Macleod and Donald Cam Macaulay, Angus, a brother of Donald Cam, being killed on the South Beach by a shot from the castle during the fray. The natives then proceeded to demolish some of the houses of the colony, fortifying others and victualling them against a siege. The Council now had recourse to one of their own number, Mackenzie of Kintail, to help them. On 3rd September, Kintail received a commission of six months' duration to recover Stornoway Castle and the other fortresses, held by the "rebellious thevis and lymmaris of Lewis." For this purpose, he was empowered to convocate the lieges, invade Lewis, and pursue Neil with fire and sword, using all kinds of "weirlyke ingyne" for reducing the forts. Incidentally, the commission declares that those of the Lewismen who had submitted to the colonists were treated by Neil with barbarous cruelty; a statement which may not have been without foundation.*

Here, again, we are without particulars of Kintail's doings in Stornoway, but whether or not he succeeded in reducing the castle and the other fortresses, he failed in restoring order and re-instating the colonists in quiet possession of the island. The Lowlanders were ruined; the colony was broken up; the survivors shook the dust of Lewis off their feet and returned home disillusioned, disheartened, and discomfited. Thus ended in disaster the second attempt to colonise the island, and to conquer the intractable natives.

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. VII., p. 435.

CHAPTER IX.

IT has been shown in the two preceding chapters how, on two separate occasions, the attempt to plant a colony of Lowlanders in Lewis failed, and failed utterly. It now remains to show how the third and last attempt met with a similar fate, and how the island passed into the hands of the Mackenzies, who retained undisputed possession of it for nearly two and a half centuries.

On 18th October, 1607, charters under the Great Seal were executed, conveying in equal shares to James, Master of Balmerino, Sir James Spens of Wormiston, and Sir George Hay of Netherliffe, (1) the Harris, Skye, and Glenelg properties of Ruari Macleod; (2) Duntulm, which had previously belonged to Macleod, and was now in the possession of Donald Gorm; (3) the Crown lands of Trotternish, which had so long formed a bone of contention between these two chiefs; and (4) the Island of Lewis, resigned by Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail in favour of the grantees.* Ruari Macleod was now forced to reap the fruits of his antagonism towards the colonists, while Donald Gorm, in a smaller degree, had to undergo similar punishment for past offences. The means by which Mackenzie had obtained possession of Lewis having apparently been exposed by the Adventurers, he was compelled to resign the island to the trio who had now acquired the rights of the Syndicate. In terms of the charter, the new proprietors were to erect, for the increase of "policie," the town of "Stroneway" into a free burgh of barony, the inhabitants to be free burgesses, and to have power to elect bailies with the advice of the three

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1593-1608), Nos. 1,981-2.

grantees.* The new proprietors took no immediate steps to make good their title to the lands conveyed in the charters. Early in 1608, preparations on an extensive scale were set on foot to bring the Hebrides generally to a state of order, and it is probable that the invasion of Lewis was deferred pending the outcome of this project. A commission was granted to Andrew, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, and Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles (to which names were subsequently added that of Sir James Hay of Beauuly), for the purpose of conferring with, and receiving offers from, Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg and Hector Maclean of Duart. The demands of the Commissioners were eight in number, comprising (1) security for the feu-duties payable to the Crown ; (2) obedience to the laws by the chiefs and their followers ; (3) delivery of all strongholds, which were to be at the King's disposal ; (4) renunciation of hereditary and other jurisdictions, and submission to the authority of the Crown officers ; (5) acceptance of whatever dispositions of their lands the King might make, and whatever conditions of tenure he might impose ; (6) destruction of all vessels, except such as might be required for the conveyance of the King's duties, paid in kind, and for other necessary purposes ; (7) provision of education for their children, and for those of their clansmen who could afford it, under the directions of the Privy Council ; and (8) abstention from the use of guns, bows, and two-handed swords, the only arms to be allowed being single-handed swords and targes.

These severe conditions were backed by a display of force which augured badly for any resistance to their adoption. Lord Ochiltree was placed in supreme command of the expedition, and was invested with the title of Lieutenant of the Isles. The expedition was attended with more complete success than its promoters could have dared to hope. The force of regulars and militia which had been mustered was sufficiently powerful to overawe

* The duties payable by the trio consisted of 180 merks (ward) and 900 merks (marriage).

the chiefs. The castles of Macdonald and Maclean were surrendered and garrisoned without opposition, and Ochiltree then proceeded to Mull, to carry out that portion of his commission which related to the destruction of the islanders' vessels. Having previously proclaimed that in virtue of his office, he would hold a Court at the Castle of Aros in Mull, which all the chiefs of the Hebrides were summoned to attend, he was perhaps agreeably surprised to find that his invitation met with an unwonted response. Neither Neil Macleod nor Macneill of Barra came from the Long Island. The former was too careful of his safety to do so, and the latter was wisely suspicious of the summons; but Macleod of Harris, his brother Alastair, Donald Gorm of Sleat and North Uist, and Donald MacAllan, Captain of Clan Ranald, represented the Outer Hebrides. The conference which took place was not wholly satisfactory, but Lord Ochiltree was determined that there should be no half-measures. The chiefs were invited on board the King's ship, the *Moon*, to hear a sermon by the Bishop of the Isles. With the exception of Ruari Macleod, they accepted the invitation; the lord of Harris was much too old a bird to be snared so easily. After the preaching came dining; and a dear sermon and dinner it proved to the chiefs. Their host outraged the laws both of hospitality and honour by coolly informing them, after dinner, that they were his prisoners by the King's command. It was a rare bag for a day's sport, although there can be only one opinion about the unsportsmanlike method employed. Lord Ochiltree was the hero of the hour when he returned south. From Ayr he took his prisoners to Edinburgh, and presented them before the Privy Council, by whose directions they were confined in the castles of Dumbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. In his report on the expedition, Lord Ochiltree stated that the lateness of the season prevented him from going north to the Long Island, and seizing Neil Macleod in Lewis and Macneill in Barra. Probably he was not sorry to have a decent excuse for not embarking upon that

difficult enterprise ; and, in any case, Maclean of Duart was made responsible for his part-taker of Barra. He also stated that he had destroyed all the vessels he could find in the parts which he visited ; but it needs no great perspicuity to see that this part of his mission, at least, was not carried out with the thoroughness which had been contemplated.

Never had King James had so favourable an opportunity of carrying out his cherished scheme for bringing the Hebrides under complete subjection to the Crown. He appears to have had a perfect mania for rooting out Celtic subjects, and re-placing them with settlers of Anglo-Saxon descent. In pursuance of this fad, he was at this time actively engaged in expelling the natives of Ulster, and granting their lands to English and Scottish settlers, whose descendants are, at the present day, so clearly differentiated in race, religion, and character, from the Celts of Ireland. What he had failed to do in the Northern Hebrides, he accomplished in Ulster, but the means of accomplishment is to this day a bitter memory in the hearts of the Irish Celts. It is easy to argue that, as the energy and industry of the English and Scottish settlers have made Ulster what it is, so the energy and industry of the Lowland settlers would have transformed the face of the Hebrides. But the ethics which bear upon the extirpation of a people must be judged apart from the ultimate results of the operation, for the morality and success of an enterprise are far from being inter-dependent. The plantations in Ulster were clearly designed by the King to go hand-in-hand with the reduction of the Hebrides to obedience. But whereas the brutality of his former intentions in regard to some of the Scottish islands was now, in a measure, transferred to the North of Ireland, his policy towards the Hebrides underwent an important modification. He is no longer bent on extirpation, but on pacification. In a letter dated 6th February, 1609, he gives his views at length on the matter. He professes himself unwilling to resort to extermination, or even to transplantation, unless compelled

to do so. He divides the inhabitants of the Hebrides into three classes: the chiefs, who maintained their power by force of arms; those of their kinsmen who found fighting a more profitable occupation than farming; and the tillers of the soil, the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water. He proposes to reduce the power and possessions of the chiefs; to make the second class work or quit, at their option; and to give the third class the benefits of good government. This was a vast improvement on his past projects, and a very commendable plan, but it proved much more difficult in the execution than the inception.

Donald Gorm and Maclean of Duart had in November, 1608, petitioned the King for their release, submitting themselves entirely to his will; and the other imprisoned Islesmen were equally tractable in demeanour. James resolved to pursue his advantage to the uttermost. Commissioners were appointed to receive the offers of the Islesmen, and to deliberate upon Hebridean matters generally. Various communications passed between the Commissioners and the chiefs, both those in prison and those at large, and the Bishop of the Isles went to London to submit to James the suggestions of the deliberative body. The result of these negotiations was, that in accordance with the instructions of the King, modified in certain details, the Bishop of the Isles was sent to visit and survey the Hebrides. The imprisoned Hebrideans were set at liberty, upon their finding substantial security to return to Edinburgh on a fixed date, and to assist the Bishop in the service with which he was charged; while the latter was invested with full powers to compel the obedience of any recalcitrant chiefs, by means of his new allies. Donald Gorm's bond included an obligation to present before the Council, on 2nd February, 1610, Roderick Macleod, son of Torquil Dubh, and it is curious to note that his cautioners—in the sum of ten thousand pounds—were Mackenzie of Kintail and Sir George Hay of Netherliff, the former of whom was ordered to keep Macdonald's nephew against the uncle's appearance. In July, 1609, the Bishop met in

Iona nearly all the principal men in the Hebrides, who unreservedly submitted themselves to him as the Commissioner of the Crown. The representatives of the Long Island were Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm, and the Captain of Clanranald. Then were enacted, with the consent of the chiefs, the celebrated Statutes of Icolmkill which form a landmark in Hebridean history, and the operations of which modified in a remarkable degree the turbulent habits of the Islesmen. The Statutes are nine in number, each one of which deserves attention. Mr. Gregory has given an excellent synopsis of them in his well-known history.* The nine Statutes deal with: (1) the maintenance of the clergy and churches; (2) the establishment of inns; (3) a reduction in the number of idlers attached to the chiefs' households or otherwise; (4) the punishment of sorners; (5) the drinking habits of the Islesmen; (6) education; (7) the prohibition of firearms; (8) the discouragement of bards; (9) enactments for enforcing obedience to preceding Acts.

The success of Bishop Knox in concluding this epoch-making agreement with the chiefs of the Hebrides, is a noteworthy object-lesson in the taming of a warlike people. What the military expeditions of successive kings had failed to accomplish in a century, the persuasive arguments of a clergyman brought about in the course of a single interview. The policy of pacifying the rebellious Hebrideans had proved fruitless, because the means employed had been wrong-headed. Conquest by force had failed; but the eloquence of the silver-tongued Bishop proved irresistible. The character of the Islesmen had been misunderstood by the monarchs of Scotland and their councillors. It was left to a man who had studied their characteristics, to show how the habits of a quarrelsome and lawless people could be diverted into channels of peaceableness among themselves, and loyalty to constituted authority. The Bishop of the Isles deserves an enduring

* *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, pp. 330-33.

place in the memory of all who love the Hebrides ; for the Statutes which he framed revolutionised the religious, social, and economic conditions of his diocese, and implanted a new and far healthier spirit throughout the length and breadth of the Isles. Disorder in the Hebrides was not permanently stamped out, but its area was restricted, and its effects considerably modified, by the operation of the Statutes. One of the first results of the Iona agreement is seen in a contract of friendship and mutual forgiveness of injuries which, on 24th August, 1609, was entered into between Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat ; and on 28th June, 1610, an obligation was entered into by seven chiefs, viz., Macdonald of Dunyveg, Maclean of Duart, Donald Gorm, Macleod of Harris, the Captain of Clanranald, Allan Cameron of Lochaber, and Mackinnon of Strath, binding themselves to assist, with their whole forces, the King's representatives in the Hebrides ; to live together for the future "in peace, love, amytie" ; and to settle any disputes between them by the ordinary course of law and justice. But the Statutes did more ; for from their enactment dates the commencement of that remarkable attachment to the Stuart dynasty, and cohesion in a common cause which, in after years, characterised the Highland chiefs. The agreement carried in its train political and economic results of far-reaching significance.

One island of the Hebrides formed a marked exception to the general conversion ; and that island was Lewis. For Neil Macleod and his followers held it against all-comers. The Privy Council would have acted wisely had they commissioned Bishop Knox to confer with Neil ; but instead of the emissary of peace, they sent the wielders of the sword. Of the three grantees of Lewis, one, viz., Lord Balmerino, the Secretary for Scotland, had been convicted of high treason, and after his forfeiture, his share of Lewis, Trotternish, and the properties of Ruari Mòr passed, on 15th November, 1609, to his co-partner, Sir George Hay.*

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), No. 167.

The latter, with his colleague, Spens, was now ready to undertake the re-conquest of Lewis and the capture of Neil Macleod.

Upon Kenneth Mackenzie—who, on 17th November, 1609, was created Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, chiefly in acknowledgment of his services in Lewis—devolved the duty of rendering active assistance to the colonists in re-conquering the island. This was an unpalatable task to Kintail, for the success of the Lowlanders meant the disappearance of his own hopes of securing Lewis for himself. In the circumstances, he acted a double part, the particulars of which appear to be well authenticated. He sent his brother, Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, with 400 men to Lewis—and then proceeded secretly to wreck the whole enterprise. Besides the levy of men, he seems to have been relied upon to send a supply of provisions across the Minch, to meet the necessities of the colonists and their allies. Accordingly, he despatched a cargo of stores to Lewis, but apprised Neil Macleod of what he was doing, and advised him to intercept the vessel. Neil was not slow to follow this advice. The provision ship was seized, and the colonists perhaps received the sympathy of Kintail. Their necessities would appear to have been pressing, for their leaders, Hay and Spens, were compelled to disband their allies and send them home to the mainland. They themselves made a hurried departure to Fife, for the purpose of procuring reinforcements and provisions. A small garrison was left in Stornoway to keep the colony intact, pending the arrival of help and stores from the South.

The ever-vigilant Neil Macleod at once seized the opportunity to strike another blow. Collecting his forces, which were under the joint leadership of himself and his nephew, Malcolm, son of Ruari Og, he attacked the colonists, slew many of them, took the rest prisoners, and sent them safely home—whence they never returned.*

* At the present day, there is only one Lewis family whose descent is directly traceable to the Fife Adventurers; and it is a family of which Stornoway may well be proud.

This appears to be the occasion referred to by Sir Walter Scott in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, when he states that some of the old persons in Lewis, who were alive in his time, talked of a very old woman living in their youth, who used to say that she had held the light while her countrymen were cutting the throats of the Fife Adventurers. Parenthetically, it may be remarked that the leisurely process of despatch which the *cailleach's* story suggests, hardly tallies with the well-grounded statement that the prisoners were permitted to return home in safety. The gruesome picture of a shambles arises before the mind's eye rather than the deportation of the vanquished across the Minch. But the old woman's tale may have been true in isolated instances, or in the case of those who refused to submit to the terms of the Lewismen.

Sir Walter also relates a romantic incident in connexion with the dispersion of the Fife men which should find a place here. The wife of one of the principal colonists fled from the scene of violence to a wild desert, called the Forest of Fannig. In this wilderness, she became a mother. A native, who happened to be passing, saw the mother and child, who, through exposure, were at the point of death. Taking compassion on them, he killed his pony, cut it open, removed the entrails, and placed the mother and infant inside, the warmth of this novel receptacle serving to keep both alive. He then succeeded in removing them to a place of safety, where the woman remained until she found her way home. The sequel to this incident is also told by Scott. The woman who had undergone the remarkable adventure just described became, by a second marriage, the wife of a leading citizen of Edinburgh, her husband being a Judge of the Court of Session. One evening, while looking out from a window of her house in the Canongate, just as a storm was coming on, she overheard a man in Highland dress say in Gaelic to a companion: "This would be a rough night for the Forest of Fannig." The latter was a never-

to-be-forgotten name in her memory, and her attention was immediately arrested. A second look revealed the fact that the Highlander who had made the remark was no other than her preserver. She called him into the house, received him, as well she might, in the most cordial manner, and on learning that he had come to Edinburgh on law business of importance, used her influence on his behalf to such good purpose as to secure a satisfactory settlement for him. The Lewisman returned home, we are told, laden with presents.*

On 20th February, 1610, Lord Kintail and others were commissioned to seize certain named persons, unrelaxed from a horning of 18th January, among the number being Malcolm, Norman, and Ruari Macleod in Lewis. On 19th July, 1610, the Privy Council granted Kintail a commission appointing him Justiciary for the space of two years over the island, with full authority to seize the "traytour" Neil Macleod and his "infamous byke of lawles and insolent lymmaris." This commission, in its scope and general tenor, is of much the same nature as those previously given to Lennox and Huntly. It is pointed out that of all the islands, Lewis alone has now the doubtful distinction of being rebellious and disobedient. The Lewismen are charged with committing murders and other crimes, not only among themselves, but on those who resorted to their island for the fishing, thereby rendering that industry unprofitable, "to the grite hurte of the Commounwele." In order to facilitate his operations, Kintail was authorised to take the galleys and other boats of Lewis and the adjacent islands, returning them to the owners on the expiration of the service. And authority was given to impress in the service, levies from the whole of the North Isles, as well as from Kintail's own lands, persons of the names of Fraser, Ross, and Munro excepted.

* This story, in many of its details, presents so remarkable a resemblance to a tradition of the Mackenzies relating to the escape of John of Kintail after Flodden, as to suggest that they have a common origin, a supposition which is strengthened by the fact that the Forest of Fannig, or Fannich, is not in Lewis, but near Loch Broom.

On the same date that this commission was granted, Donald Gorm and Ruari Macleod were charged by the Council to deliver to Kintail, two sons of Torquil Dubh, Ruari and Torquil, the former being in the keeping of Donald Gorm, and the latter in that of Macleod. And, on the 24th July, Macleod was ordered to detain Donald Cam Macaulay and Malcolm, his brother—both of whom were then in his custody—until 31st May, 1611, on which date they were to be brought before the Council to answer the charges against them. It would appear, however, that the Macaulays escaped to Lewis—perhaps with the connivance of Macleod—for tradition ascribes to them an active share in the stirring events which took place in the island about this time.

Kintail was not slow in putting his mandate into execution. He sent his brother Ruari across the Minch with 700 men, who quickly reduced the Lewismen to submission. Neil Macleod, however, refused to give in. With Malcolm, William, and Ruari (the three sons of Ruari Og), Torquil Blair Macleod—whose exact relationship to Neil it is difficult to determine—Torquil's four sons and thirty others, he retired to the Islet of Birsay (*Bereasaidh*) in Loch Roag, on the west side of Lewis, and there he was, for the present, safe against attack. With great foresight, he had for years been provisioning Birsay, which, to use a modern phrase, he evidently regarded as his "last ditch"; and he had also taken the precaution to provide two boats wherewith to pass to Bernera or Lewis, and replenish his larder when his stock of provisions began to run low. That he made a free use of the boats for this purpose, is proved by the indictment against him when, three years afterwards, he fell into the hands of the Privy Council and was tried for his life. He was charged with having run various forays on the mainland—which probably means Lewis—and having stolen goods and cattle from a certain Malcolm Macaulay and Malcolm Macdonald. According to tradition, Donald Cam Macaulay, another of the leading stalwarts, took refuge from

the Mackenzies on a rock west of Uig, called "Donald Cam's stack," which he fortified, and where his wants were attended to by his daughter. About this time, Lewis passed into the hands of Lord Kintail in the following manner.

It has been shown how the third and final attempt to colonise Lewis turned out a disastrous failure. The leaders of the colonists, Hay and Spens, were no less disheartened than their dependents, and were ready to part with their concessions on the best terms they could obtain. In these circumstances, Lord Kintail found it easy to negotiate a deal with them. On 20th July, 1610, by a charter under the Great Seal, the terms of which are similar to those of the charter of 1607, Lewis and Trotternish were granted to Kintail, on the resignation of Hay and Spens of their rights in those lands.* The exact consideration for the transfer is not stated in the official records of the transaction. From other sources, however, it appears that Lord Kintail agreed to give the second parties to the agreement, the sum of 10,000 merks, in substitution for which, he afterwards granted them the woods of Letterewe for iron-smelting. Hay seems to have been interested in the ironworks of Loch Maree as far back as 1607, and it is not assuming too much to suggest that it was while at Poolewe, planning the conquest of Lewis, that his attention was first directed to the possibilities of Letterewe for the smelting of iron. On 24th July, 1610, Hay acquired by Crown charter the share of his colleague, Spens, in the properties of Macleod of Harris,† and he appears for some years afterwards to have continued his operations in iron-smelting at Letterewe. Probably his stay at Loch Maree was more or less against his will, but in 1616, he was appointed Clerk-Register, and in 1622, became High Chancellor of Scotland. In 1627, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Duplin and Lord Hay of Kinfauns; and in 1633, was created the first Earl of Kinnoull. The son of Peter

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), No. 341.

† *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), No. 346.

Hay of Melginche was a man of remarkable ability, and his attempted colonisation of Lewis was perhaps the only great failure of his life. Sir James Spens of Wormiston had also a distinguished career after severing his connexion with Lewis. He was high in favour, not only with King James, but with Gustavus Adolphus. He entered the service of Sweden, and at the time of his death, was General of the English and Scottish mercenaries attached to the Swedish army.

Returning, after this digression, to Neil Macleod and his small band of followers, we find them in an unenviable plight. It may be readily believed that the transference of Lewis to the Clan Kenneth stimulated Ruari Mackenzie to fresh efforts to capture the bold refugees of Birsay, or, failing that, to prevent any co-operation between them and their sympathisers in Lewis. The Mackenzies, being of Gaelic speech and of Celtic blood, like the Lewismen themselves (the Norse element may, for the moment, be disregarded), found little difficulty in reconciling the latter, generally, to their occupation of the island, and the area of disaffection was reduced to small proportions. The Macleods and their dependents alone were opposed, and not unnaturally so, to the domination of Clan Kenneth. Neil consequently had little prospect of organising a general insurrection against the new owners of Lewis. His game was up, and all he could hope for was to secure a pardon from the King, and come to terms with Kintail. An opportunity soon presented itself of ingratiating himself with the authorities.

One day, the anxious eyes of the Birsay stalwarts observed a strange ship drop anchor close to Kirkibost, Bernera. The vessel turned out to be the *Priam*, commanded by Captain Peter Love. Not a peaceful merchantman was she, but one of the most renowned pirates of the day, manned by as desperate a set of cut-throats as ever ordered an unfortunate captive to walk the plank. Neil Macleod, a fellow-outlaw, and a man who was himself no novice in the piratical profession, soon struck up a friend-

ship with Captain Love. The story of the latter was simple enough. He had narrowly escaped capture off the coast of Ireland, where a number of his comrades in crime were cut off by a party from the shore. There was a rich cargo on board the *Priam*, consisting of cinnamon, ginger, pepper, cochineal, sugar, 700 Indian hides, and twenty-nine pieces of silver plate which had been taken from an English ship; and a remarkable box, containing various precious stones of great value, which had been captured from a Dutchman; also, according to a contemporary writer, a large number of muskets. This valuable cargo had to be taken to a safe place of refuge, and Love chose the Island of Lewis for the purpose. He could not have made a worse choice. For a time, all went well with the pirates. They resumed their occupation off the Lewis coast, and captured the ship of a Lowland Scot, one Thomas Fleming (Richieson) of Anstruther, whom they detained as their prisoner, using his vessel as their guardship. They also seized a Flemish buss, transferring five of the crew to the *Priam* to work as slaves, and replacing them with a similar number of pirates. The buss was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Shetland, where the crew landed—to the detriment, doubtless, of the Shetlanders.

The accounts given of Neil Macleod's dealings with Peter Love are conflicting, but the main facts are tolerably clear. A bond of mutual offence and defence seems to have been entered into by the two outlaws, and for a time their friendship remained unimpaired. The intimacy, indeed, became so great that Love was about to marry a daughter of Torquil Blair Macleod, who (apparently erroneously) is described as Neil's aunt.* It is impossible to say what was the immediate cause of the tragic interruption to the friendship between the two men; but an impartial examination of the facts points to the conclusion, that Neil deliberately hatched a plot to seize the pirates and hand

* We are not informed who Torquil Blair was; he may have been another of old Ruari Macleod's illegitimate offspring.

them over to justice, in the hope of securing a pardon for himself. The way in which he effected his purpose was quite in accordance with the treacherous methods of the times. "Honour among thieves" was not an axiom to be found in Neil's ethical code. He had been feasted on board the *Priam*, and he gave a return feast at Birsay ; preliminaries, possibly, to the approaching nuptials of Captain Love. As events happened, it was Love's last feast ; Neil's banquet led to a scaffold, and not to a wedding. For while Neil was entertaining the pirate chief and some of his ship's company, Torquil Blair was bent on another errand. While the ardent lover was, mayhap, basking in the smiles of his future bride, the bride's father was preparing to seize the ship of his intended son-in-law. The plot succeeded, but not without bloodshed. Captain Love and his companions found themselves trapped by their quondam allies ; and the *Priam*, after a short but desperate scuffle, in which several of the pirates were killed, became the prize of Torquil Blair and his followers. Four Dutchmen, who had been captured and enslaved by the pirates, were released and sent across to Lewis, and a Scotsman, who was in a like condition, was detained by Neil, pending instructions from the Privy Council as to his disposal. According to tradition, which is probably correct, a large quantity of money was found on board the *Priam*, which was divided among Neil and his followers, Donald Cam's helmet being used to measure it out.* In the official records, there is no mention of this money among the articles found on board the *Priam*, and the inference is obvious. Such articles as cochineal and pepper were of little use to the outlaws, but hard coin was a welcome addition to their resources. And here we find another reason for Neil's betrayal of his ally. His cupidity was probably aroused by the knowledge that this money was on board the *Priam* ; so that the capture of the pirate

* The *Priam's* name is not mentioned in the confused narrative of tradition, but the episode appears to be connected with the attack on that vessel. In 1813, a pot of gold was dug up near Kirkibost.

served a double purpose, in providing him with ready cash, and in offering the means of reconciliation with the Government.*

Having secured his prize, Neil sent a messenger to inform the Privy Council of his feat, which, he doubted not, would be highly commended at head-quarters, as indeed it was. His emissary made out as favourable a case as possible for his master, asserting that the latter had merely forestalled the pirate in a plot which Love had formed to seize Macleod. It was a matter of small concern to the Council for what reason, or by what means, the capture was accomplished, but at the first blush, it is curious to find both Neil and his messenger disclaiming the credit of a premeditated attack upon the pirates. Instead of asserting that he had seized the *Priam* in order to serve the State, as in the circumstances might have been expected, Neil strove to excuse himself for the act, and sought to acquit himself of responsibility. In a letter to the Council dated 16th October, 1610, he protested that he was not personally present at the capture, which was effected by his men. The cause of this excessive modesty on Neil's part is not too obscure. His letter plainly hints that in the interval between the seizure of the *Priam* and her delivery to himself, his men might have helped themselves, for which, he suggests, he cannot be held responsible.† Evidently he feared the disclosures of Captain Love, and not without good reason. It may be taken for granted, that any articles of the *Priam's* cargo which were of use to Neil and his men, were not found on board when the ship was handed over to the representatives of the Crown. The Council sent one Patrick Grieve to take possession of the *Priam*, and Neil, according to his letter, delivered the ship with all her appurtenances exactly as he had received them. Love and nine of his men were

* *Analecta Scotica*, Vol. II., pp. 282-3; *Miscellanea Scotica* (both MSS.); Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., pp. 99-101.

† Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., p. 102. Neil's letter is superscribed "Jesus."

delivered to Grieve, and on 8th December, 1610, the pirates were tried for their lives at Edinburgh. According to the indictment, their nationality was a mixture: there were, besides the captain (who was a native of Lewes, in Sussex), four Englishmen, two Welshmen, and an Irishman, all of whom were comprehensively described as "wicket Impes of the Devill." The remaining two men who were handed over to Grieve, appear to have died of wounds received in the fight. The prisoners were all found guilty of piracy, and were condemned to be hanged on the sands of Leith.* They went to Loch Bernera to secure their plunder and escape pursuit, but they discovered to their cost that they had tumbled into a veritable hornet's nest.

The service rendered to the State by Neil secured for him a temporary respite, but not a permanent pardon. On 29th August, 1610, Lord Kintail was informed by the Council that in view of Neil's successful exploit against the pirates, and his promise to deliver his captives and their ship to those appointed by the Council to receive them, they had given him an assurance of freedom from molestation until the following Whit-Sunday, if he availed himself of their invitation to come to Edinburgh to arrange their mutual grievances. In the meantime, Kintail was charged to defer, until the expiry of that period, further hostilities against the fugitives of Birsay. Neil was, however, too cautious to trust himself in the hands of the Council. As we have seen, he duly implemented his promise to deliver the pirates, their ship, and their plunder, to the bearer of the Council's letter, but he himself gave Edinburgh a wide berth.

Lord Kintail died in February, 1611, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Colin (Cailean Ruadh), who was only fourteen years of age at the time of his father's death. The management of the Mackenzie estates, during the minority of the new proprietor, devolved upon his uncle and guardian, Ruari Mackenzie, the famous Tutor of

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., pp. 99-101.

Kintail. It will be remembered that Ruari was married to Margaret, the elder daughter of Torquil Conanach. When the marriage took place, in 1605, Kenneth Mackenzie gave his brother a charter of Coigeach, reserving the life-rent to Torquil Conanach and his wife (Glengarry's daughter); and in 1608, a further charter of Coigeach and other lands was granted to Ruari by Kintail. The latter was confirmed by a Crown charter dated 17th November, 1609, perhaps on the death of Torquil Conanach, whose last recorded appearance occurs in the same year. The laird of Applecross, in his *Genealogy of the Mackenzies*, states that the consideration for Lewis, which island Torquil Conanach and his son-in-law had made over to Kintail, consisted of certain lands disposed to Ruari, and of certain sums of money advanced to Elspeth, the younger daughter of Torquil. The Tutor thus possessed, through his wife, a more equitable claim to Lewis than his brother, although he had surrendered his legal rights to the latter; and it is perhaps not surprising to find that after he had subjugated Lewis, he sought to have these rights recognised.

On 11th June, 1611, a commission over Lewis was granted to Ruari Mackenzie and four other chieftains of the Clan Kenneth, viz., Colin Mackenzie of Killin (or Kildun), Murdo Mackenzie of Kernsary, Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Davochmaluag; and on the same date the Tutor became caution for one Neil Mac-an-t'sagairt, a member of a clerical family who appear, from the records, to have been particularly active participators in the Lewis troubles. On 16th August, a proclamation was issued, following the commission of June 11th. This proclamation informs us that the Lewis rebels, taking fresh courage on account of the death of Kenneth, Lord Kintail, and counting upon the assistance of their neighbours, had risen in arms against the Tutor, whom the Council had appointed to the office of Justiciary of Lewis, rendered vacant by his brother's death. The proclamation goes on to say, that although it cannot reasonably be supposed that such assistance will be afforded to the

Lewismen by their loyal neighbours, yet, in order to leave the latter without any excuse, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Macleod of Harris, Macneill of Barra, Mackay of Farr, and his son and heir, are charged, under pain of rebellion, to abstain from rendering help, direct or indirect, of any kind whatsoever, to the insurgents. On 28th May, 1612, the commission of 11th June, 1611, was renewed, the terms being very similar to those of the commission granted to Lord Kintail on 19th July, 1610.

The Tutor now applied himself to the task of chasing Neil Macleod and his comrades out of their stronghold on Birsay. Neil had recently been engaged on a foray in Lewis, where he was attacked by the Mackenzies and some Lewismen, but managed to make his escape back to Birsay. Ultimately, his followers were dispersed by a stratagem, if Sir Robert Gordon is to be believed. The Tutor despaired of carrying Birsay at the point of the sword, or of starving the defenders into submission. He was exasperated, too, by the loss of two of his men who were stationed on a rock within gunshot of Birsay, one of them having been killed outright, and the other wounded, by Neil. He therefore conceived a plan, by means of which he hoped to compel the little band to surrender. He gave orders to seize the wives, children, and other relatives of the insurgents, and place them at low tide on a rock, sufficiently near Birsay for the occupants to hear and see the wretched people. He then informed Neil that unless he and his companions surrendered immediately, their helpless relatives would be left to drown on the return of the tide. Fearing that the stern Tutor would keep his word, if his orders were not obeyed, Neil and his followers capitulated, on condition of being allowed to leave Lewis; a condition to which Mackenzie acceded. Neil then took refuge with Ruari Macleod of Harris.

It is difficult to say whether this account is perfectly reliable, or, if reliable, whether Mackenzie really meant to carry out his inhuman threat. The earliest MS. dealing with the troubles in Lewis, which was written apparently

about 1620, makes no reference to the incident. It simply states that Neil was "wearied" of remaining on Birsay, and at length abandoned the stronghold and dispersed his followers, he himself going to Harris.* Gordon's MS. was not completed until 1630, and his account of the Lewis troubles appears to be an amplification of the earlier MS., the author of which is unknown. The fact that the latter makes no reference to the Birsay episode related by Gordon, suggests that the story about the wives and children may be apocryphal. Certain it is, that Neil gave himself up to Ruari Macleod. As far back as 1610, Macleod had been commanded, in a letter written by the King, and transmitted to Ruari through the then Earl of Dunbar, to assist the Earl in effecting the capture of Neil in Lewis; and on his own showing, he had undertaken the commission. The delay which had taken place in discharging this duty was due to the fact—to quote Ruari's own words—that Neil had "keepit himself so warlie," although it is not difficult to conceive that reasons other than the wariness of Neil had contributed to his want of success. But Neil was at length actually in his hands. If, as appears to have been the case, the notorious outlaw sought refuge with his namesake of Harris, and if, as Sir Robert Gordon affirms, Macleod undertook to conduct Neil to England, where the latter apparently had the notion of throwing himself on the mercy of the King, then an indelible stain rests on the name of Rory Mòr. For, on 2nd March, he appeared before the Council, and made them the welcome present of Neil and his son Donald,† both of whom were promptly lodged in the Tolbooth. On 4th March, Ruari Macleod presented a petition to the Council, craving for a declaration by Act of Council that he had fully executed his commission in respect of the capture of Neil. The petition was readily granted, and Macleod was protected during his

* *Miscellanea Scotica*, Vol. II., p. 75.

† Donald Macleod was soon set at liberty, but his sentence of banishment seems to have weighed lightly on his shoulders, for he soon re-appeared in Lewis, as defiant and troublesome as ever.

stay in the Capital against arrest for certain undischarged liabilities.*

In order to appreciate the true inwardness of Rory Mòr's change of attitude, it is necessary to hark back a little. Macleod had tried rebellion and found himself a landless outlaw, who dared not show his face in Edinburgh. A letter of 4th May, 1610, granting him a remission by the King for all his past offences, marked a change in his relations with the Crown ; and the commission with which, in the same year, he was entrusted for the capture of Neil, points in a similar direction. The reward of loyalty quickly followed. On 4th April, 1611, by a charter under the Great Seal, all his lands were restored to him, and he received, in addition, a grant of Waternish in Skye, a property which had belonged to the Siol Torquil, and which had passed with Lewis to the Mackenzies.† Clearly, loyalty was a more paying game than rebellion, and Rory Mòr was not slow to realise the fact. When, therefore, he delivered up the confiding Neil to the Council, he was only fulfilling the commission with which he had been charged by his Royal master. This argument may serve the sophist, but will hardly satisfy the upholder of Highland honour, nor accord with the well-grounded belief in the sacredness of Highland hospitality. Ruari meant to profit by his services in capturing the redoubtable rebel. Nothing short of a visit to London to see the King would satisfy him. Accordingly, he received permission to proceed to Court. He left Scotland plain Ruari ; he returned to his native country, Sir Roderick. The surrender of Neil and the receipt of the honour of knighthood form an unpleasant conjunction of events. They may be merely a coincidence ; but if so, the coincidence is unfortunate. It is impossible to dissociate them, or to regard them otherwise than as cause and effect. Whatever Neil's offences—and they were not few—he had placed his life in the hands of an old comrade, and had been basely betrayed. It may be

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. X., p. 3.

† *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), No. 458.

argued that Ruari had to yield to circumstances, for the Tutor of Kintail had apprised the Council of the departure of the pair for the South, and the lord of Harris was ordered, on his arrival in Glasgow, to hand over his companion. But what are we to make of Ruari's petition to the Council, claiming that he had fulfilled his commission by capturing Neil? Or what of his parade of the service he had rendered, and of his journey to the King? He cannot have gone to intercede for Neil, for his acceptance of a knighthood appears to preclude that idea, and suggests the real object of his visit to Court. Viewed in the most favourable light, it is impossible to relieve Macleod of the odium which attaches to the delivery of the famous outlaw, to trial and certain death at Edinburgh.

Incidentally, it may be noticed that on 16th September, 1613, Rory Mòr was served heir to his uncle in the lands of Trotternish, Sleat, and North Uist. Ruari was in high favour with the King in that year: his visit to London was productive of good results. In the orders, dated 15th September, 1613, to the Macers of the Sheriffdoms of Inverness, Tarbat, and Perth, to proceed to the service of the briefs proclaimed by Roderick Macleod to serve him heir to his uncle's estates, it is significantly added that the privilege was granted to him on account of the "guid, trew, and thankfull service" rendered by him, notwithstanding the unrelaxed hornings against his predecessors.

The rest of Neil Macleod's story is soon told. On 30th March, 1613, he was tried in Edinburgh on a series of charges, any one of which was sufficient to hang him. Neil, who was examined through an interpreter, pled guilty. The verdict was a foregone conclusion. The prisoner was condemned to be taken to the market cross at Edinburgh, and there to be hanged; his head to be struck from his body, and placed above the Nether-Bow Port of the town; and all his possessions to be forfeited to the King.* The sentence was carried out accordingly.

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., pp. 244-7.

In a letter dated 7th April, 1613, written by Sir Thomas Hamilton to the King, it is stated that Neil died at his execution "verie Christianlie." And why not, it has been asked, seeing his only offence was the defence of his family's property against outside aggression? If this argument were true in fact, there would be nothing but praise for a man who so gallantly and persistently defended his native island against a gang of land-grabbers. But no one who examines impartially the record of Neil Macleod can resist the conclusion that he was a truculent and treacherous ruffian, the only redeeming feature in his character being his undoubted bravery, and his determination, at all costs, to retain unimpaired his own independence, and that of his fellow Lewismen, from foreign domination. It may be urged that his actions were only a reflection of the spirit of the times in which he lived, and that the circumstances of his environment furnish a sufficient excuse for his crimes. Judged, however, even by that low standard, it is impossible to gloss over the perfidy which betrayed a brother to his enemies and an ally to his doom, for the sake, in each case, of material advantages; or the cold-blooded massacre of inoffensive fishermen; or other incidents in his career which have been noticed. It can only be regretted that the most notable figure in the struggle for independence against the chartered instruments of King James's ruthless scheme of extirpation, should be so bloodstained as to vitiate any claim to hero-worship, or even to whole-hearted respect. Otherwise, a monument might well be erected in Stornoway to the memory of Neil Macleod, the patriot.

Neil's associates on Birsay seem to have taken refuge in South Uist with Donald MacAllan, Captain of Clan Ranald. On 4th March, 1613, a complaint was made at the instance of Sir William Oliphant of Newton, the King's Advocate, setting forth that all the chieftains and principal men of the Isles had made submission to the Crown, with the exception of Neil Macleod and his

comrades, among the latter of whom appear the names of two of Neil's sons, Donald and Ruari, and of Donald MacIan Dubh, the Brieve.* We have seen the tragic result of Neil's attempted submission, and his followers were now to be hunted out of South Uist, the Captain of Clan Ranald and eight others being denounced as rebels and put to the horn for harbouring them. On 28th April, Macleod of Harris was charged by the Council to deliver to the Tutor of Kintail, Malcolm and William, sons of "the late" Neil Macleod, together with Murdo and Malcolm Mac-an-t'sagairt and one Donald MacAngus (all of whom are described as ringleaders of the Lewis insurgents), who had been apprehended by Alexander Macleod, brother of Rory Mòr.

The disappearance of Neil Macleod from the arena of strife did not prove the finishing blow to the resistance of the Lewismen. On 24th June, 1613, a fresh commission was granted to the Tutor of Kintail and his former colleagues, empowering them to proceed to Lewis and seize certain natives who had been denounced as rebels on 2nd February of the same year. In the list of rebels are the names of Ruari and Donald† Macleod (sons of Neil), the Brieve, three sons of the priest ("sagairt")—including the two whom Macleod of Harris had been charged to deliver—three sons of Torquil Blair, and William and Ruari, the sons of Ruari Og.‡ The commission of June, 1613, was renewed for one year on 21st July, 1614, and a proclamation was issued, charging all the inhabitants of the North Isles and those within the bounds of Kintail's properties—Fraseres, Rosses, and Munroes excepted—to assist the Commissioners in

* This complaint seems curiously belated, seeing that Neil and his son Donald were delivered to the Council on 2nd March. We find the Morisons here, and later, siding with the Macleods. Tradition has it that they had quarrelled with the Mackenzies.

† Donald was in prison in Edinburgh on this date! He was released on 13th July, 1613.

‡ On 30th July, Macleod of Harris and Campbell of Auchinbreck became cautioners for the good behaviour of the three sons of Torquil Blair, and an illegitimate son of Neil Macleod who had entered the service of Rory Mòr.

seizing the persons named in the former charge. That the Tutor's time was fully occupied in the reduction of Lewis, is evident from the fact that he and his nephew, Lord Kintail, were specially exempted from the operation of a commission with which the Marquis of Huntly was charged to suppress a quarrel which had broken out between different factions of the Camerons. The circumstances of this exemption are stated in a commission from the King, dated 14th September, 1614, confirming the authority of Kintail and the Tutor to reduce the Lewismen to obedience. The inhabitants of Lewis are charged with being "godles and laules," being "traynit up from thair youths in all kynd of impietie and wickednes," and the Mackenzies were excused from any service which would disturb them in completing the subjugation of the island. The conquest of Lewis, the King asserts, is necessary alike for his own honour, the peace and quietness of the Hebrides, and the safety of his subjects who resort to the fishing. According to this commission, several of the insurgents had already been executed, and in February, 1615, others who had been taken south by Macleod of Harris were handed over to the Mackenzies by the magistrates of Edinburgh, to be kept in ward pending their trial.* A week later, Ruari (Neil Macleod's son), who was one of the Lewismen presented to the Council by Macleod of Harris, was set at liberty on taking his oath to leave the country within forty days, and in the meantime not to show himself north of the Tay, the penalty for disobedience being death. The unfortunate Tormod Macleod, the only legitimate representative of the Siol Torquil then living, who had lain in prison since 1605, was released on the same conditions. The Tutor of Kintail appeared in Edinburgh as his nephew's representative, and gave his consent to the release of the two Macleods, taking the precaution to secure from the Council an acknowledgment of his non-liability, and that

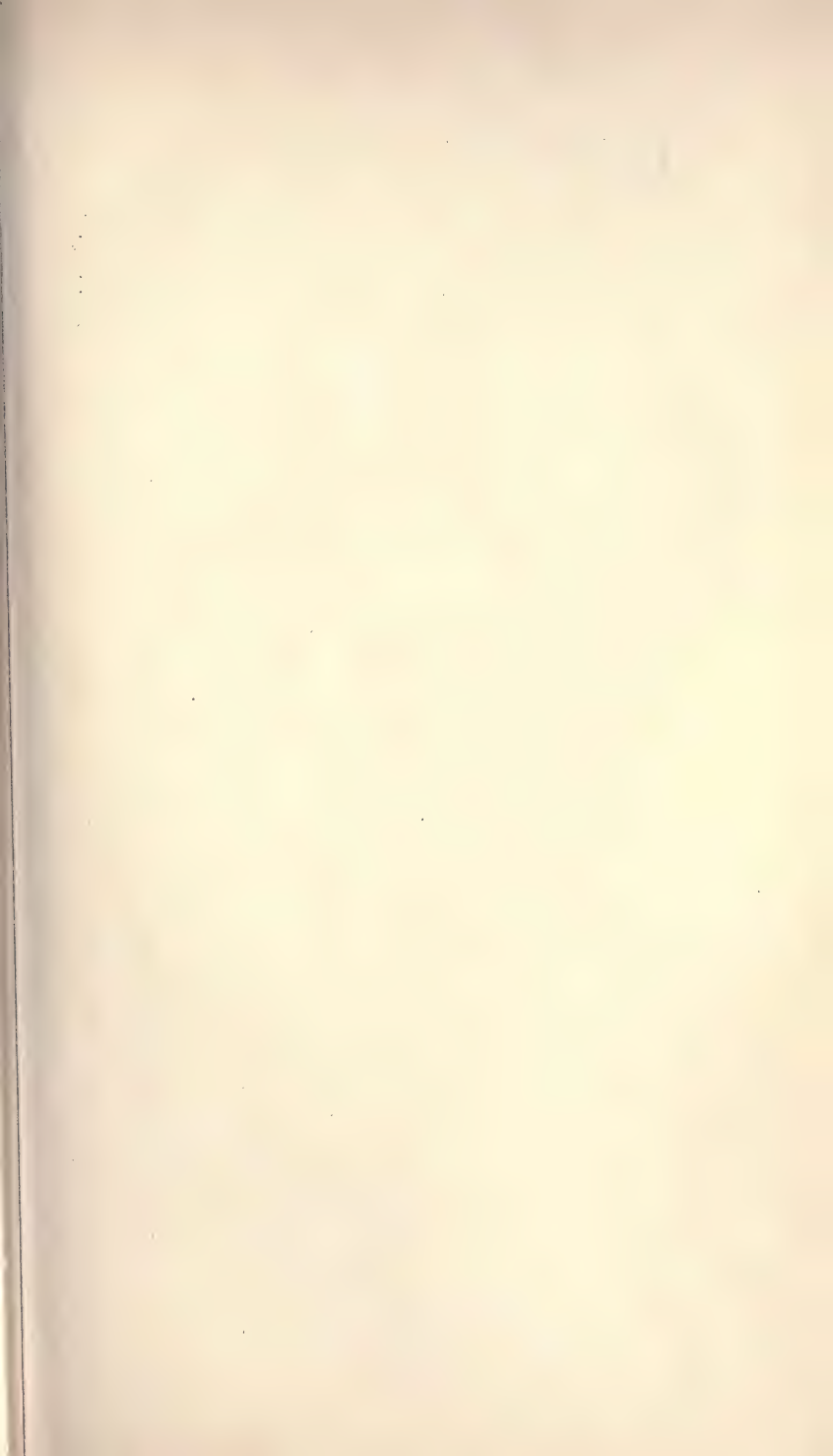
* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. X., pp. 270-1.

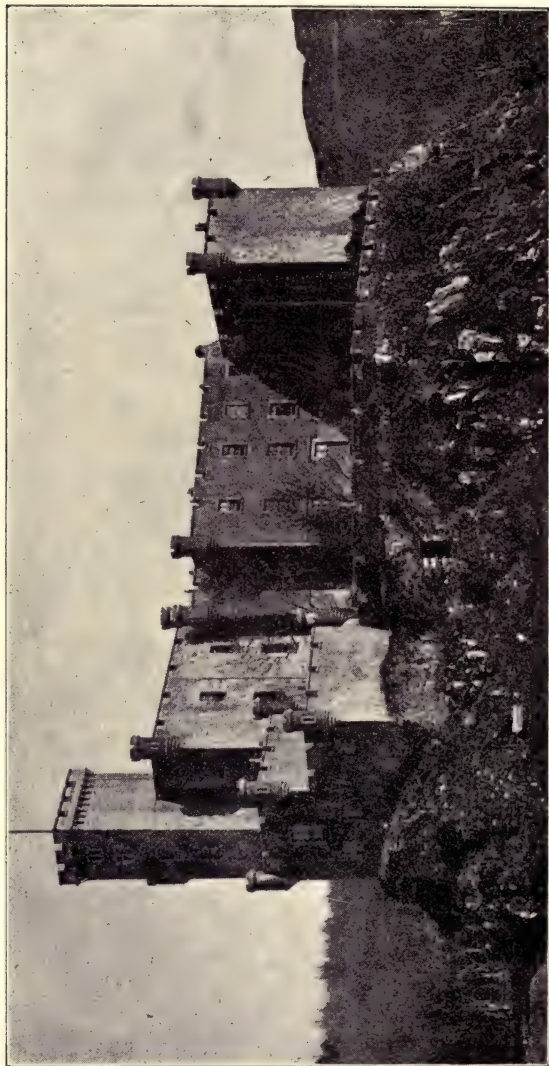
of Lord Kintail, for any further expenses of Tormod. Three months after Tormod was set at liberty, Colin, Lord Kintail, was served heir to his father in the possession of Lewis (23rd May, 1615).

That Ruari, Neil's son, broke his word and returned to his native island, is shown by the fact that his name appears among a number of disobedient Lewismen, who created fresh troubles in the following year. The leader of this rising was Malcolm, son of Ruari Og, and associated with him were Ruari and Donald, Neil's sons, the latter of whom had, in 1613, undertaken to leave the kingdom and never return, or find caution for his good behaviour in the future, under pain of death. A commission dated 28th August, 1616, renewing the powers granted in the former commissions, was delivered to the Tutor and his colleagues to reduce Lewis to obedience. The expiration of the Tutor's previous authority had, it appears, given fresh courage to the Macleods and their allies in the island, and encouraged them to break anew into open insurrection, which the Mackenzies were now called upon to quell. The terror of the Tutor's name was sufficient to nip the rising in the bud, but Malcolm Macleod managed to effect his escape.

Next to Neil Macleod, Malcolm MacRuari Og was the most remarkable of the Siol Torquil of this period. He had an adventurous career. Chased by the Mackenzies out of Lewis, he joined the Macdonalds of Dunyveg in their unsuccessful rebellion. Subsequently, he associated himself with Coll MacGillespie (*alias* Coll Keitach, or the left-handed, father of "Colkitto," the famous lieutenant of Montrose) and others of the Clan Donald in the piratical life upon which they embarked. In the year 1615, these marauders were the terror of the West Highlands and Isles. A commission of fire and sword which was issued against them broke up the confederacy, but Malcolm evaded capture, and although a reward of three thousand merks was placed upon his head, he escaped to the Antrim estate of Sir James Macdonald. Returning

from Ireland, he became the leader of a band of pirates on the west coast of Scotland, and in March, 1616, the machinery of the law was again put in motion against him. Campbell of Lundy, brother of the Earl of Argyll, with Campbell of Auchinbreck and Campbell of Ard-kinglas, was commissioned to proceed against him and his associates, but Lundy's refusal to act under the commission enabled Malcolm again to escape capture. In April, the Tutor of Kintail was charged with the apprehension of the pirates should they land in Lewis, a contingency which, it was shrewdly suspected, should be guarded against. Malcolm, however, fled to Flanders, but soon found his way back to the Western Isles. With a band of desperate men like himself—chiefly Sorley Macdonald and the adherents of the House of Islay—he seized a French ship and fitted her out for a fresh career of piracy. They picked up a crew in the Hebrides, and then set out to look for their prey, the latter being the merchants and fishermen frequenting the North Isles, and especially Lewis. They were assured of active help from a number of Harrismen, and in that assurance set sail for the Long Island, landing at Lochmaddy, where they sent word to Harris of their presence. The confederates discussed the feasibility of a descent on Lewis, and the capture of the merchant ships lying at Stornoway and elsewhere in the island; and it was agreed to await a favourable opportunity of pouncing on their prey. From Lochmaddy, the pirates went to “Lochchennart” (? Loch Eynort), where they were soon joined by the Harrismen, who told them that the ship of one Robert Alexander, a Burntisland skipper, was lying either in the Bay of Stornoway, or in Lochfurna (? Thurnabhaigh, Loch Grimshader), and offered to pilot them to her on condition of sharing in the spoil. The pirates gave a ready assent to this proposal, and a night attack was planned. Malcolm Macleod, with forty men armed with muskets and targes, got into the eight-oared boat of the Harrismen and found the Burntisland vessel in “Loche-sturin” (? Loch Storno-





DUNVEGAN CASTLE, SKYE.

[To face page 263.]

way). It was midnight when they boarded her, and the crew were all asleep. A scuffle ensued, in which Alexander and several of his crew were wounded, but eventually the Lowlanders were all overpowered and their ship captured. But Macleod had other business on hand. This was a matter of profit, but an affair of revenge now claimed his attention. Landing with twenty men, he came, under the guidance of the Harrismen, to the house of John Mackenzie, Lord Kintail's piper, who was settled at "Ratirnes" (Ranish), murdered him in his bed, killed some of his servants, destroyed his house, and returned on board boasting of the exploit. The Burntisland ship was then taken in tow to the anchorage where Malcolm's vessel lay, and her cargo, consisting of wine and general merchandise, was transhipped. The unfortunate master of the merchantman and his crew lost everything, down to their very shirts, but their lives appear to have been spared. The plunder was divided between the pirates and their Harris confederates. The latter took their spoil to Dunvegan Castle, where they openly sold it.*

The exploits of Malcolm Macleod as a pirate were followed by an attempt on his part to organise an insurrection in Lewis, in 1616, which, as we have seen, was sternly repressed by the Tutor, at whose hands Macleod would probably have received short shrift had he fallen into them. But Malcolm had as perfect a genius for evading his foes as his great prototype, Neil, and once more he got away, on this occasion to Spain, where he joined his friend Sir James Macdonald, with whom he returned to Scotland in 1620. We shall meet the elusive Malcolm on two later occasions.

The little that we know of the remaining representatives of the Siol Torquil may be told in a few words. Sir Robert Gordon informs us that at the time he wrote his history,† Ruari, the eldest son of Torquil Dubh, was a

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. X., pp. 634-5. And all this time Rory Mòr was loud in his protestations to the Privy Council that not a man of Malcolm Macleod's following would receive the slightest countenance from any of his tenantry!

† *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*.

student at the University of Glasgow, and that Torquil, the third son, who had been bred by his uncle, Macleod of Harris, was a youth of "great expectations." William, the second son, appears to have died when a youth. No trace of the descendants of Ruari or Torquil, if they left any, can be found. Donald, the eldest son of Neil Macleod, took refuge in England with Sir Robert Gordon, with whom he remained for three years. He then seems to have returned to Lewis, and taken part in the insurrection of 1616. Escaping from Lewis, he made his way to Holland, where he may have joined Tormod Macleod, who, it will be remembered, took service in 1615 with the Prince of Orange. Of Ruari, the other surviving son of Neil, there is no record subsequent to 1616; he may have shared the fate of the sons of Ruari Og.

Lewis was now in undisputed possession of the Mackenzies, and no further attempt was made to resist their domination. The Tutor of Kintail made certain representations to his nephew and chief, Colin, Lord Kintail, and offered in exchange for Lewis, to resign his title to Coigeach and his other possessions on the mainland. Kintail, however, refused to listen to these representations, and the refusal resulted in a temporary estrangement between uncle and nephew. But the Tutor's loyalty to his chief proved equal to the strain, and friendly relations were ultimately re-established between them.

Thus ended the drama which was enacted in Lewis at the close of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The fall of the Macleods of Lewis from their high estate, and the extinction of the historic House of the Siol Torquil, as a force to be reckoned with in the Highlands, furnish an object-lesson to the moralist. That retribution followed the misdeeds of the last Macleods who ruled in the island, is in accordance with the eternal fitness of things, if not in accordance with universal experience. As they sowed, so they reaped. The hoary, but not wholly unamiable sinner, Ruari—the last chief whose claim to Lewis was undisputed—with the trans-

gressions of a lifetime on his bowed shoulders ; his sons, some of them bearing the brand of Cain on their foreheads, and wading through a sea of blood to the consummation of their ambitions ; his grandsons, living in an atmosphere of perpetual violence, and striving in vain against the inexorable Fate, which decrees that the sins of the father shall be visited upon the children ; what wonder is it that, with the inevitability of a life drama, the tragic note persists throughout ? The prologue of the tragedy sounded a note of disaster ; the epilogue voices the wail of despair. In ringing down the curtain on the unfortunate Macleods of Lewis, let it be done with a pitying hand. If they sinned much, they suffered much ; if many were their faults, heavy was their punishment. Let it at least be remembered, to their credit, that they bravely saved their native island from the domination of an alien people, who came to conquer, and not to coalesce with, the inhabitants of Lewis. But although the Siol Torquil lost Lewis for ever, the Macleods have far from disappeared from the island. On the contrary, not only are they at the present day, the most numerous clan in their ancient patrimony, but their influence is felt in every department of activity which marks the modern life of Lewis. The male line of the Siol Torquil being extinct, the chiefship passed to the family of Raasay, the present representative of which is now in Australia. The female line is represented by the descendant of the Tutor of Kintail, in the person of the present Countess of Cromartie.

CHAPTER X.

WHILE the Clan Kenneth were engaged in the difficult task of subjugating the malcontents in Lewis, trouble was rife in the other sections of the Long Island. The interminable disputes of the chiefs of Clan Donald and the Siol Tormod over their various properties were again raging. In former days, these quarrels would have been decided by the sword, but under the new *régime*, more peaceful, if less expeditious, methods of settlement had to be adopted. First, there arose a question between Donald Gorm and Donald MacAllan, Captain of Clan Ranald, touching the thirty merklands of Skeirhow (Howmore) in South Uist, the twelve merklands of Benbecula, and the pennylands of Gergrimenes, which Clanranald held from Donald Gorm. These lands, with the twenty-three merklands of Kandish and the six merklands of Boisdale, both in South Uist, were, in July, 1610, granted by Crown charter to Clanranald, with a provision stipulating for the superiority of Donald Gorm over Skeirhow, Benbecula, and Gergrimenes.* In July, 1614, the latter received a Crown grant of Sleat, the forty pound lands of North Uist, and the Clanranald properties of which he held the superiority.† This charter roused Ruari Macleod of Harris to take action, for less than a year previously, he had been served heir to Sleat and North Uist; and now

* *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), Nos. 342 and 344.

† *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), No. 1,087. On 4th March, 1566, Donald Macdonald of Sleat entered into a contract with Archibald, Earl of Argyll, by which the Earl bound himself to obtain an infestment to him and his heirs of Trotternish, Sleat and North Uist (of which lands Argyll was Bailie), to be held of the Queen in feu farm; and thereafter to infest Macdonald therein, to be held of the Earl in feu. The consideration was 1,000 merks Scots and the vassalage of Macdonald (Appen. to 4th Report *Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 482).

his old rival had triumphed over him. Both chiefs, by their astuteness, had well earned the *soubriquet* "Mòr," but if greatness be measured by ultimate results, it must be conceded that Donald Gorm Mòr Macdonald proved himself to be a more capable man than Sir Ruari Mòr Macleod. The latter, seeing his lands filched from him, appealed to the King, who had within recent years shown him signal marks of his favour. In his letter, which is dated 7th January, 1615, he states that the King's "worthy goodsir of famous memory" had heritably infest the Siol Tormod in their lands, but that after his death, the Clan Donald, who were then of "greatest power, force, and friendship in the Isles," had driven Ruari's forbears "with great slaughter" out of them, and retained possession of them by force. Macleod goes on to state that he had lately been served heir to his father in the lands now forcibly held by Donald Gorm, who, taking advantage of the Act of Parliament requiring the Islesmen to exhibit their infeftments—an order with which Ruari had failed to comply—was resolved to fight him in the Courts. He protests that he never took part with any of the rebels against the King's authority; that he appeared before the Council in 1596 and found the necessary caution; that never thinking the Act of 1597 could apply to such a law-abiding person as himself, he had neglected, from ignorance and not from contempt, to produce his titles; and that, in point of fact, he could not produce them, because Donald Gorm had been infest in the lands.* He then proceeds to state his conviction that the King would see justice done between himself and his rival. The Act of Parliament, he avers, was passed "to draw brokin Ilismen to obedience, and not to snair simple, ignorant, and lauthfull (law-abiding) subjectes"! He concludes his epistle by calling James the "fountain" from which all distressed subjects received comfort, and beseeches the King to instruct the Session to do justice between

* Donald Gorm got a grant of the lands by charter dated 17th August, 1596. The grant included the lands in South Uist, and Benbecula, concerning which he had come to a friendly arrangement with Clanranald. (See p. 205.)

Donald Gorm and others, the Act of Parliament and its results notwithstanding.*

The "others" referred to by Ruari Macleod probably included the Tutor of Kintail, whose niece Donald Gorm's heir had married. The Tutor espoused the cause of Donald in his dispute with Macleod, and the charter which deprived the lord of Harris of his lands was secured partially, if not wholly, through the instrumentality of the Clan Kenneth, whose influence at Edinburgh was now more powerful than ever before.

The upshot of the quarrel between Macleod and Macdonald dissipated the hopes of the former; his ingenuous pleading, his blandishments, and, it may be added, the justice of his claims, were alike ignored. Donald Gorm Mòr died in 1616, and was succeeded by his nephew, Donald, afterwards Sir Donald Gorm Macdonald, who by a charter dated 12th March, 1618, was confirmed in the possessions of his uncle.† Ruari Macleod was obliged to resign his claims to Sleat and North Uist, receiving as compensation a sum of money; the acceptance of this arrangement being clearly the only course left open to him. The Crown lands of Trotternish, too, remained in the possession of Kintail, whose brother-in-law, Sir Donald Gorm, was retained in peaceful occupation as Mackenzie's tenant. Thus ended a dispute of long standing between Rory Mòr and Donald Gorm Mòr. The facts of the dispute explain a good deal of the jealousy between these chiefs, which is apparent in the incidents hereafter related.

In 1622, the relations between Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat and the Captain of Clan Ranald were, to say the least, strained. Apparently, the feu-duty payable by Clanranald to his Superior in the Long Island was in arrears. Donald Gorm subsequently sought and obtained decrees of removal against Clanranald and his people, but the latter treated the decrees with contempt. They were promptly put to the horn for their disobedience, but they retained posses-

* *Abbotsford Club Collection*, pp. 245-7.

† *Reg. Mag. Sig.* (1609-20), No. 1,795.

sion of the lands. Donald Gorm petitioned the Privy Council for redress against Clanranald, who, he says, had greatly "molested" him in his lands of Skeirhow and Benbecula, and, in defiance of the decrees of removal against him, had debarred the rightful owner (himself) from taking possession. He therefore begged the Council to remedy this state of affairs by causing Clanranald to find caution not to molest him further, or, failing caution, to commit him to prison until the required security was found. Clanranald's father-in-law, Ruari Macleod, here stepped into the breach with the necessary caution, and the whole dispute was ultimately referred to arbitration. The arbitrators met at Kintail's Castle of Chanonry, and their decision, as might be expected, was in favour of Donald Gorm. The latter was empowered to obtain wadsets over the lands in question, and in satisfaction of his claims against Clanranald, was awarded the superiority of Kandish and Boisdale.* Following the disposal of these lands a little further, it may be noticed that in 1627, John Moidartach, the son and successor of Donald MacAllan in the captaincy of Clan Ranald, received from Donald Gorm, a precept of *clare constat* for Skeirhow, Benbecula, &c. In 1633, the Earl of Argyll acquired, in satisfaction of a debt owing to him by Donald Gorm, the wadset rights of those lands, and had also assigned to him the superiority of Clanranald's holdings from the Crown.†

It may serve a useful purpose, as illustrating the gradual declension of the independence of the Hebridean chiefs, to give a summary of the relations which existed between the Clan Donald of the North and the lord of Harris on the one hand, and the Privy Council on the other, during the period under review. The records of the Council here drawn upon are eloquent in their very baldness.

In June, 1613, Donald Gorm Mòr appeared before the Council, gave caution on a question of rent to be settled,

* According to the Privy Council records, Donald Gorm and Clanranald came to an agreement in October and November, 1622, and Ruari Macleod was relieved of his caution.

† *Clan Donald*, Vol. II., p. 324.

and was ordered to produce his titles. Twelve days later, he gave a bond to appear before the Council when required to do so. In July of the same year, the King granted three missives in favour of Macleod of Harris, who, on giving his bond, was permitted to return home. In July, 1614, he was committed to ward in the Castle of Edinburgh for not producing certain Lewis rebels, whom he had been charged to seize. In August, 1614, he and Donald Gorm appear among the chiefs who ratified the Statutes of Icolmkill, and entered into a bond (1) for their future appearance annually before the Council; (2) for their obedience in ecclesiastical matters to the regularly-appointed ministers; and (3) for their co-operation with the clergy in the service of the Kirk. The same chiefs also made declaration that there were no feuds existing between them, although there were certain civil actions pending. Donald Gorm advocated arbitration to settle these disputes, but Macleod wanted legal procedure, and in this view, he received the support of Maclean and Mackinnon. For the convenience of the Council, domiciles in Edinburgh were fixed for future citation of the chiefs, when their presence at the Capital was desired. In the same month (August, 1614), Donald Gorm was charged to remain in Glasgow until the Council permitted him to depart; and in the following month, he was released, in order to assist the Bishop of the Isles in his mission against the Macdonalds in Islay. In August, Macleod gave a bond engaging to do his utmost to seize the Lewis insurgents who had slipped through his fingers, and to appear again before the Council on 1st December following. On the latter date, he again appeared before the Council, and bound himself to return on 10th July following, engaging, meanwhile, to do his best to apprehend the Lewis rebels. In February, 1615, letters were sent to Donald Gorm and the Captain of Clan Ranald, charging them not to permit any of the Islay rebels to be "reset" within their bounds. On the same day, Macleod of Harris and the Tutor of Kintail appeared before the

Council, and promised that none of the rebels, especially Coll MacGillespic and Malcolm MacRuari Macleod should be "reset" within their territories, and that they would be hunted down if they put in an appearance. A proclamation to that effect was delivered to the Tutor, and a letter was sent through him to Donald Gorm, charging him to keep his country free from the insurgents. In March, 1615, leave was given to the Captain of Clan Ranald to return home, provided he bound himself to pay the rent due by him, and to appear again on 1st November following. In April, 1615, a commission against the Islay rebels was given to Macleod, Donald Gorm, and Donald MacAllan, among others. In June, 1615, letters were sent to the three chiefs, charging them with the pursuit of Sir James Macdonald of Islay. In the same month, a further commission was granted to them against the Islay rebels, ordering them to provide 200 men each for the service; and they were also charged to send each a contingent to assist Campbell of Lundy in his expedition.

From these entries in the Council records, it is obvious that a sharp eye was kept upon the island lords. It was changed days for those proud warriors to be treated like naughty schoolboys, who are not permitted to be out of their master's sight too long, and who have to report themselves at head-quarters every year under pain of punishment. Verily, Bishop Knox, by his Statutes, had revolutionised the spirit of the Hebrides. That the chiefs of the North Isles were anxious to distinguish themselves in the police work which the Council had set them to perform, would appear from an interesting epistle from that famous letter-writer, Rory Mòr. That the true reason of their emulation was not a love of law and order, or an overpowering sense of loyalty to the Crown, but a hope of reward in the shape of charters and other material benefits, is not too obscurely hinted in Macleod's letter, which is dated 18th June, 1615, and addressed to Lord Binning, Secretary for Scotland. Rory Mòr relates

how he left Edinburgh in the month of April to visit his "barnes," who were at school in Glasgow. During his absence, Coll Keitach, with his followers, came to the North Isles, and passed to Donald Gorm's land in North Uist, where he was "reset" and supplied with provisions by Donald Gorm's wife (a daughter of Mackintosh) and by young Donald Gorm, Lord Kintail's brother-in-law. Coll was persuaded by Donald Gorm's wife and nephew, and by the Clan "Neill Vaine, the speciall tenents" of North Uist, to pay a hostile visit to Macleod's island of St. Kilda; and they provided him with two pilots for the purpose. The attacking force slew all the horses and cattle in St. Kilda, sparing nothing but the lives of the inhabitants. They returned to North Uist, where they shared the spoil with their supporters, and then sailed for Islay. Macleod goes on to state that after Sir James Macdonald had escaped from prison in Edinburgh, he went to Lochaber, Morar, and Knoydart, thence to Sleat, where he got a big boat and "entercomed" (intercommuned) for some time with Donald Gorm, some of whose men of the "Clan Tarlich" (? Macleennans) threw in their lot with him. From Sleat, Sir James proceeded to Eigg, where he met Coll Keitach and his followers, the total number of the rebels being twelve or thirteen score; but what their future plans might be, Macleod was unable to say. He recommends Lord Binning, however, to commission the Superiors of the Isles to pursue the rebels with fire and sword in three companies, the first under the command of Maclean of Duart and Maclean of Lochbuie, the second under Donald Gorm and the Captain of Clan Ranald, and the third under the direction of himself (Ruari Macleod), the lord of Coll and Mackinnon, with Kintail's forces, co-operating. Let each company do its best, proceeds Rory Mòr, and "he that doeth best therein have the greatest honour and perferment of his Majestie and Counsal." He points out that the rebels were of the same blood as Donald Gorm and Clanranald, but that the Macleans were deadly enemies of Sir James and his men.

The next sentence deserves special attention, in view of the confession it makes. "And as for me, Your Lordship knowes verie well that I have geven a proof of my obedience and service to his Majestie and Counsell alreddye, in taking and apprehending and delyvering my own name and blood, the rebellis of the Lews, and in making these lands peaceable to his Majestie." He protests that his house never rebelled, nor ever will rebel; that he will continue to be a good subject of the King to his "lyves end"; and will pursue these and all other rebels to the King's authority, "yea if it wes my father, brother, or sone."*

There is much that is instructive in this letter. Its animus towards Donald Gorm and the Captain of Clan Ranald is conspicuous. It is plainly hinted that the former sympathised secretly with the rebels, while professing openly to be a loyal subject of the King; and an insidious doubt is thrown upon the zeal of Clanranald.† That Ruari Macleod's insinuations were coloured by his personal feelings is suggested by a letter, dated 24th June, 1615, addressed by the Earl of Tullibardine to Lord Binning, in which it is stated that Clanranald would have nothing to do with Sir James Macdonald, and refused to permit him to land within his bounds; and that Donald Gorm had adopted the same attitude. Probably, however, Ruari Macleod knew more about the secret plans of his fellow chiefs than did Lord Tullibardine; but his hostile sentiments towards them detracts from the value of his evidence. That Sir James Macdonald tried to enlist the support of the whole Clan Donald is obvious. He sounded Glengarry, Donald Gorm, and Clanranald, and succeeded in seizing, and afterwards enlisting the active support of, young Glengarry, as well as of Keppoch; also, apparently, of some of Donald Gorm's men, and some of the Clan Ranald of Uist. But the chiefs of Clan Donald of the North were now too much overawed by the Government,

* *Melros Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 214-7.

† Clanranald married a daughter of Ruari Macleod.

or too regardful of their own interests, to range themselves on the side of their harassed clansman, in whatever direction their secret sympathies may have lain. The artfulness of Ruari Macleod's proposal to Lord Binning consisted in its suggestion of separating the wheat from the chaff; of making a distinction between the enemies of Clan Donald, who were the loyal subjects of the King, and the kinsmen of the rebels who were the lukewarm, or unwilling instruments of the Crown; while the outcome of this separation, and the subsequent apportionment of rewards, were awaited with confidence by the astute lord of Harris.

Lord Binning, in his reply dated 30th June, commended Macleod's loyalty, and urged perseverance in the good cause, assuring his correspondent that the King would not forget to reward him. He thought Macleod's advice was sound, and called attention to the fact that the commission suggested by him had been issued. He promised that the wrongs complained of by Ruari should be duly redressed, but in the meantime, the latter was desired by the Council to avoid retaliation, and if attacked by his neighbours, to defend himself with all "convenient moderatioun," lest the King's service should be hindered. Lord Binning also promised to write the King, letting him know what a paragon of loyalty Ruari was, and adjured his correspondent, for their mutual credit, to act up to his professions.*

The Secretary probably wrote this letter with his tongue in his cheek, but to him the all-important matter was to secure the co-operation of the chiefs in capturing the rebels; the private feuds of Rory Mòr and his neighbours could afford to wait. The trouble in Islay commenced with the seizure of Dunyveg Castle by the Macdonalds, and its subsequent re-capture by Campbell of Calder, the details of which it is beyond the province of this work to traverse. But on the very day that Lord Binning wrote Ruari Macleod, the Privy Council advised the King that

* *Melros Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 224-6.

the castle had again been seized by the Macdonalds, under the leadership of Sir James, their chief. It was therefore politic in the highest degree to keep the Hebridean chiefs well in hand, in order not only to prevent the disaffection from spreading, but to unite them in a solid resistance to the Macdonalds of Islay. Hence the cooing words of the Secretary to Rory Mòr, whose "verie loveing freend" he signed himself.

Sir James Macdonald became alarmed at his position, after his open defiance of the Crown by surprising and re-capturing his ancestral stronghold. On 1st July, 1615, he wrote a pitiful letter to Lord Binning, beseeching the Secretary to befriend him against his enemies (the Campbells), so that the King do not permit them to "root him and his" out of Islay, which they had possessed for five or six centuries. He pleaded for the restoration of the island as the King's tenant, promising to find surety for the rent, and for the obedience of himself and his clan. If, however, this request were refused, he desired that the island should become the absolute property of the Crown. "For," he adds, "that is certane, I will die befor I sie a Campbell posses it."* But the petition of the unfortunate Sir James was unavailing. The Earl of Argyll, who appears to have found the pleasures of the English Court more congenial to his tastes than the task of subduing the Macdonalds, and who was not too anxious to meet his Scottish creditors, at length waived, under pressure, his plea of ill-health, and after being appointed Lieutenant over the whole of the Hebrides, undertook the subjugation of the Islay rebels, whom he finally dispersed after a short and successful campaign. Sir James Macdonald was compelled to flee from the island, and Coll Keitach, who held Dunyveg Castle, finding his courage unequal to facing Argyll's artillery, made terms for himself, and surrendered the castle, being subsequently employed by his captor against his former associates, whom he harried with all the zeal of a time-serving pervert.

* *Melros Papers*, Vol. I., pp. 226-8.

The dispersal of the rebels entailed a renewal of police duty on the part of the chiefs of the Long Island, who were enjoined to pursue the fugitives with alacrity. In view of the ease with which the most daring of the rebels escaped their vigilance, this duty does not appear to have been performed with whole-hearted eagerness. Ronald MacAllan of Benbecula, brother of the Captain of Clan Ranald, was sufficiently troublesome towards the end of 1615 to occupy the exclusive attention of his relative, who received a commission to seize him and his accomplices, who were disturbing the possessions of Clanranald, and raising disorder in the Isles; while Ruari Macleod and Donald Gorm had their own little differences to adjust. We find Macleod making declaration to the Council, in March, 1616, that he had left his brother in charge of his properties, with instructions to prevent any of the Islay rebels from resorting thither; and solemnly promising that no insurgent should receive any countenance within his bounds. The part taken by the Harris men in the piratical exploits of Malcolm Macleod in the Long Island, which has been already related, exemplifies the laxness of the measures employed for the due fulfilment of this promise. That the Council were not disposed to place implicit confidence in Ruari, is apparent from the circumstance, that in spite of the King's recommendation that he should be relieved from the necessity of making an annual appearance in Edinburgh, "my lords" deemed it inadvisable to concede the relief. On the contrary, they charged both Macleod and Clanranald, under forfeiture of their lands, to remain in Edinburgh during their pleasure, and compelled them to find the caution which was imposed upon them. They had decided to clip the wings of these Highland eagles still further, in order to minimise their power for mischief. And this is the form the clipping took.

On 26th July, 1616, six of the Hebridean chiefs, viz., Macleod of Harris, the Captain of Clan Ranald, the Macleans of Duart, Coll, and Lochbuie, and Mackinnon

of Strath, were obliged to enter into a bond to observe the following conditions. (1st) That they should appear annually before the Council on 10th July, and that all necessary measures for the preservation of peace by their clansmen should be employed by them. (2nd) That they should produce annually a certain number of their kinsmen as a further guarantee of good order. Macleod was to exhibit three, and Clanranald two, of their clansmen. Clanranald, it may be remarked, disclaimed responsibility for his three brothers, who were apparently beyond his control. (3rd) That the number of gentlemen attached to the household of each chief was to be strictly limited, Macleod and Clanranald being each apportioned six gentlemen, while the number appointed for the other chiefs was three apiece. (4th) That they were to purge their bounds of sorners and idle men. (5th) That they were to be permitted to wear pistols and hackbuts only in the King's service, and that none of their servants, except the gentlemen of their households, were to carry any weapons or wear any armour whatever.* (6th) That they were to reside at fixed places of abode, Macleod's residence to be at Dunvegan, and Clanranald's at Eilean Tirrim in Moidart, and that they were to take the *mains* or home-farms into their own hands, and cultivate them, with the view of being usefully employed, instead of leading lives of idleness. There being no home-farm attached to the Castle of Eilean Tirrim, Clanranald selected the farm of Hobeg, in Uist, as his *mains*. (7th) That at the following Martinmas, they were to let the remainder of their lands to tacksmen at a clear rent, without the additional exactions which they had been accustomed to impose upon their tenants. (8th) That no chief was to have more than one birling of sixteen or eighteen oars in his possession ; and that when travelling through the Isles in their birlings, no sorning on the people was to be permitted. (9th) That all their children over nine years

* On 18th September, 1616, the King granted a warrant to the Council to issue to certain of the chiefs and their kinsmen, permits for carrying firearms, to be used within a mile of their own houses only.

of age were to be sent to schools in the Lowlands, to learn to read, write, and spell English ; and that any of their children who had not been so instructed were to be excluded from their inheritance. (10th) That the chiefs were not to use in their houses more than a stated quantity of wine, Macleod being allowed four, and Clanranald three tuns ; Maclean of Duart was permitted four tuns, and the remaining chiefs one tun each. Their tenants were not to be allowed to buy or to drink any wine whatsoever. Sureties were found by the chiefs concerned for the due fulfilment of this remarkable bond, which was a sort of second edition of the Statutes of Icolmkill.*

Donald Gorm, who was prevented by illness from appearing in Edinburgh, was compelled to ratify the agreement ; he found the necessary caution in the month of August, Clanranald being one of the sureties. He named Duntulm in Trotternish as his place of residence ; and the Council permitted him six gentlemen for his household, and four tuns as his allowance of wine ; while the number of kinsmen to be exhibited by him annually was fixed at three. And thus the Council sought to dragoon the lords of the Hebrides into ways of industry and sobriety.

An examination of the conditions which have been enumerated reveals certain features which are of special interest. The first is, that the chiefs of those days, in their relations to their tenantry, and the common people generally, were not the ideal landlords which they are sometimes supposed to have been. At whatever period of Highland history the Golden Age of the clan system may have been—if it ever had a Golden Age—it was obviously not at the beginning of the seventeenth century. That the exactions by the chiefs from their tenantry were such as to merit a stern rebuke from the Privy Council, hardly bears out the idea of patriarchy with which Highland sentiment clothes the working of the clan system ; while the necessity

* *Reg of P.C.*, Vol. X., pp. 773-6.

imposed upon the Council for repressing the practice of sorning, indicates that oppression of the people by the chiefs was so rife as to be a matter of common notoriety. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the heads of the clans were uniformly tyrannical in their conduct towards their inferiors. The fidelity of the clansmen to their hereditary leaders, unique though it was, could not have stood the strain of consistent oppression and unrelieved despotism. The chiefs had rough and ready methods; they were not influenced by the fine distinctions which prevail in modern communities, where justice between man and man is a recognised principle; they were arbitrary in their dealings with their followers, as they were uncertain in their relations towards one another. But while they took from the people with one hand, they gave with the other; while they exacted *calps* from their tenantry, they feasted the calp-payers right royally; while they plundered their clansmen to replenish their wine-cellars, they let the wine flow in a common carousal. The exaction of *calp*, it may be explained, consisted in an acknowledgment of dependence on a chief; it took the form of a death duty represented by the best horse, cow, or ox of the deceased tenant, which was claimed by the chief as a matter of right. The practice gave rise to various abuses, and in 1617, was finally abolished in the Highlands and Isles.

The uprooting of the Gaelic language and the substitution of English, as the current tongue in the castles of the Hebrides, formed part of the policy of the Council for Anglicising the chiefs. The importance of language as a vehicle for modifying character, thus received due recognition at the hands of the Edinburgh statesmen. That the prevalence of Gaelic was deemed by them to constitute a stumbling-block in the way of reform, is evident from an Act of the Council passed in December, 1616. The provisions of this Act included the establishment of an English school in every parish of the kingdom, and the Bishops were charged with the duty of carrying out the

scheme. The universal use of English throughout the length and breadth of Scotland was the aim of the Council, and this admittedly involved the extirpation of Gaelic. The desire of "my lords" was that "the Irishe language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit." Notwithstanding, however, the establishment of Parish Schools, and, in modern times, of Board Schools, with all the discouragements to the persistence of the Gaelic language which the educational machinery of the present day entails, the ancient tongue still survives, and if the enthusiasts of the Celtic Renaissance have their wish, it will not only survive, but will have a fresh lease of life.

An Act passed by the Privy Council, simultaneously with the signing of the bond by the six chiefs, emphasised the pressing necessity of imparting instruction to the children of the leading members of the clans. The Act bears that the principal cause of the backwardness of the Isles lay in the neglected education of the children, who, from the example set them in their youth, grew up in a state of ignorance and barbarism, from which it was impossible to reclaim them; whereas, if sent to the Lowlands to be educated, they would return home instructed, not only in English, but in the ways of virtue and obedience to the laws. The Act, therefore, confirmed the provisions in the chiefs' bond that in future, they should be compelled to send their children south to be educated.*

Another Act of the same date, accentuated the clause in the agreement bearing upon the consumption of wines in the Isles. It narrates that great excess prevailed among the Islesmen, insomuch that not only were the drinking habits provocative of many of the cruelties and barbarities practised in those parts, but they were the direct cause of much of the destitution among the common people, and of

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. X., p. 777.

the prevalence of theft to relieve their actual necessities. This striking indictment was therefore the occasion of the stringent provisions in the bond relating to the consumption of strong drink, which the Act of Council duly confirmed.*

These Acts throw a strong light upon the social conditions of the Hebrides at this period. Education, even in its most elementary forms, was at a low ebb, and some of the chiefs were unable to sign their own names. The prevalence of the drinking habits mentioned by the Acts, receives ample confirmation from the testimony of the seanachies, who gloried in the flowing bowl, and measured the popularity of the chiefs by their capacity for wine, and their generosity in keeping the beakers of their guests well filled. MacVurich, in a glowing panegyric upon Rory Mòr and his hospitality, refers to the "overflowing cups" of that chief, and his "generous wine" which would "overcome the hardiest heroes." Rory Mòr's famous drinking horn in Dunvegan Castle is a standing proof of that chief's capacity for his "generous wine." The reduced quantities permitted to the chiefs by the Council, were sufficiently large to furnish eloquent testimony to the superabundant hospitality which preceded the restriction; the feasts, which sometimes lasted for days, were conducted on a scale of magnificence which puts far in the shade the most lavish of modern banquets. Incidentally, it may be noticed that whiskey, which at the present day is so frequently associated with the Highlands, was at this period, if not unknown, at least not in common use. The prohibition of the use of wine probably led to the distilling of "aquavity" from barley and oats, whiskey not being wine "within the meaning of the Act." Anti-prohibitionists may quote this as an example of the evasions which follow attempts to make people sober by Act of Parliament, but the advocates of temperance reform will deplore the introduction to the Hebrides of a liquor which, from their point of view, has wrought so much mischief.

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. X., p 777.

The importance of the measures which have just been noticed, in reforming the social condition of the Hebrides, cannot be over-estimated. Gradually, but surely, the old days, and in many respects the bad days, were passing away, and the structure of society in the Isles was shifting from its ancient foundations. Whatever may be said about the policy of stamping out the old language, there can be no doubt that the educational machinery which was set in motion, widened the mental outlook, and softened the asperities, of the Hebridean people. And the steps taken to convert an aristocracy of fighters into captains of industry ; to teach the lords of the Hebrides temperance, and their dependents total abstinence ; while only partially successful in their results, paved the way, with the help of education, to a more enlightened conception of mutual duties and responsibilities than had hitherto prevailed.

The Bond of 1616 was followed by some years of comparative quietness in the Hebrides. When, in July, 1622, the chiefs paid their annual visit to Edinburgh, they were able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, although their remissness in keeping the parish kirks in a good state of repair was reprimanded by the Council. With the exception of the land trouble between Macdonald of Sleat and Clanranald, they were living in an unwonted atmosphere of peace among themselves. Clanranald seems to have been the black sheep of the flock. We find him ordered to appear before the Council, at the instance of the burghs, to answer to the charge of molesting and oppressing fishermen in the Long Island. According to this charge, he and his men were in the habit of boarding the Lowland smacks, cutting their nets, and commandeering their fish and provisions. A specific instance is given of Clanranald having seized a boat and taken possession of her nets and herrings, compelling the owner to buy them back from him.* For the protection of the fishermen who

* There were three lasts of herrings, for which Clanranald demanded a hundred and twenty pounds per last, and three nets, for each of which he required forty pounds.

frequented the Long Island, the Council compelled Donald Gorm, Ruari Macleod, Clanranald, Ranald MacAllan of Benbecula, and Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strath, to enter into a bond ; but the undertaking does not appear to have carried weight with Clanranald. In 1625, the Council commanded Ruari Macleod, "all excuissis sett asyde," to co-operate with them in suppressing the lawlessness of Clanranald, who had been annoying, not only Scottish subjects, but those of friendly nations. Ruari was threatened with dire penalties for non-compliance with this order : it will be hard for him, wrote the Council, to "eshaip the weyght of his Majesteis arme." Seeing that Macleod two months previously, had been held responsible, with Clanranald and Maclean of Coll, for encouraging a state of piracy in the Isles, it would appear that the old distrust of him by the Council was again uppermost.

The lack of sobriety in the Hebrides again received, in 1622, the attention of the Council, and an Act of great stringency was passed, forbidding, under severe penalties, the masters of ships from carrying wines to the Isles. According to the preamble of this Act, the people were possessed by such an insatiable love of wine that when a ship arrived, they spent "bothe dayis and nightis in thair excesse of drinking," the result of these excesses being to breed quarrels and lead to bloodshed.* It will thus be seen that the repressive measure of 1616 had proved abortive in respect of the prohibition of wines ; evasion of the law, as might have been expected, followed the attempt to enforce total abstinence.

There is on record an interesting letter to the Council by Ruari Macleod, dated 31st August, 1622, written on his own behalf, and that of his son-in-law, Clanranald. He emphasises the fact of his family having ever been "trew and obediand subjectis," and complains that in this "dilectable tyme of peax," he is forced to appear before the Council annually. When the chiefs are away from home, he says,

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. XIII., pp. 20-1.

there is "no vertew bot vaiging (stravaiging) among the yemans (yeomen), dependaris and servandis." He therefore petitioned the Council to be allowed to remain at home for the next seven years, in order to develop his estate, and thus enable him to pay his creditors. He asked for a dispensation from the Act abolishing the imposition of *calps*. On behalf of Clanranald, he petitioned for a supersedere for seven or five years from all civil actions by Clanranald's creditors.*

Rory Mòr's petition met with no direct success, but it is significant that, by an Act of Council in 1623, the compulsory attendance of the chiefs every year was abolished, and we find in that year, Maclean of Duart and Maclean of Morvern making themselves answerable for the appearance of Ruari Macleod, at any time during the succeeding three years that his presence might be required by the Council. Rory Mòr's letter suggests that both he and his son-in-law were hard pressed by their creditors. In view of the extravagance of living which prevailed among the Highland chiefs of those and later times, it is not surprising to find them in a constant state of debt and impecuniosity.

Turning now to Barra, we find a condition of domestic discord which augured badly for the prosperity of that island. Going back to the end of the sixteenth century, we read of strange happenings in Barra. Ruari Macneill was not too scrupulous in his means of adding to his revenue. In plain English, he was a noted pirate. He was comparatively safe so long as he confined his attentions to Dutch or French ships. Unluckily for him, however, he pursued his avocation on the coast of Ireland, and spread such terror there that the news of his exploits came to the ears of Queen Elizabeth, who complained to King James of the chief's depredations upon her subjects, and requested him to take steps to bring Macneill to justice. Desirous above all things to avoid giving offence to the Maiden

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. XIII., pp. 745-6.



CASTLEBRAY AND KISMUL CASTLE, BARRA.

[To face page 285.]

Queen, of whom he stood in wholesome awe, James cast about him for the most likely instrument of capturing the old rover. The reputation of Roderick Mackenzie, afterwards the Tutor of Kintail, as a bold and resolute man, was known to the King, and to him he gave the task of seizing Macneill, a task not devoid either of difficulty or danger. Mackenzie readily undertook the commission, and conceived a plan for getting the lord of Barra into his possession by strategy. Disguising himself as a peaceful skipper, he arrived before Macneill's Castle of Kisimul with the greater number of his men under hatches, the remainder posing as the crew of the merchantman. He had a plausible story to tell Macneill. He was a trader bound from Norway to Ireland. On his way to Barra, he had met a French ship, and had bought from her a quantity of first-rate brandy and wines. Would the Chief of the Macneills deign to accept his hospitality on board of his ship, and sample his liquor? The Chief of the Macneills was not proof against the temptation, for he liked a cup of good wine as well as anyone in the Hebrides. Attended only by his ordinary body-guard, he accompanied the pseudo-trader on board, and the flowing bowl was soon in evidence. On a given signal, the men under hatches rushed out and made the whole party prisoners; the anchor was weighed, and soon the outlines of Barra faded in the distance. Here we have one more example of the part which wine and treachery played in the Hebrides, in effecting the capture of desperate men.

In due course, Ruari Mackenzie brought his captive to Holyrood before the King and his Court. Great was the surprise of James to find in his presence, not the rough, evil-looking desperado whom he had expected to see, but a tall, good-looking, elderly gentleman, with a benign countenance and a long grey beard, who looked more like a reverend Father of the Kirk than a pirate whose robberies had formed the subject of diplomatic correspondence. And the chief of Barra was a humorist to boot. When asked by the King his reason for harassing the subjects of the

Queen of England by his piracies, the ready-witted son of Barra replied that he thought he was doing his Majesty good service by annoying "a woman who had killed his mother!" This reply was too much for James. Turning to Ruari Mackenzie, who, throughout the interview, had acted as interpreter, he exclaimed: "The devil take the carle! Rory, take him with you again, and dispose of him and his fortune as you please." Which Rory accordingly did. He restored the estate of Barra to Macneill, reserving the superiority to himself, in recognition of which, Macneill agreed to pay him and his heirs, forty pounds per annum, provide a hawk when required, and on extraordinary occasions, assist his Superior with his men, if so desired.*

We find the Captain of Clan Ranald soon afterwards casting longing eyes on Boisdale in South Uist, which formed part of the Barra property. By virtue of a charter of 1427, confirmed in 1495, Ruari Macneill's title to Boisdale was undoubted. Clanranald, however, finding him an inconvenient neighbour, determined, in 1601, to oust him from South Uist. Attacking Macneill in North Boisdale, he drove him out of Uist, forcing him to take refuge in one of the remote islets of Barra. Thus it was that Boisdale passed into the possession of Clanranald, and was included in a Crown charter of the Clanranald properties dated 24th July, 1620.†

On 13th June, 1605, Macneill of Barra was charged with other islesmen to appear before the Comptroller, produce his titles, and find caution for payment of his rents. On 9th January, 1610, a commission was issued to seize him, owing to his refusal to give obedience to the King and Council. He was charged with committing all "kynd of barbaritie" on the poor inhabitants of Barra and of the adjacent isles;

* Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*, p. xliii. *Genealogy of the Mackenzies*, p. 9.

† *Clan Donald*, Vol. II., pp. 304-5. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, App. to Report IV., p. 482 (175). It is a curious fact that Boisdale continued to be comprised in the estate of Barra after the middle of the seventeenth century. When Sir John Mackenzie in 1627, and Sir George Mackenzie in 1655, were served heirs to the properties of the Cromartie family, including Barra and its pertinents, the latter embraced Boisdale. In the charters of Boisdale, to the Clanranald family, it is described as "Bowistill" and "Benistill" of *North Uist*.

from which it would appear that the mild-looking outlaw was again at his old tricks. The outcome of this commission is not recorded.

About this time, a piracy occurred on the coast of Barra which created a considerable stir. A ship belonging to a certain Abel Dynes, a merchant of Bordeaux, appeared off the coast, and according to Lewis tradition, the natives supposed she had been sent to subjugate the Long Island on behalf of the Scottish Government. The same tradition relates that the clans in Lewis held a Council of War, set off for Barra in the Brieve's galley and two other large "schuyts," boarded the strange ship, and killed the whole of the crew, with the exception of one man, his wife, and child. From the boy—so the tradition relates—the Mac-kinnons of Lewis are descended. Whether or not this narrative has been erroneously connected with the capture of Abel Dynes's ship, it is certain that the piracy of the latter gave rise to a domestic quarrel among the Macneills, which placed the members of that unhappy family in two opposing camps, and embittered the declining years of old Ruari.

The latter had contracted a "handfast" marriage with a sister of Maclean of Duart, by whom he had several sons, the eldest, named Donald, being the leader of the attack on the Bordeaux ship. A commission was given to Clanranald to apprehend him, which the latter carried out in February, 1610. The prisoner was confined in the Tol-booth of Edinburgh where he "endit this lyffe." Ruari Macneill's lawful wife was a sister of Clanranald, and the action of the latter, in seizing Donald Macneill, aroused the enmity of Donald's brother, not only against Clanranald, but against his nephews, Ruari Macneill's sons by Clanranald's sister. This bred bad blood between the brothers-german; and the sons of the senior family, assisted by their uncle Maclean, in revenge seized Neil, the elder son by the second marriage, and sent him to Edinburgh to stand his trial as a participator in the piracy. Neil, however, was found innocent of the charge, and through the influence of Clanranald, was set at liberty. And so the quarrel was

perpetuated, the enmity between the brothers-german increasing, instead of diminishing, with time. That the old chief should be dragged into the feud was inevitable. Apparently, his leanings towards his junior family were too pronounced to escape the notice of his eldest sons, who strongly resented his attitude. Neil Og and Gilliconneill, who are described as Macneill's "natural sons," at length decided upon a bold step. With their partisans, they besieged and captured Kisimul Castle, seized their father, and kept him a prisoner in irons. The old man and Gilleonan Og, a son by the second marriage, lodged a complaint with the Council on 11th March, 1613, and the Council immediately sent a charge to the King's messenger to denounce as rebels, Neil Og, his brother, and John MacAllan. A commission was given to Clanranald to pursue the rebels, "thair being no uther who wald undirtak suche a commissioun."* Armed with this commission, Clanranald succeeded in terminating the quarrel, in a manner which was satisfactory to himself, his nephews, and the old chief of Barra. He secured the succession to the chiefship for the eldest son of the junior family, on the death of Ruari Macneill, an event which occurred soon afterwards. By a Crown charter dated 16th July, 1621, the grant of Barra, with its pertinents, to the Tutor of Kintail, was confirmed, and his son, Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, was, in 1627, served heir to the estate.† We find the property still in the possession of the Cromartie family when, in 1655, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat was served heir to his father, Sir John.† At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the then chief of the Macneills held the island from Macdonald of Sleat. According to Dr. George Mackenzie, Barra was transferred by Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat to Sir Donald Gorm Macdonald; but it is difficult to reconcile this statement with the facts already mentioned. In any case, the Macdonalds obtained the superiority by marriage, and it still remains, nominally, with them.

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. X., p. 817.

† *Inquis. Retor. Abbrev.* (Ross and Cromarty, No. 71; Inverness, No. 78).

The Macneills of Barra were not the only chiefs of the Long Island who augmented their incomes by occasional piracies. John Moidartach, Captain of Clan Ranald, and great-grandson of his more famous namesake, did not despise this lucrative occupation. In 1625, a Leith ship, with a cargo of tea, wines, and general merchandise, was rounding Barra Head bound northwards, when Clanranald and some of his men, cruising about in their galleys for likely prey, fell in with her. The stranger was without ceremony boarded by the Macdonalds and plundered. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to assume that the self-denying ordinance of total abstinence, prescribed by the Lords of the Privy Council, was on this occasion more honoured in the breach than in the observance. A similar exploit on the part of Clanranald occurred in 1636, when the *Susannah*, an English barque bound from France for Limerick, was driven ashore off the coast of Barra. The vessel sent up signals of distress which were seen by the Barra men, some of whom went out to her, and with a remarkable business instinct, arranged with the captain for salvage. They towed the ship into harbour, but on landing, were confronted by John Moidartach with 300 of his men, who seized the *Susannah* as his lawful prize. Her cargo, consisting of wine, fruit, corn, &c., was taken possession of by Clanranald, who, to give some show of legal colour to the proceedings, compelled a wretched youth who was on board to call himself the agent for the cargo, and in that capacity, to sign a document, professing to sell the merchandise for a certain sum, which Clanranald promised, but failed to pay. The owner of the vessel was similarly dealt with. The ship was valued at £150, but the owner was forced to sell her for £8 ; glad enough, no doubt, to escape with his life.* For these piracies, Clanranald was, on both occasions, put to the horn, but that was a sentence which could be lightly borne with such rich hauls in his possession. The Long Island was a place to be avoided by peaceful traders, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

* *Clan Donald*, Vol. II., pp. 325-7.

CHAPTER XI.

COLIN, Lord Kintail, was now the master of Lewis, but the embers of disaffection had not yet been completely stamped out. After the return of Malcolm Macleod from abroad, he resumed his old game of annoying the Mackenzies, by attempting to stir up a fresh insurrection against them in the Outer Hebrides. Gathering together a body of adherents, he became the terror of the Isles, and more particularly of the fishermen frequenting the coast of Lewis. In consequence of these depredations, the Privy Council granted, on 14th November, 1622, a commission of fire and sword to Lord Kintail, Ruari (now Sir Roderick) Mackenzie of Coigeach, and others of the Clan Kenneth, for the pursuit and apprehension of Macleod, and the suppression of the enterprise upon which he and his associates were engaged ; and a proclamation, ordering the concurrence in these proceedings of other inhabitants of the North Isles, was simultaneously issued. These measures had the desired effect ; but Malcolm, slippery as ever, again escaped from his enemies. Four years later, the resolute outlaw once more appeared on the warpath, and commissions similar to that of 1622 were, on 20th September and 28th November, 1626, issued by the Council, the latter commission embracing, besides the Mackenzies, Macleod of Harris, Macdonald of Sleat, and Maclean of Duart. With nearly the full power of the Northern Hebrides thus arrayed against him, Malcolm was rendered powerless to do further mischief, and this seems to have been his last descent upon Lewis. According to a MS. history of the Mackenzies, he retired to Ireland—doubtless to the Antrim estate of Sir James

Macdonald—where he died. His two brothers, Ruari and William, were afterwards captured by Sir Ruari Mackenzie, and executed.

On 23rd December, 1623, Lord Kintail was created Earl of Seaforth and Viscount Fortrose, taking the former title from Loch Seaforth in Lewis.* In 1625, he took part with Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm, and the Captain of Clanranald, in subduing the rebellion of the Macians of Ardnamurchan, who, despairing of obtaining justice against the powerful House of Argyll, were driven to a career of piracy. Macleod and his son-in-law, Clanranald, were severely reprimanded by the Privy Council for their want of energy in pursuing the outlaws, but Macleod subsequently received a handsome apology for the strictures passed upon him, after he had contributed to the final defeat and dispersion of the Macians. Soon afterwards, the chequered career of Rory Mòr came to an end by his death. His public acts were not always creditable, but his private character, if judged by the testimony of MacVurich and the *Lament* of MacCrimmon, his famous piper, was that of a hospitable Highland chief, to whom his clansmen were greatly attached.

In 1625, Colin, Lord Seaforth, received from the Privy Council a commission of justiciaryship within his own bounds, but without prejudice to the hereditary rights of jurisdiction possessed by the Argyll family over the Isles. In 1628, a spirited controversy took place between Lord Lorne, as representing the House of Argyll, and the chiefs of the North Isles, headed by Seaforth, touching the location of the Courts of Justiciary in the Hebrides, these being kept distinct from the Justice Ayres recently reorganised in Scotland by Charles I. While the discussion was proceeding, Lord Lorne secured a charter, ratifying previous grants of the office of Justiciary over the Hebrides;† and in 1629, he was authorised to hold his Courts for the

* The original name was "Seafort" (Seaford), and the chiefs of the Clan Kenneth so signed their names down to the eighteenth century.

† *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report IV., pp. 486-7; App. to Report VI., pp. 624-5.

North Isles at Inverness. In March, 1634, a commission was granted to George, second Earl of Seaforth, to proceed against the disorderly and "broken" Islesmen who were in the habit of raiding Ross; but in July of the same year, this authority was delegated to Lord Lorne, who evidently feared that his rights would be infringed.* And in 1641, Lord Lorne (then the Marquis of Argyll) lodged a formal protest in Parliament against any infringement of his justiciary privileges, by reason of the infestment of Seaforth in the Island of Lewis.† The emoluments, as well as the influence, flowing from the justiciaryship were not inconsiderable, and the tenacity with which the Campbells clung to the office is intelligible. In addition to the sovereign power which the office conveyed to its holder, half the amount of fines and escheats of the Court went to the Justiciary, and in the state of society which then existed in the Isles, that represented an important source of revenue.

While the Earl of Seaforth was engaged in checkmating the House of Argyll, he was also busily employed in laying plans for developing the resources of Lewis. The first hint we have of these projects is contained in the petition of James Galloway, Master of Requests, and Nathaniel Udward of Leith, in August, 1627, relative to a patent for casting iron, ordnance, and shot. The petitioners had secured their patent from the King, with a promise of an advance of £2,000 sterling for the prosecution of the work; but the money not having been paid, they had entered into partnership with Seaforth, who proposed to start ironworks on his estate for carrying out the objects of the patent. It was now desired that no payments of any kind should be exacted by the Crown for the space of five years, the patentees thereafter, during the life of the patent, to pay the King the sum of £200 sterling per annum, the exemption being claimed on the ground that the ordnance to be

* *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report IV., pp. 486-7; App. to Report VI., pp. 624-5.

† The Earl of Sutherland also protested, probably in connexion with the superiority of Assynt.

cast was intended for the service of the country. The Privy Council recommended the King to grant the prayer of the petitioners, and in June, 1628, the latter received a patent for twenty-one years, empowering them to manufacture all sorts of ordnance with bullets, &c., and to erect the necessary works for the purpose.

In the meantime, Seaforth seems to have gone to London, with the object of securing from the King a patent for the erection of Stornoway into a Royal burgh. A few words of explanation are required to show the importance to Stornoway of a charter of erection.

As already stated, it had been erected into a "free" burgh of barony, but this did not confer upon it the trading privileges of a free burgh Royal. A free burgh of barony enjoyed certain trading rights in cattle, horses, and sheep, &c., but only the freemen of the Royal burghs were entitled either to import foreign merchandise or—and this was the important point for Stornoway—to export native commodities by sea. The consequence was, that the acknowledged capacity of Stornoway for expansion was denied any scope, solely on account of its exclusion from the charmed circle of the Royal burghs. The loch fishings of Lewis were in the hands of the burghs, and by statute, they had the sole right to "pack and peil" (pile) ashore.

The theory underlying the constitution of Royal burghs was, that the feuars should hold direct from the Crown. In practice, there were important exceptions to this rule. Both Glasgow and Inverness, for example, held from Superiors other than the Crown. But the Royal charters conferring upon such towns the trading privileges of free burghs, were sometimes loosely interpreted, as also giving them a title to call themselves "burghs Royal." In course of time, the fundamental difference between the constitutions of the two kinds of burghs was obscured, if not obliterated, except where it was raked up to resist encroachments upon privileges; an instance of which will presently be noticed. The ridiculous monopolies of the free burghs Royal were curtailed by a statute of 1672,

initiated by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh in the teeth of the free burghs. In 1690, another Act was passed, expressing the law as it stood in respect of these privileges, the enforcement of which became increasingly difficult, until, in 1846, they were abolished for ever.

These, then, were the circumstances under which Lord Seaforth set out for London to obtain a charter of erection for Stornoway. Without the charter, the burgh was useless as a centre of foreign trade ; for the produce of the island and of the sea which surrounded it, had to pass through Inverness, or other Royal burghs, which fattened on Stornoway's loss. And the import trade of Lewis with foreign countries, was similarly hampered by the existing system of monopolies. The Lewis traders could only retail foreign merchandise, which they had bought from the freemen of Royal burghs. Seaforth's representations to the King proved successful ; he secured a charter, and thereupon petitioned the Convention of Royal burghs to give effect to it. On 13th June, 1628, the Convention of burghs considered the petition, and after "mature deliberatioun," decided against it. The grounds upon which this decision was based were twofold, material and technical. It was argued that the proposed erection would prove prejudicial to a number of adjacent burghs, especially of Tain and Inverness. It was objected that Stornoway would become the depôt of the Highlands and Isles for articles of export, such as beef and tallow, forbidden to burghs of barony ; and lying so remote, would carry on an uncontrolled trade in those commodities ; that the trade in cattle and fish, which formed a source of profit to the adjacent Royal burghs, would be diverted to Stornoway ; and particularly, that the benefits of the fishing of those parts, "which is the only fischeing of this countrey," would fall into the hands of the Hollanders whom Seaforth proposed to import for the development of the industry.

A technical objection to the charter was founded on the law and practice of the country, which provided that the privileges of a Royal burgh could only be conferred upon

such burghs as owned no Superior save the Crown; whereas the immediate Superior of Stornoway was the Earl of Seaforth. It was proposed by the charter that Seaforth was to hold Stornoway in feu, with the liberties of the King "allanerlie" (only), but this provision, the Convention argued, did not remove the legal difficulty.

The fishing at Stornoway, said the Commissioners, was prosecuted by the West burghs, the rest of the Northern burghs, and men from the Fifeshire coast. The fishermen visited Stornoway annually and took their fish home, supplying, according to law, the kingdom's wants before exporting any. If Stornoway were made a Royal burgh, the inhabitants of the town would appropriate the fishing, and cause the whole of the fish taken by others to come to the burgh, where the owners would be compelled to sell them. The Stornowegians would export the fish to "forraine plaices," and thus Scotland would receive no benefit from the fishing grounds; while the free burghs would be also deprived of the means of exchange with foreign countries, to the "utter overthrow of all trade and ruine of the haill schipping of this kingdom." So the Commissioners argued.

But the chief fear which the burghs professed, lay in the intrusion of strangers. James I. of England had granted Hollanders, on certain conditions, the right of fishing in Scottish seas, keeping themselves always "ane kenning" (14 miles) from the land, the shore and loch fishing being reserved for natives. If, said the Commissioners, this charter were confirmed, Seaforth would have power to give the Dutchmen these reserves within his bounds, in which case, the whole fishing of the country would pass into the hands of the foreigners, who would export the total catch, leaving the country "cast loose and desolate." And in course of time, these strangers would get hold of the plaiding, skin, wool, and yarn trades, which were the only ones that remained, and so the whole trade of the country would pass to foreigners, from whom the necessities of the natives would have to be obtained. The shipping of the

country, too, would be ruined, for foreign bottoms would alone be employed in the carrying trade.* They knew by experience what these Dutchmen were capable of doing, when once they obtained a footing in the country. Thus the Commissioners of Royal burghs moaned their complaints.†

An impartial examination of the objections urged by the Convention, cannot fail to show that they had a weak case. The legal objection was clearly invalid, for some of the existing Royal burghs did not hold from the Crown. While it may be conceded that some of the fears expressed may have been not altogether baseless, it is clear that the Convention's arguments were, on the whole, somewhat fanciful, if not frivolous. Morbidly jealous of their privileges, the burghs felt, not unnaturally, uneasy at the prospect of their monopolies being invaded by a town which they regarded with contempt. No suggestion appears to have been made for providing such safeguards in the charter, as would prevent the foreign invasion which the Commissioners professed to dread. The attitude of the Convention was that of uncompromising hostility to the proposed erection ; and any objection, however unreasonable or far-fetched, was considered good enough to bolster their case. The interests of Tain, Inverness, and the Southern burghs were considered before those of Stornoway ; and so Stornoway had to suffer.

A week after the Convention met, the King addressed a letter to the Privy Council, desiring the erection of Stornoway into a Royal burgh, provided no material objections were offered by the free burghs of Scotland. He states that his "right trustie and weil-belovit cousine, the Earl of Seafort," had petitioned him in the matter, and having in view the promotion of civilisation in these "remote islands," which

* The burghs themselves were not above chartering Dutch vessels for exporting their herring, when it suited their interests to do so. The Dutch merchantmen being worked more economically than the Scotch vessels, and carrying outward cargoes of timber, could afford to accept one-third of the freight demanded for native tonnage. The latter, too, sometimes got ice-bound, and had to cover that risk in the freight.

† *Records of Convention of Royal Burghs*, Vol. III., pp. 257-62.

would accrue from the erection, he had signed a charter giving effect to the petition. He was all the more willing to grant Seaforth's request, because it was the intention of the latter to proceed home immediately, to complete his plans for starting ironworks and casting ordnance.* The King, therefore, ordered the Council to communicate with the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh, desiring them to convene a meeting of the Royal burghs for 8th July, and thereafter to state their reasons, if any, against the proposed erection. If any material objections were made by the burghs, the matter was to remain in abeyance until such objections had been laid before his Majesty for his consideration; but if no injurious results were urged, such as would tend to the ruin and decay of the other burghs, or would prejudice the interests of the kingdom generally, the signature was to hold good, and the charter was to be "exped."†

It is obvious that the King had an inkling of the attitude adopted by the Convention of burghs: the similarity between their arguments and the "material" objections mentioned in the letter of Charles suggests, indeed, that means had already been taken by the Commissioners to acquaint him with their views. On 2nd July, John Hay Town-Clerk of Edinburgh, reported to the Convention that the charter had been signed by the King, who had referred the matter to the consideration of the Lords of the Exchequer; and a meeting of the representatives of the principal burghs was called for 8th July, to consider the best means of opposing the signature. On 11th July, the burgh of Edinburgh was appointed to represent the Convention at a meeting of the Privy Council, and was empowered to act generally in the interests of the burghs, in respect of the matter.

* It is not quite clear whether the ironworks were to be started in Lewis, or whether Stornoway was simply to be the market for the output at Letterewe. There were copper and lead mines in Lewis at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as appears by a patent granted to "Archibald Prymrois" (*Reg. of Privy Council of Scotland*, Vol. X., p. 525). Matthew Symson (1738) states (*The Present State of Scotland*, p. 18), that there were iron mines in Lewis.

† *Reg. of P.C.* (2nd series), Vol. II., pp. 336-7.

During the month of July, the fight for and against the charter was vigorously contested between Seaforth and the burghs. The Privy Council listened to the arguments and counter-arguments on both sides, and then resolved—to do nothing. From letters addressed by the King to the Exchequer, Seaforth, and the burgh of Edinburgh, on 18th July, it appears that he was in favour of delay, and the Privy Council were thus enabled to escape, temporarily, from the necessity of giving an immediate decision. Seaforth was made a Privy Councillor on 8th July, an appointment which, doubtless, strengthened his position ; but the objections of the burghs were not to be lightly ignored. In the meantime, the Earl was directly encouraged by the King to treat with the Dutchmen for settling in Lewis, but was cautioned against coming to any definite understanding with them, until the fate of the charter had been finally decided.

In the following year (1629), the whole matter was reopened. The immediate cause seems to have been the precipitancy of Seaforth, who exceeded the King's authority by bringing certain Dutchmen to Lewis, while the question of the charter was still pending. This was an impolitic act, which had a direct bearing upon the ultimate defeat of the Earl in his tussle with the burghs. The latter immediately complained to the Privy Council, and in March, Seaforth and his opponents were before that body fighting their battle of words once more. The burghs triumphantly cited, in support of their complaint, an Act passed by the Parliament of August, 1621, confirming the Acts of previous Parliaments, which ordained "that no strangers nor other inhabitants within this kingdome sould packe or peill in anie place of the Ilis outwith free burrowes, nor transport anie forbiddin goods furth of the same." Seaforth, instead of furthering these Acts of Parliament, as "by his birth and place quhilk he holds in the state," might have been expected of him had, "to thair great greefe, drawin hither ane number of strangers, who daily resorts to and fra Holland to the

Lewes and continent nixt adjacent, and hes caused thame be answered of all such commoditeis as these bounds affoords, as namelie, with fishes and beaves (black cattle), quhilks, with the hyde and talloun (tallow), with manie uthers commoditeis, they transport to Holland." According to the burghs, the Earl had been misled by "the insinuationis and projects of strangers, who ar ever bussie to pry in the secreits and mystereis of nighbouring estats where the hope of gayne is apparent," and who had "inculcat in his eares manie great hopes and projects of wealth and credite by erecting of a burgh in the Lewes and planting of a colonie of strangers thairin." A doleful picture was drawn of the injury these strangers had inflicted upon the trade of the country. Ruin stared the Scottish traders in the face, their families being left destitute, and their shipping being about to be sold for want of employment.*

Against this weighty indictment, Seaforth simply argued that the burghs had no standing to pursue him, and that he was responsible to the King alone for any breach of the Act. But this objection was overruled, and the Earl was ordered to observe the Act within his bounds. And the burghs obtained a letter from the King to the Lords of the Exchequer, charging them to withhold the charter.

The discomfiture of Seaforth gave rise to unexpected developments. In July, the Convention of burghs formulated a scheme for confirming them in possession of the Lewis fisheries, and for securing the necessary powers to erect a free burgh in the island and improve the fishing industry. This was an artful move which, if successful, would at one stroke have frustrated any "open-door" policy. John Hay was authorised to conduct the negotiations on behalf of the burghs; and the Convention could have hardly have made a better selection for the purpose. While these arrangements were in progress, the King wrote the Lords of Exchequer, instructing them to endeavour to effect an amicable arrangement between Seaforth

* *Reg. of P.C.*, Vol. III. (2nd series), pp. 95-6.

and the burghs, so that the charter might be completed without further delay. But nothing was further from the intention of the burghs than to permit the passing of the patent, on any consideration, and it is not surprising to find that the well-meant attempt of Charles to settle the matter was fruitless. Far from adopting a conciliatory attitude, the burghs again petitioned the Privy Council to redress their grievance in respect of the Hollanders in Lewis, towards whom, it is interesting to notice, the inhabitants of Stornoway were favourably disposed. The Council referred the petition to the King, and suggested that Seaforth's presence at Court offered a good opportunity for dealing with the matter. But at this stage, fresh developments were appearing.

In the month of November, the question of the Stornoway charter was being considered in London. The document was then in the hands of Sir William Alexander, Secretary for Scotland, and certain clauses in it, deemed specially objectionable, were under discussion. One Captain John Mason, who appears to have had some personal knowledge of Lewis, suggested to Secretary Coke, as a means of settling the difficulty, that the charter should be cancelled, and that the island should be purchased by the King and those associated with him, in a new fishing venture which was then in contemplation. Fishing stations would be established in the island, and a free burgh erected, with privileges similar to those about to be granted to the Dutch settlers by Seaforth's charter. The co-operation of the Scottish burghs was to be obtained, their existing rights in the Lewis fisheries to remain unimpaired. The natives of the island were to pay rent to the purchasers, who, it was estimated, would by this means redeem the purchase price in fifteen years.* Sir William Monson supplemented these suggestions by formulating a scheme for working the fisheries of Orkney, Shetland, and Lewis. Besides the proposed grant of privileges to the Adven-

* MS. in Public Record Office. State Papers (Domestic), Charles I., Vol. CLII., No. 66.

turers, he suggested the institution of a revised system of government in those islands; the erection of a principal town in each of them; and the instruction of every child of the islanders in the English or Scottish (Lowland) language, with other forms of education according to the ability of the natives. He also deprecated any communication between the islanders and the people on the mainland, stating that it was impolitic to allow the former to be too friendly with the Highlanders, "who are naturally the most dangerous and worst people living." Monson further submitted a statement of the advantages derivable by the Dutch from the possession of Lewis, and enumerated the benefits which the country would receive from the encouragement of the fishing by subjects of the King.* The representations of Mason and Monson soon bore fruit.

In January, 1630, a letter from the King was read at a meeting of the Privy Council of Scotland, in which Charles announced that he had taken another course of action in reference to Lewis, "whiche, as we doe conceave, may verie muche import the good of that our kingdome"; that, in the meantime, Seaforth's charter was to be stopped in Exchequer; and that no more foreigners were to be allowed to settle in the island. In the same month, Hay reported to the Convention of burghs that the passing of the charter had been delayed, but that the matter was to be further considered in the following March. The Convention instructed Hay to press for the absolute cancelment of the patent, and to obtain an injunction, restraining Seaforth from settling any more foreigners in Lewis, thus retaining in the hands of natives (of Scotland) the fishings "which God and Nature hes vouchsaffed upon them." He was also empowered to continue the negotiations for securing to the burghs, the exclusive right to develop the industry.

At the Privy Council meeting on 26th January, the matter again came up for discussion. Incidentally, we

* *Calendar of State Papers* (1629-31), Vol. CLII., No. 67.

discover that the Dutchmen who had settled in Stornoway traded in tallow, butter, hides, skins, and plaiding—a respectable list of exports, which shows the comparative capabilities of the island in those days as a centre of export. Charged to appear to answer for his Dutch dependents, Seaforth informed the Council that there were only “ten or twelffe men” altogether.* So all this pother was about a dozen inoffensive Dutchmen, who were doing useful work by instructing the Stornowegians in the arts of fishing and trading. But it is fair to the burghs to say, that the few Dutchmen in Stornoway were evidently the pioneers of a considerable influx. Furnaces and other necessities for making train oil had been imported into the island, the enterprising foreigners having included a whale fishery in their projects. The Council ordered Seaforth not to add to his “ten or twelffe men,” and informed him that he would be answerable for any breach of the laws committed by the latter.

On 9th March, the discussion was renewed at a meeting of the Council, the proposals of Seaforth and of Hay being under consideration. Hay offered, on behalf of the burghs, to people Stornoway with “natives onelie”; a proposal which suggests unpleasant reminiscences of the Fife Adventurers. Unable to come to any decision, and having in view the King’s hint of an alternative scheme, the Council, at their meeting, ten days later, determined to refer the whole matter to the decision of Charles, with the suggestion that he should pay regard to his own interests, rather than to those of the contending parties, neither of whom had substantiated their statements by proofs. The whole of the arguments on both sides were accordingly forwarded to London, together with the famous charter.

Seaforth followed his charter to London in order to

* Capt. Dymes, who visited Lewis in 1630, states that besides seamen, there were only seven Dutchmen, including the Agent of the Dutch merchants, residing in Stornoway. They had built there “a pretty dwelling house” and a storehouse.

protect his interests, but his attention to business was interrupted by illness. In May, a meeting between the Lord Treasurer, Seaforth, Monson, and Mason, was arranged to discuss the charter. As the result of that interview, the charter was finally and absolutely cancelled, doubtless by mutual consent. Mason had previously proposed that Seaforth should join the company of adventurers, to assist them by his influence, and to "keepe the islanders in awe." It is more than probable that the Earl agreed to the proposal. He had no special leanings towards Dutchmen. All he wanted was to develop the fisheries and the general trade of Lewis, and to break the monopoly of the Royal burghs by obtaining for Stornoway the privileges to which it was entitled. Satisfactory assurances being given to him on these points, he was not concerned to press further for his charter.

The circumstances concerning the inception of the new scheme for developing the fisheries of Britain, deserve attention.

From an early period—as far back as the ninth century—the fishermen on the east coast of Scotland carried on an export trade with the Low Countries. By an ordinance of the Royal burghs in 1429, this trade was restricted to the surplus catch, after the wants of the Scottish coast towns had been supplied at a fixed rate: a decree that led to the emigration of a number of Scottish fishermen to Holland. This Scottish settlement gave a fillip to the industry in the Low Countries, where improved methods of curing had been discovered not many years previously. The pupils soon became as expert as their teachers, and surpassed them in enterprise. The Hollanders began to export fish themselves, and from that time onwards, their prosecution of the fishing industry was attended with phenomenal success.

In the reign of James the Fifth, their busses appeared on the coasts of Scotland, where they had a verbal license to fish outside a limit of twenty-eight miles. Some of the Hollanders presumed on this license, by fishing near the

shore in the Firth of Forth. King James being a man who would stand no nonsense, sent men-of-war after them, and many of the foreigners were captured. As a warning to their compatriots, the King decapitated the prisoners, and sent a barrellful of their heads to Holland, with their names affixed to their foreheads on cards.* In 1594, the Dutch appeared on the coast of Lewis for the first time, armed with a license granted to them by James VI., which permitted them to fish outside a limit of twenty-eight miles. In very early times, the Hebridean herring fisheries were worked by Frenchmen and Spaniards, but it was not until after 1580, that the wealth surrounding the Lewis coast was discovered by the fishermen of the Lowlands. The latter confined their operations to the loch fishings of the island, where their success was, beyond doubt, the main factor in instigating the proceedings which led to the expedition of the Fife Adventurers.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Hollanders had made great strides in the fishing industry. According to the testimony of Sir Walter Raleigh and John Keymer,† the work of the Dutchmen in British waters gave employment to a huge army of their fishermen, seamen, and tradesmen; and the States of Holland derived from the fisheries alone, a revenue twice as large as that yielded by the entire Customs of England. As many as 3,000 Dutch busses were sometimes at work on the Scottish coasts, Shetland, especially, being their favourite ground. Their encroachments gave rise to various complaints on the part of the natives, and ultimately to the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of arranging with the States to redress the Scottish grievances. The negotiations were fruitless, and the Duke of Lennox was on the point of forming a Scottish Fisheries Company, when his death nipped the project in the bud. Meanwhile, certain Dutch

* MS. in Public Record Office, State Papers, Vol. CLII., No. 63. See Appendix D.

† In 1674, according to L'Estrange, there were twice as many Dutch busses as there were in Raleigh's time, and the value of the fish taken by foreigners in British seas was no less than £10,000,000.

merchants who were anxious to obtain a footing in Lewis, agreed with Seaforth that if he succeeded in obtaining a charter for Stornoway, they would be willing to form a settlement there, with the view of developing the fishing and other resources of the island.* In 1628, in pursuance, doubtless, of this understanding, Dutch busses re-appeared on the coast of Lewis, and their success was marked. In less than three months, four of them made a clear profit of £7,500. The master of one of these busses stated that there was fish enough for a thousand busses. And yet the local boats numbered only a dozen all told.† It is not, therefore, surprising that Seaforth was so anxious to obtain trading privileges for Stornoway.

It will be seen that there was plenty of scope for a purely British Corporation, to work the valuable fisheries of the kingdom. The King resolved upon the formation of such a Corporation, not merely to prosecute so lucrative a calling, but—to quote his own words—to serve as “a nurserie of seamen and to increase the shipping and trade in all parts of our dominions.” In 1630, the articles of the proposed Corporation were drawn up, and in July of that year, the King’s intentions in the matter were made public. Sir William Alexander delivered to the Estates a letter from Charles, setting forth his views in respect of the Scottish fisheries. A beginning was to be made with an addition of 200 vessels of thirty and fifty tons each, to the existing fleet, at a cost of £120 per vessel, the crew to consist of sixteen men and boys, whose wages were to be at the rate of 13s. 4d. per month. The net profits for the year, after deducting the cost of construction, equipment, wages, stores, &c., were estimated at rather more than £827 per vessel. Lewis was to be established as the seat of a continual fishing along the west coast of Scotland, and Secretary Coke estimated that the profits

* It was supposed by some that Seaforth sold Stornoway to the Dutchmen, and then tried for a charter to cover his action. There is, however, nothing to justify belief in this assumption.

† MS. in Public Record Office (*Captain Dymes’s Report*). See Appendix F.

of the Lewis fisheries would reach, in one year, a sum of £18,270.

The King stated his intention of inaugurating local societies in the chief cities or burghs of every district in England, the supreme direction to be in the hands of a central Corporation. A similar course, it was suggested, should be followed in Scotland, each district contributing its share of the expenses, and receiving its share of the profits. Captain Mason was employed by Charles to treat with the Lords of Council in Scotland, and lay his instructions before them.

The chief hope of Charles lay in the Hebrides, and especially in Lewis, where the fishing was to be carried on all the year round. One Captain John Dymes visited Lewis, and was commissioned to draw up a report on the island, with special reference to the fishings, and to the most suitable places for the erection of one or more free burghs, and the establishment of a market for traffic. The result of these preliminary arrangements appears in the King's instructions about the island, as follow :

"And becaus the Lewes is the most proper seate for a continuall fishing along the Westerne Coasts, yow ar to lett the lords know that we are resolved to take it into our awin hand as adherent to our Crowne, yitt purposing to give suche satisfioun to the Erle of Seafort as sall be honnourable and just. To whilk end, the lords sall demaund the said Erle ane trew particular of the rents he receaves there, and certifie us how they may be main-teanned and made good from tyme to tyme. It is also our purpose, as yow must acquaint the lords, to erect in that ylland one or moe free burrowes, in suche places as sall be fittest for advancing of the fishing and for magazens and stages."*

On 30th July, the King's instructions were read to the Scottish Privy Council, at a meeting held in the Lord

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. V., pp. 220-3.

Chancellor's bedroom, who was lying ill of gout. The gouty Chancellor was the Earl of Dunfermline, Seaforth's father-in-law, and we know by letters from Seaforth and Captain Mason, that Dunfermline did all in his power to further the views of Charles. John Hay violently opposed the scheme, and made a bitter attack on Seaforth for bringing the Dutchmen to Lewis. The King's letter was laid before Parliament, and a committee was appointed to consider the proposals.

Meanwhile, pressure was being brought to bear upon the nobility to interest themselves in the plans of Charles. In a letter to the Earl of Carlisle, Seaforth commends him for exerting his influence in this direction, but points out that the burghs formed the real stumbling-block. They are disinclined, Seaforth asserts, to associate themselves in the undertaking either with strangers or natives. "They like not that noblemen or gentry should understand matters of industry." They will do what they can to induce the King to delay giving effect to his scheme. But, adds Seaforth, if Charles will pay regard to the good of his kingdom and his own profit, he will carry out his intention of erecting a free burgh in Lewis.

That the Scottish burghs were inclined to adopt a policy of obstruction is clear from their proceedings. On 9th August, a set of articles was drafted by the Convention for the consideration of the burghs. The first matter to be decided was the expediency, or otherwise, of co-operating with England in the new scheme, and whether or not the English should be permitted to establish themselves in any part of the Hebrides. The desirability, or otherwise, of accepting as partners in the undertaking, the nobility and gentry of the country had also to be decided, together with the conditions of such partnership in respect of capital and profits. If the decision of the burghs were opposed to a joint-stock undertaking of this description, it was matter for further discussion whether the burgesses as a whole should accept the proposed responsibility, or whether a Company be formed, and if so, whether the burgesses who

remained outside the Company should be debarred from any share in the venture. And if the latter point were decided in the affirmative, the question of raising capital had to be considered.*

On the following day, the subject was further discussed by the Convention. It was pointed out that notwithstanding the withdrawal of the charter to Seaforth, the Flemings had not yet left the island—the dozen Dutchmen in Lewis apparently came from South Holland—and John Hay was empowered to endeavour to persuade the King to expel them, and in the meantime to delay granting permission to any more strangers to settle in Lewis.*

The influence of the burghs was, meantime, apparently brought to bear upon the Committee appointed by the Estates. In their report, the Committee declared against any association with England, and stated that the Scottish burghs were willing to work the loch fishings, and the fishing ground comprehended within a limit of “two kennings” from the coast, provided they were allowed to plant stations in suitable places. The natives of Scotland, they said, had always been in possession of this reserved ground, and the reserves had never been encroached upon by the Hollanders. But Commissioners were appointed by Parliament to confer with the Englishmen and exchange views.

In November, the Earl of Monteith, President of the Privy Council, presented to Parliament a report on the proceedings of the Scottish Commissioners, together with the King’s instructions, the Commissioners’ observations thereon, and the reply of the English Commissioners to the Scottish objections. Commenting on the proposal of Charles for the erection of one or more free burghs in Lewis, the Scottish Commissioners reported that no answer could be given until the next meeting of Parliament, because it was necessary to consult the Royal burghs on the matter. The King’s letters and instructions, addressed to the Estates

* *Rec. of Con. of Royal Burghs*, Vol. III., pp. 321-3.

and the Privy Council, showed how dear to his heart was his pet fishery scheme. The furthering or hindering of his plans, he declared, would oblige or disoblige him "more than anie one bussines that hes happened in my tyme." In order to arrive at a working agreement, Charles ordered the Estates to delegate representatives, invested with absolute powers, to confer and conclude arrangements, with the English Commissioners.

The reply of the English Commissioners sounded a note of impatience. The hardly veiled opposition to the views of Charles, in respect of Lewis, was received with disapproval. The Commissioners declined to interfere between the King and the Estates, but plainly hinted that it would be more becoming to fall in heartily with the wishes of Charles than to cavil at them, and that it would be well not to strain the King's prerogative unduly.

Finally, the Estates, as commanded, delegated Commissioners, including John Hay for the Royal burghs, invested with full powers, but with definite orders how to act. On 13th November, the Convention of burghs gave Hay his instructions. He was strictly charged to exercise due care and diligence, that nothing be done to prejudice the privileges enjoyed by the Scottish nation, either in England or Ireland. He was told to do his utmost to obtain for the burghs a reservation of the fishings claimed by them; and in order to secure this condition, was allowed to give way to the Englishmen, if they insisted upon taking over the Lewis fishings; provided they refrained from fishing in the reserved waters, and undertook not to establish any other stores or plantations in the Hebrides, or north of Buchan Ness. But Hay was to insist upon the right of the burghs to establish stations in Lewis being recognised, as well as any other privileges to which they held themselves to be entitled.

He was also charged to petition the King (1) to remove the Flemings from Lewis, and to approach the Estates of the Low Countries with the view of arranging that their fishermen should keep "ane kenning" from the Scottish

shores ; (2) to obtain the assistance of Sheriffs and other officers of the Crown in order to prevent all strangers from fishing in the reserved waters ; and (3) to expel all foreigners from Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, and all other places in Scotland frequented by them, and to restrain the natives from trading with them. And having regard to the liberties granted to English fishermen in Scotland, he was further instructed to endeavour to obtain for the burghs, permission to prosecute the pilchard fishings of England and Ireland.*

In a letter to Secretary Coke dated 15th December, Seaforth states that he has received a summons to Court, with regard, as he conceives, to the fishing, and he promises to attend as ordered, and will meanwhile do what he can to hasten the proceedings of the Commissioners. He recommends that the King hold firm to his intention of erecting a Royal burgh in Lewis. This was exactly what the burghs intended to prevent, by any means in their power. The shelving of the question until the next meeting of Parliament, was plainly a pretext at the instigation of the burghs, designed to defeat, ultimately, any such erection. There is no record of the question having ever been discussed in Parliament, or a committee appointed to consider it.

The two sets of Commissioners at length got fairly to work. Asked to describe, specifically, the waters which they wished to be reserved, the Scottish Commissioners were at fault, and were compelled to refer home for particulars. When these arrived, the proposals of the Scotsmen were put in a tangible form. The fishings of the Outer Hebrides which they wished to be reserved for the use of natives, extended from the most easterly point of Lewis to the most westerly point of Barra, including a limit of fourteen miles from the coast. The Privy Council of Scotland suggested certain modifications in respect of the

* *Rec. of Con. of Royal Burghs*, Vol. III., pp. 324-6. The Convention records from 3rd March, 1631, to 3rd July, 1649, being unfortunately missing, it is impossible to follow, from that source, these interesting negotiations further. But the Acts of Parliament (Scotland) and the State Papers in the Public Record Office supply the information which is lacking.

Commissioners' proposal. It was not until September, 1631, that the Royal burghs emitted a declaration, approving of the Council's recommendations. The bearing of these upon the reserved fishings of the Long Island was, that the latter, as finally agreed upon, covered the Minch from the Stor of Assynt to the most easterly point of Lewis, and extended along the east coast of Lewis to Barra, including the lochs on that coast, with the Broad Bay and Bayble Head fishings.*

The Earl of Seaforth wrote Secretary Coke in January, 1631, from Edinburgh, explaining that his delay in coming to Court was caused by the dangerous illness of his wife. He prophesied that the fishing business would again be put off during that year, unless the King exercised his authority. That his fears were well-grounded is evident from the facts already mentioned ; apparently the Scottish burghs left no stone unturned to hamper the negotiations as much as they dared. In June, Seaforth, then in London, was again in communication with the Secretary ; pleading illness for not going to Court ; begging Coke to let him know what plans had been decided upon concerning the plantation (of Lewis) ; and expressing a hope that his rights would be respected. Sir William Alexander and Hay being about to return to Scotland, Seaforth suggested the desirability of concluding the agreements before their departure, and of issuing definite orders for erecting Stornoway into a free burgh. He adds : "Ye shall never have undertakers till ye know where to fish." We find the Earl again writing Coke on the subject in January, 1632, urging haste, as he was a great loser by the delay. The Scottish Commissioners appear to have made a point of the existing statutes, which forbade strangers to fish in Scottish waters, or Scottish fishermen to sell their fish to strangers ; and to have held that Englishmen were included in that category. Captain Mason, impatient with the obstructionist tactics of the Scotsmen, suggested that the

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. V., p. 238.

King should, until the next meeting of the Scottish Parliament, construe this statute as not applying to natives of England, and in the meantime, should purchase Lewis and proclaim a free fishing to all his Scottish subjects, paying to Seaforth the usual ground-leave to "pack and peel." The efforts of the Scottish burghs to keep the Englishmen out of Lewis proved unavailing, and John Hay was obliged to give way as, in fact, he had been empowered to do, if necessary.

The Company of the General Fishery of Great Britain and Ireland received its charter on 19th July, 1632, and in September of the same year, the charter was read before the Privy Council of Scotland and ordered to be "exped." It provided for the appointment of twelve Councillors, one half of whom were to be Scottish, and the other six, English or Irish. Exclusive jurisdiction in cases relating to the fishings was granted to the Company, and powers were given to fish herrings or "sea" fish in all British seas, salmon fishing being excluded, and the loch fishings being reserved for the use of the natives. Certain peculiar privileges were conferred upon its members, which included liberty of exportation, exemption from ordinary taxation, and from liability to serve the Crown in other capacities, in order that the fishing might suffer no interruption.

The Corporation being now constituted, and ready to commence operations, instructions were conveyed to the Privy Council of Scotland to remove all strangers who fished in the Isles, especially in Lewis and Shetland. Attention was directed to the detriment caused by the foreigners inhabiting Lewis, and fishing and trading there, contrary to the laws of the country. The Council were reminded of the complaint which had been made by the Royal burghs against Seaforth, who had been required to bring the strangers before the Lords, but had failed to comply with the order. He was now to be charged to obey the Council, and the foreigners were to be censured for transgressing the laws by exporting forbidden goods, and failing to pay the Customs duties; and were to find

surety for abstaining from such courses. The heritors of the Isles were to be ordered to prevent foreigners from fishing or trading within their bounds, and to do their utmost to preserve the fisheries for the use of natives and the members of the Fishery Company.*

The first branch of the Corporation to establish itself in Lewis appears to have been one, at the head of which was the Earl of Portland, the Lord Treasurer of England. Captain Mason was consulted as to the manner in which the Association's stock should be employed. He had the whole scheme mapped out. The partners were to become naturalised Scotsmen (thus escaping the disabilities under which the law placed non-Scotsmen) and be made burgesses of a free burgh to be erected at Stornoway—in pursuance of the Act of Parliament passed during the reign of King James VI.—thus enabling them to conduct general trading as well as fishing. The King was to purchase Lewis from Seaforth, giving him other lands in lieu thereof, and the whole island was to be given up to the fishing industry. A company of soldiers was to be sent to Lewis, and ten pieces of ordnance were to be supplied by the King for a fort at Stornoway. Six acres of land near Deptford were to be set apart for building dwelling-houses and workshops, for those employed in spinning and making nets. And detailed suggestions were made for the general conduct of the Associates' business.†

In February, 1633, the Council of the Corporation had the Lewis fisheries under consideration. Captain Mason was admitted as a Fellow of the Corporation, and was charged to consult John (now Sir John) Hay, in respect of the ground-leave to be paid to Seaforth. All the preliminaries having been arranged, the fleet of herring-busses and trading vessels set sail for Lewis under the command of Mason. In May, Mason's vessel, the *St. Peter*, was appointed flag-ship of the fleet, and power was given to him as the chief Agent of the Corporation in Lewis, to try,

* *Acts of Parl.* Vol. V., pp., 244-5.

† MS. in Public Record Office, State Papers, Vol. CCXXIX., No. 95.

and punish offences committed by the fishermen and sailors of the fleet.

Another Association, headed by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, received about this time (apparently against Lord Portland's wish) the sanction of the Corporation for working the Lewis fisheries, and established a station in the island. We shall see later on how the two Companies fared there.

Colin, Earl of Seaforth, only lived long enough to see his efforts for encouraging the development of the fishing industry in Lewis, crowned with success. He died at Chanonry on 15th April, 1633, at the early age of thirty-six, his premature death being probably the result of some malady, of which there are hints in his letters.

He was a man of conspicuous ability, and his efforts for developing the resources of Lewis and raising the status of the town of Stornoway, should be remembered with gratitude by Lewismen, although primarily, perhaps, his exertions were instigated by a desire to add to his personal income. He was a munificent patron of the Church, and a warm friend of the cause of education. His style of living was magnificence itself. When he visited Lewis in state, he was attended by a bodyguard which Royalty might envy, and a flotilla of boats was required for the stores of wines and beer which accompanied him. He built Brahan Castle and made considerable additions to the Castle of Chanonry. All this magnificence had to be paid for, and we are not surprised to learn that he imposed high rents upon his tenants, which they, very naturally, considered a most "grievous imposition." He was by far the most influential landlord in the Western Highlands and North Isles, and it is with pardonable pride that the author of the Ardintoul MS. relates how Maclean, Clanranald, Raasay, Mackinnon, and other great chiefs came to pay their respects to him. His sister, Janet, was married to Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat; and his sister Sybilla was the wife of Macleod of Harris. Thus, by family influence, as well as by territorial power and personal ability,

he exercised an unquestioned authority over the neighbouring chiefs. By his wife, Margaret Seton, daughter of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, he had a son, Alexander, who died in his youth ; and two daughters, the elder of whom, Anna, married Alexander, second Lord Lindsay, who was created Earl of Balcarres by Charles II. in 1651. We shall meet Lord Balcarres later on. Anna Mackenzie's second husband was Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, who was beheaded in 1685. Seaforth's younger daughter, Jean, was married to John, Master of Berridale, their son being George, sixth Earl of Caithness. Seaforth was succeeded by his brother George, who was served heir to Lewis on 24th May, 1633.

The new Earl professed as great a friendship for the fishing venture in Lewis as did his predecessor. Captain William Buxton, who had been deputed to ascertain his views, submitted to Secretary Nicholas a report, which was entirely favourable. Seaforth entertained Buxton at Chanonry, and promised to do all in his power to assist the undertaking. The natives of Lewis, and the Lowland fishermen (the "Highlanders" and the "Scotch") were greatly influenced by Seaforth's attitude, and when Buxton visited "Leeas" (Lewis) in May, 1633, he found that the general prospects were decidedly rosy. His imagination pictured great hauls of herring, ling, and cod, sufficiently large, in his estimation, to supply London with plenty of fish during the "hard time of winter."

Soon after Buxton's visit, Seaforth was called upon by the Council of the Corporation to "explain" his interest in anchorage and ground-leaves in Lewis, and he desired to be heard thereon at the next Council meeting on 1st July. Thus early, these dues claimed by the heritors of the Hebrides promised to be a fruitful source of trouble to the Englishmen. The ancient custom was to exact, for ground-leave and anchorage, the following dues, viz. :— From each boat, a barrel of ale or of meal at the owner's option ; for each anchor laid on shore, six shillings and eight pence ; a payment of three pounds in money for

every last (12 barrels) of fish caught; and the benefit of every Saturday's fishing. About 1620, however, Macleod of Harris, Macdonald of Sleat, and Clanranald entered into a contract with certain East Coast burghs, providing for the payment of thirty-six shillings Scots only, for every boat engaged in the herring fishing, and twenty merks for every one employed in the grey and white fishing.

These dues were apparently considered excessive by the English settlers, for we find that in 1634, on their initiative, the heritors of the islands where the Englishmen fished, were called before the Privy Council of Scotland to give an account of their imposts. Among those who appeared before the Council, and gave evidence relative to the history and incidence of the dues, were Macdonald of Sleat, Macleod of Harris, Clanranald, and Macneill of Barra.

In the same year, the King wrote the Privy Council with reference to the accommodation to be provided in Lewis, for the use of the Fishing Associations. In pursuance of his determination to resume possession of lands in Scotland alienated from the Crown by his predecessors, Charles claimed the ownership of Lewis—perhaps the only instance in which he gave effect to his resolution. He was credibly informed, said his Majesty, that he had an undoubted right to Lewis; that a great many bygone feu-duties remained unpaid; and that from every point of view, he had a better title to the island than Seaforth. Unwilling, however, to be too hard upon the brother of his late favourite, the King announced that he would be content with so much of the island as might be required for the use of the Associations, provided that the Earl took a new grant of the remainder of the property, paying the old feu-duty. The Council were ordered to settle the matter accordingly for the good of the new enterprise.*

The deep interest taken by Charles in the scheme is

* *Collect. de Reb. Alb.*, p. 106. Charles does not seem to have troubled his head about the omission to pay the duties, until the fishing question brought Lewis prominently to the front.

shown at every step. He invoked the Bishop of the Isles to co-operate in furthering the interests of the adventurers; and directed the Privy Council of Scotland to inquire into the charges levied by the heritors of the Isles, and to ascertain whether or not foreigners were being brought to the islands by the proprietors. The Privy Council appointed Lord Lorne and the Bishop of the Isles to institute the necessary inquiries, and late in 1634, submitted their report, containing the details of the dues as noticed above. Seaforth, who had good reasons for maintaining cordial relations with the King, informed the Commissioners that he imposed no charges at all on the Englishmen in Lewis, and that no foreigners were allowed within his bounds.

We shall now see how it fared with the English settlers in Lewis. In order, doubtless, to impress the natives with the fact that the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland was the patron-in-chief of the Fishing Corporation and its off-shoots, the Resident Agent at Stornoway caused the Royal standard to be unfurled on the walls of Stornoway Castle. The intrusion of the Englishmen was a bitter pill to the Lowland fishermen, who had hitherto monopolised the best fishings of the island. One of the Lowlanders, a fisherman named Thomas Lindsey from Crail, Fifeshire, became the ringleader of an organised opposition to the new-fangled Society and its representatives. When he saw the Royal colours flying at Stornoway Castle, he ran up the flag of the Duke of Lennox beside them, and went about Stornoway telling the people that the Duke had more lands in England, Scotland, and France, than he who called himself King of France. "Charles I. has nothing to do with Lewis," he declared. He was never proclaimed in the island, and had therefore no authority over it. In January, 1635, Lindsey had a serious quarrel, over a question of wreckage, with the Association of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, who, on the death of Lord Portland, had assumed the direction of the affairs of the Company,

of which his son, Lord Maltravers, had from the first been an active member. A ship, laden with a cargo of herrings, and a fishing buss, both belonging to the Association, were riding at anchor in Stornoway Harbour when a storm arose which drove them ashore; but no damage was done or loss sustained. Lindsey appeared upon the scene with a body of armed followers, and pretending to be the representative of the deputy of Lord Linlithgow, Vice-Admiral of Scotland, seized the ship and her cargo, and the buss. The Englishmen produced their certificates from the Council of the Fishing Corporation, and protested against the seizure as illegal. Lindsey, who was unable to show any written authority for his action, treated the certificates of the Englishmen with contempt. Repeating his statement that King Charles had nothing to do with Lewis, he threatened to be the death of every Englishman in the island.*

The example of Lindsey was contagious. The natives now began to treat the strangers in a high-handed fashion. A number of them, fully armed, and drawn apparently from all parts of the Long Island, surrounded the Englishmen's busses while engaged in loch fishing, boarded the boats and carried away their kettles and provisions, alleging that they did so in payment of the dues to which their chiefs were entitled.*

These proceedings resulted in a strong complaint being forwarded to the Council of the Corporation by their representatives in Lewis. The latter besought their directors to request the Privy Council of Scotland to take cognisance of the matter, so that the cargo of herrings seized by Lindsey might be returned to them, and he himself punished for his share in the transaction. It was suggested, too, that the heritors should be bound by the Privy Council, to restrain their tenants from committing any outrage upon the petitioners' fishermen, busses, or nets, and from disturbing the fishing on account of pre-

* *Cal. of State Papers* (1635), pp. 130-2.

tended dues. The directors were also urged to have the question of ground-leave finally settled on a fair basis, and to secure that a similar arrangement be made with Seaforth in respect of packing houses, store-houses, and lodgings, at Stornoway. A petition couched in similar terms was addressed to the King himself. A previous statement of grievances had embodied suggestions, for the appointment of deputy-judges to administer justice in all matters concerning the fishing; the exemption of the petitioners' vessels from all taxation; the legalising of information taken on oath; the ejection of all fishermen from Lewis, except those holding certificates from the Council of the Corporation; and the opening of negotiations in respect of an import tax recently imposed on herrings shipped to Flanders.

The directors of the Corporation at once adopted vigorous measures for the protection of their representatives in Lewis. Letters were addressed to the Privy Council of Scotland, in the sense indicated by the petitioners, and the King was approached to lend his support to the protest. The directors' proposal for settling all future controversies in respect of wrecks, or pretended wrecks, in Stornoway Harbour, and in respect of the fishings generally, was eminently practical. Four judges were to be appointed to hear and adjudicate upon all fishing disputes, and the King was requested to command that in future, the parties were to bring all such cases before this Court for trial. Charles entered heartily into the proposal, and declared at a meeting of the Council of the Corporation, that he would not permit their *employés* to be interrupted in their work, by officers of the Scottish Admiralty questioning them about pending disputes; he would only allow them to be questioned by the Council, or by such judges as the Council might appoint.

The King wrote the Privy Council of Scotland about the complaints from Lewis, and charged that body to bring the delinquents to justice, and to restore to the petitioners their goods, if they had been taken from them unlawfully. The lords and barons of the lochs of the Western Isles

were to be sent for to Edinburgh, and bound over to restrain their tenants from committing outrages on the King's subjects. And all questions of ground-leave were also to be settled by the Council, particularly with the Earl of Seaforth. In a second letter from Charles to the Privy Council concerning the now famous case of wreckage in Stornoway Harbour, then pending in the Admiralty Court, he ordered the case to be decided in that Court with all equity and expedition. But all future cases connected with the Lewis fishings, were to be decided by the judges who had been appointed by the Council of the Fishery Corporation. Sir John Hay, Clerk-Register, was at the same time charged by the King to see that the abuses complained of were tried and punished, and that the fishing was to be allowed to proceed without interruption. On the same date, Charles also wrote Seaforth, commanding him to protect the Englishmen from being disturbed in a work in which he (Charles) had taken so much pains, and a work which promised to be for the public benefit.

In response to the representations made by the King, the Privy Council of Scotland issued a proclamation, the preamble of which set forth that the King's subjects were being robbed of their fish and victuals by the Islesmen, who broke the shoals of herrings, and threatened to break the heads of the fishermen. Among those who were charged to put a stop to these proceedings appear the names of Seaforth and Macleod of Harris, who, with their colleagues, were forbidden to give warrant to any persons under them, except those for whose good rule they would be answerable. These measures for the protection of the Corporation's servants in Lewis appear to have had the desired effect, for we hear no more about the persecution of the strangers.

One of the petitions presented in 1635 to the Lords Commissioners for the Fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland, is of peculiar interest to Lewismen. The petitioner, one Captain Alexander Moure (Muir), stated that thirty-six years previously, he and his brother belonged to

the band of Fife Adventurers who attempted to colonise Lewis. They remained in the island seven years, when, "on a sudden incursion," the petitioner lost his brother and the estates of both, valued at £8,000, and was dangerously wounded as well. Returning home to obtain redress from King James, he was forced to go abroad to the war, and after many travels—apparently as a soldier of fortune—returned to England about 1621. By command of the King, whose wishes were made known to Muir by the Duke of Richmond and Sir William Monson, he was ordered, under promise of a reward, to remain in England to give information about the Long Island, in connexion with fishing colonies which it was proposed to plant there. This is the only intimation we have of any renewed attempt on the part of James I., to tackle the thorny problem of planting a colony in Lewis. Whatever plan may have been suggested, the scheme evidently proved fruitless—it was probably shelved until a more convenient season. About the time of the accession of Charles I., Muir was again approached by Monson on a similar errand, from which we may conclude that the great fishery scheme of Charles I. was the outcome of deliberations extending over a considerable number of years, and was suggested, in the first instance, by the richness of the scaly spoils of the Minch. Muir claimed to have spent £1,000 (which he had earned in the foreign wars) during the time he was then detained in England, and found himself so much in debt that he "dare not walk the street." He therefore claimed compensation, with what result does not appear. The war-worn veteran certainly deserved some consideration at the hands of those who had utilised his information.*

The intention of Charles in respect of Lewis proved to be no empty threat. Whatever arrangement the King had proposed to make with his favourite, Colin, Earl of Seaforth, it is clear that George, the second Earl was, notwithstanding the previous declaration of Charles, treated with scant

* *Cal. of State Papers* (1635), Vol. CCXCI., No. 46.

ceremony. When he petitioned the King for the ratification of his right to Lewis, he received a point-blank refusal. Again Seaforth made application, and again his petition was unavailing. In August, 1635, the question was referred to a joint committee of the Lords of Council and the Lords of Session. The King's Advocate on the one side, and Seaforth on the other, having both been heard, the committee's report was submitted in January, 1636. Seeing his case was hopeless, the Earl wisely announced his decision of placing himself unreservedly in the King's hands. In October, 1636, a contract was accordingly entered into by Charles and Seaforth, which was followed by a charter to the latter under the Great Seal, dated 13th March, 1637, and ratified by Parliament in 1641. In terms of this charter, Lewis, with its pertinents, was granted to Seaforth, to be held in feu from the Crown for an annual payment of 2,000 pounds Scots. The town and burgh of barony of Stornoway with its castle, harbour, and as much land as might be required for the General Society's fishings, and the accommodation of the fishermen, with pasturage, fuel, and "foggage" (coarse rank grass) in the adjacent fields, were, under this charter, resigned absolutely in favour of the King and his heirs in perpetuity. And "for reducing of the inhabitants of the said Ile of Lewis to civilitie, and for increase of policie within the same ile," Stornoway was to be erected into a free burgh Royal.*

When, by a charter dated 30th September, 1678, ratified in 1681, the Seaforth estates were transferred to Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat, Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, and Colin Mackenzie of Redcastle, under circumstances which will be noticed later on, Stornoway was reserved to the Crown in terms exactly similar to those embodied in the charter of 1637, but the stipulation concerning its erection into a Royal burgh appears in a modified form; and the modification is important. In the later charter,

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. V., p. 530. *Revenues of the Scottish Crown*, pp. 119-20.

the wording is : "*erected or to be erected* by his Majesty for reducing the inhabitants of Lewis," &c.* It is inconceivable that a lawyer like Sir George Mackenzie would be a party to this cautious phrasing, unless there was some ground for the belief that the erection had actually taken place. Writing in 1681, Sir William Purves, Solicitor-General for Scotland, states that in 1637, Charles I. was very anxious for the reservation of the Burgh, Castle, and Port of Stornoway, intending to make them "very advantageous" to the kingdom, and to stop the fishing of others in those parts. "Yet," he goes on to say, "notwithstanding that his Majesti (Charles II.) now hes undoubted ryght to the same, throw the distractionones of the tymes, his Majesti's ryght hes not been looked efter."†

The intentions of Charles I. in respect of Stornoway are quite clear. We have already noticed the proposal to make the representatives of the Fishery Corporation burgesses of the free burgh of Stornoway, to be created under the Act of 1597. That the Englishmen in Lewis enjoyed, as burgesses of Stornoway, all the trading privileges of freemen, is proved by allusions to the fish which they exported to foreign markets from that port. That the town was, therefore, during their occupancy, in possession of the exclusive trading rights of a free burgh Royal cannot be doubted. The Act of 1597 authorised the creation of a burgh possessing those privileges, and the legal quibble under which the Convention of Royal burghs took refuge, in objecting to its erection, was demolished by the action of the King, in assuming the proprietorship of the burgh, thus constituting it a *de facto* "King's burgh." At whatever time, and in whatever manner, the Act of 1597 was carried out ; whether or not a charter of erection was ever granted to the community, or to Seaforth, as representing the community ; it is clear that the weight of evidence lies on the side of the erection having, in some manner, become an accomplished fact ; otherwise the

* *Acts of Parl.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 382-4.

† *Revenues of the Scottish Crown*, pp. 119-20.

Englishmen must have been trading illegally, an altogether improbable supposition. Stornoway is certainly entitled to a patent of arms, with supporters, as a Royal burgh,* if proof that it actually exercised the privileges, and occupied the status, of a free burgh Royal, justifies the grant.

For a time, the fishing operations in Lewis appear to have been carried on with success, merchants from London, and even goldsmiths, venturing their lives and their capital in the far-off island, hoping to reap a golden harvest from the treasures of the Minch. Then financial difficulties arose. Some of the shareholders, disappointed by the results, or finding safer outlets for their capital, failed to meet the calls on their shares. The Association headed by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, had established, about 1633, a factory in Lewis, which seems to have been less successful than that owned by the Lord Treasurer's Company. Captain John Smith, author of *Trade and Fishing of Great Britain*, had been sent by the Earl, in 1633, to report upon the Shetland and Lewis fisheries. Captain Smith's report on the Dutch fishermen is interesting. He tells us that the Hollanders—a people of "constant labour and unwearied industry"—monopolised the Shetland fisheries. They had 1,500 herring busses, each of about 80 tons, with about 400 dogger boats of 60 tons and upwards, for the cod and ling fishing, the whole being conveyed by over twenty warships, each carrying thirty guns. Smith states that the "'composition' of the Dutchmen was an annual rent of £100,000 sterling and £100,000 in hand," which had never been paid, the arrears amounting to no less than two and a half million pounds.† This report was distinctly discouraging to new-comers, and it doubtless

* In 1898, on the initiative of Provost Anderson, an attempt was made to assert the claim of Stornoway for recognition as a Royal burgh. The attempt was based upon the charter to Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, which, as we have seen, was withdrawn. The Convention of burghs decided to offer no opposition to the claim, but, owing to constitutional difficulties, no practical result followed.

† The Dutch gave £30,000 in 1636 for leave to fish on the coasts of Britain, but compounding, apparently, for bygone debts.

induced the Earl of Pembroke to try Lewis in preference to the Shetlands. His Lewis representatives managed his factory so badly, that in two years they had exhausted the whole of the available capital and were largely in debt. Some of the Earl's colleagues refused to find any more capital, but with the assistance of the others, and by confining the work of his factory chiefly to the curing of herrings, he managed to keep the concern afloat. According to his own showing, the Earl of Pembroke at length "attained to the true and perfect art" of taking and curing herrings, making nets and casks, and building busses, and had also found out the best foreign markets for the fish. But this state of prosperity was rudely disturbed. The Dunkirkers and other foreign pirates swooped down upon a number of the busses, and carried off the crews to captivity, where some of the men died, and the others had to be ransomed at a heavy cost. The total loss sustained by the Earl's Association through the Dunkirkers was estimated at £5,000, and in his statement submitted to the Council of the Corporation in February, 1640, Lord Pembroke professed his inability to send his boats to sea again without fresh capital. In these circumstances, he left the King to find some method of continuing the work, suggesting, however, that a good plan for raising funds would be to give his Association the power to start a standing lottery, similar to the grant obtained by the Virginia Company in 1612; the management of this lottery to be in the hands of the most "discreet" members of the Association. Lord Pembroke also desired that the King should take steps for the recovery of damages from the Dunkirkers, and subjects of the King of Spain, and for protection from their depredations in the future. Charles happened himself to be present at the meeting of the Council when this remonstrance was under consideration, and at once assented to the Earl's suggestion of a lottery. His attitude towards the proposal for obtaining restitution from the Dunkirkers was, however, more guarded. If Lord Pembroke saw fit, he could send an agent to demand reparation, and if

satisfaction were denied, letters of marque or some other remedy would be granted to the Association.*

We find, from a letter dated 31st August, 1638, written by Simon Smith, Agent for the Royal Fisheries, to Sir John Pennington, that while the general affairs of the Corporation were represented as being in a flourishing condition, their station in Lewis was apparently in an unsatisfactory state, for it was proposed to abandon it. And in July, 1639, there is a reference in a petition of the Corporation's creditors, to "sundry provisions and houses at the Isle of Lewis valued at £1,659 8s. 1d.," which, it may be observed, was regarded as a doubtful asset. But the representatives of the Earl of Pembroke's Association were, in 1640, still in Lewis, and were preparing fresh plans for making the station pay. If, therefore, any Lewis station was given up before 1640, it must have been that of the Lord Treasurer. There are no further records of the Englishmen's venture in Lewis, and it may well be supposed that in the turmoil of the Civil War, the fisheries, in common with the other industries of the country, became completely disorganised. There are no traces left of the English settlement in Lewis; but half a century later, Martin discovered in Hermetra, Sound of Harris, the remains of a store-house used by the strangers; and they are believed to have built one, also, on a small island in Lochmaddy.†

In 1661, Charles II. attempted to revive the project of his father, by inaugurating a Society on the same lines as its predecessor. The King invested £5,000 in the undertaking, and received the support of a number of merchants and noblemen; while, to assist the funds, lotteries were established in England, and voluntary collections were made in the parish churches. When the old Corporation was formed, the Dutchmen who were in Lewis were forced to leave the island. When the Association of Charles II. came into being, Dutchmen were invited to settle in

* *Cal. of State Papers* (1639-40), pp. 440-1.

† The charter of the parent Corporation was not annulled until 1690.

Stornoway in order to assist the undertaking. Surely this was a signal triumph for the foresight and wisdom of Colin, Earl of Seaforth. Some Dutch families actually settled in Stornoway,* and in view of the reputation which the Hollanders of that period had earned for industry and frugality, it may well be believed that their presence was beneficial to the town. But when the rupture between England and Holland occurred in 1665, the Dutchmen were compelled to return home. In 1669, stock was again being raised for the Company, but according to Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, many merchants refused to subscribe, fearing to be "overawed" by the noblemen, while many noblemen held aloof, fearing to be cheated by the merchants. In these democratic times, when noblemen are sometimes business men, and merchants sometimes men of title, no such difficulty could arise; but different class distinctions and different standards of morality prevailed in the reign of the Merry Monarch. The King himself, always impecunious, finally withdrew his capital from the Company, requiring the money for other and probably less worthy objects; the merchants followed his example, and the whole concern collapsed.

In 1677, a new Company was formed under the Royal auspices, and was endowed with special privileges. Most of the Company's busses were built in Holland and manned by Dutchmen; and a promising commencement was made. But during the war with France, six out of the seven vessels were captured by the French, and in 1680, the Company sold its remaining property. Fresh subscriptions were raised by a number of merchants to repair these losses, but the death of the King and the political troubles which followed that event, rendered the project ineffectual.

Soon after the Revolution, a further attempt was made to form a Fishery Company, but it proved unsuccessful. Several similar efforts were put forth after the Union. In

* Symson (*The Present State of Scotland*) states they so improved the inhabitants during their short stay, that they still (1738) "exceed all those of the neighbouring isles and mainland."

1749, a Corporation came into being for the promotion of British fisheries, and a system of bounties was established which continued until 1830, with unsatisfactory results ; the bounty being paid on the tonnage, boats were equipped to catch the grant rather than the fish. In 1786, the British Society was established for extending the fisheries of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. The chief objects of this Society were to provide employment, and thus stem the tide of emigration ; and to create a new nursery of seamen by the establishment of fishing towns and villages. Like its predecessors, the Company met with no permanent success, although several towns, such as Ullapool, Tobermory, and Pulteney Town owe their origin to its operations. Only one station was established in the Long Island. During the nineteenth century, the fishing industry of Scotland was allowed to develop without extrinsic aid, except such as was provided by the Fishery Board. At the present day, the depredations of steam trawlers on the coast of Lewis exercise the minds of the community, in much the same way as the encroachments of the Dutch fishermen disturbed the equanimity of the Scottish burghs in the seventeenth century.

While Charles I. was employed in fostering the fishing industry of Scotland, he was still more strenuously engaged in attempting to wean his unwilling Scottish subjects from the principles of Presbyterianism, back to the discipline and ceremonies of Episcopacy. His father had partially succeeded in stemming the flood of popular and clerical opposition to prelacy, and Charles, a more devoted and less politic Episcopalian than his predecessor, had set his heart on completing the work. But he quickly discovered that the changes which John Knox and his followers had wrought in the religious sentiment of the Lowlanders of Scotland, far from being a passing phase, had become permanent principles ; the Reformation in Scotland was, in fact, nothing short of a Revolution. The revulsion of feeling which followed the overthrow of Romanism had, it is true, been modified by the insidious

measures of James, and Episcopacy, linked with Presbyterianism, was tolerated by the people ; but the insistence upon outward forms of prelacy, which in the minds of the populace were associated with the abhorred Church of Rome, had been suffered to remain in abeyance, until the time became ripe for the introduction of a measure of uniformity with the Church of England.

Charles made the mistake of supposing that such a time had arrived ; his zeal for the Anglican Church outran his discretion. When, in 1635, he promulgated in Scotland the canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction, his action was viewed with profound suspicion, but did not excite active opposition, in the land of Knox. The hierarchical domination and the civil interference in ecclesiastical matters which these canons entailed, did not appeal to the prejudices of the people so strongly as to stir them up to revolt. The case was different when the new liturgy was introduced. The fears of Scotland revived under the influence of this outward expression of prelacy. The æsthetic beauties of the Anglican service and the literary beauties of the liturgy, met with no appreciation at the hands of a people steeped, it must be admitted, in prejudices which were not unnatural, and resolved at all costs, to reject conformity with any semblance of that Church which they regarded as Antichrist. The struggles of the past between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy had rooted in their hearts democratic principles, which rebelled equally against prelatic domination in the Church, and monarchical absolutism in the State. The struggle which was about to ensue—a struggle which led indirectly to the great Civil War in England and the execution of the King ; to the promotion of democratic ideas, the ultimate prevalence of which paved the way to the extinction of the Stuart dynasty—that struggle, although initiated by the opposition of the Scottish people to a very harmless and a very excellent book, had its real origin in far deeper causes. The Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government is nothing if not democratic. Parity in the

Church tends to inculcate a belief in parity in the State. Hence it is that Presbyterian Scotland is democratic in politics as in religion. And when Charles I. attempted to place Episcopacy in Scotland on a logical basis, he was confronted by a wall of democracy, the foundations of which had been laid so surely by John Knox, that it presented a solid barrier against the encroachments of the monarchy, backed by the full force of prelacy. But the liturgy was the apparently insignificant cause of fanning the embers of discontent into the fierce flame of open rebellion. The rigidity and ornateness of the Episcopal service were alike repugnant to the individuality of the new religious spirit, with which the elasticity and simplicity of the Presbyterian forms were more in accord. The gorgeous ritual of the Church of Rome had shared in the revulsion of feeling against Romanism, and a ceremonial of extreme plainness became the ideal of uncompromising Presbyterianism. The cope had to give way to the gown; short prayers to long sermons; feast days to fast days; Sunday recreation to Sabbatarianism; and, ultimately, the priest to the presbyter—the common origin of both names notwithstanding—and the Church of the State to the Kirk of the People. The attempt of Charles to rivet the chains of Episcopacy on Scotland resulted in the consolidation of Presbyterianism, and its final and permanent triumph as the established form of religion of the Scottish people.

It does not concern us here to follow the incidents of the great trial of strength between Charles and his Scottish subjects, except so far as they relate to Lewis and its proprietor. As a matter of religious significance, the contest was of small importance to the people of the Highlands and Isles. It was not until many years afterwards, that Presbyterianism obtained a permanent foothold among them, and its final acceptance was preceded by a spirit of uncompromising hostility to its tenets. Even at the present day, the inhabitants of certain districts in the Highlands cling to Episcopacy, as, in certain other districts in the Highlands and the Long Island, they cling

to the Roman Catholic religion ; and it would be a rash and unfounded statement to assert that in those parts, the Christian, social, or domestic virtues are less prominent than in the localities where Presbyterianism is rampant. It is curious to observe, that Presbyterianism of the most aggressive, and, it is to be feared, the most uncharitable type, is now found in remote districts of the Highlands, which it entered at a period when the asperities of Lowland Presbyterians had been softened, and their narrow prejudices modified by the hand of Time. And a similar modification will probably, in like manner, become apparent at a later stage of religious development, in those places which were the last to embrace Presbyterianism.

George, Earl of Seaforth, was a member of the Table of Nobility which, with the other three Tables of the kingdom, produced the Covenant ; that famous document which united Presbyterian Scotland in its opposition to the innovations of Charles. To say that the Earl was influenced chiefly by his religious convictions in joining the ranks of the Covenanters, is an assumption which is hardly supported by his character, as displayed by his actions. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, that with Lord Seaforth, self-interest was the first consideration. Otherwise, it is impossible to offer any satisfactory explanation of the turn-coat principles with which contemporary historians have charged him.

In 1638, he entered into a bond of friendship with Argyll, and in the following year, figured as the principal leader of the Covenanters north of the Spey. In 1640, his fidelity to the Covenant began to be doubted, and for four years he lay under the ban of suspicion.* The compact with Argyll was dissolved in 1640, and a quarrel took place between the two men, which may have been either the cause, or the result, of a commission given to Argyll by the Committee of Estates to secure the West, together with the Central Highlands. So well did Argyll perform his

* Spalding, Vol. II., pp. 46, 55, and 420.

task that he received in 1641, a pension of £1,000 for his services ; and, significantly enough, two days later, a commission from the King granted him the power, during his lifetime, to uplift all the feu-duties, teinds, &c., of the Bishoprics of Lismore and the Isles. In 1642, he leased, for a term of nine years, to Donald Mackenzie, Commendator of the Isles, the teinds of "all fishes" in the South-West and North-West Isles, for a yearly payment of 100 merks.*

In 1644, Alastair Macdonald, *alias* the famous Mac Coll Keitach ("Colkitto") landed in Scotland with 1,500 men to fight for the King. The far-seeing General Leslie had endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and Argyll, in whose hands were the persons of Alastair's father and brothers, as well as their lands. The obduracy of Argyll frustrated Leslie's design, and Macdonald, swearing revenge against the Campbells, returned to Ireland to raise his men for the King, and, incidentally, to fulfil his vow, a vow which, after again landing in Scotland, he kept only too faithfully. Alastair had in his possession a letter from Charles, conferring upon Seaforth, in accordance with his request, the office of Chief Justice of the Isles. The policy of playing off Seaforth against Argyll, whose justiciaryship was, by the appointment, annulled, failed to secure the open adhesion of the Chief of Clan Kenneth, who, after temporising with Mac Coll Keitach, finally threw in his lot with the Covenanting forces which assembled to block the passage of the Spey against Macdonald. Had Alastair arrived before the dispersal of the troops of the Marquis of Huntly, Seaforth's decision, according to his own showing, would have been different.†

The advent of Montrose upon the scene as Commander-in-Chief of the Royalists, again shook the resolution of the Earl. His surrender to that general at Elgin ; his promise to rejoin Montrose with his full fighting strength when so ordered ; his subsequent double-dealing with both parties ;

* *Hist. MSS. Com.*, App. to Report IV., p. 480 (132).

† *Britane's Distemper*, p. 68.

and, ultimately, his open espousal of the Covenanting cause, display an extraordinary vacillation of mind, or, what is probably nearer the truth, a desire to keep on the winning side.

In May, 1645, the battle of Auldearn was fought, in which a Lewis regiment, commanded by John, son of Murdoch Mackenzie of Kernsary, took part. The events which preceded and followed the battle clearly prove that both Urry, the Covenanting general, and his colleague, Seaforth, were half-hearted Covenanters. There is evidence to show that it was in contemplation to disband Seaforth's forces, if not, indeed, to offer Montrose the services of some of his men. But circumstances proved unfavourable to the maturation of this scheme, and Urry and Montrose ultimately faced one another in the vicinity of the village of Auldearn. For a time, the issue was in doubt, when Mac Coll Keitach, Montrose's lieutenant, showing more valour than discretion, was drawn out of his entrenchments and then forced to retreat. The magnificent personal courage of Macdonald, and particularly the strategy of Montrose, saved the situation and the battle. The Covenanters were totally defeated with heavy slaughter—accounts of their loss vary from 1,000 to 4,000 men—while the loss of the Royalists was slight. The Lewismen, who fought magnificently, were cut to pieces, among the killed being the Chamberlain of Lewis (Donald Bayne, brother of the laird of Tulloch) and Angus Macaulay of Brenish, Donald Cam's son. Tradition states that only three Lewismen escaped from the battle.

It has been suggested that the result of the battle of Auldearn was pre-arranged by Urry, who purposely ordered his dispositions in such a manner as to give Montrose the advantage.* This is a most serious charge to make, but it is not substantiated by facts. Yet, when we consider all the circumstances: how Drummond was tried and shot for having betrayed the army, by his flight

* *Vide* MS. quoted in the *History of the Mackenzies*.

with the horse ; how disproportionate were the losses of the two armies ; and how Urry joined Montrose in the following year ; there seems to be a certain basis for the suggestion that treachery of some sort was at work, although the facts are obscure. The defeat of the Covenanters is sufficiently intelligible upon other grounds. On the one side was Montrose, animated alike by the cause for which he fought, and by his uninterrupted series of victories. The disparity in numbers between his army and Urry's, was counterbalanced by the belief held by his men in the invincibility of their general. On the other side, was an army hastily assembled, and, though stiffened by the regiments of veterans, largely composed of ill-trained troops, indifferently led by commanders who were Covenanters by name but Royalists at heart.

After Auldearn, Seaforth hesitated no longer in declaring for the Royalists. He arranged with Montrose that before joining him openly, he would endeavour to secure the co-operation of Lord Reay, Balnagown, Lovat, Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, and John Macleod of Harris. John of Moidart, the Captain of Clan Ranald, was already heartily with the Royalists, having, with Glengarry, joined Mac Coll Keitach when the latter despatched the fiery cross to summon the clans to his assistance. Soon afterwards, Seaforth's "Remonstrance" and his consequent excommunication by the General Assembly, placed him definitely and openly on the side of Montrose. It is at least creditable to the vacillating Earl, that his public declaration for Montrose was made after the battle of Philiphaugh, when, by a rapid change of fortune, the brimming cup of success was dashed from the lips of that great commander.

With the exception of Macdonald of Sleat, none of Seaforth's colleagues responded to his call to join Montrose at Inverness, the siege of which was raised on the approach of General Middleton. The latter subsequently captured the Castle of Chanonry, which was obstinately defended by Seaforth's Countess, who had the responsibility thrown upon her shoulders of preventing the stores and ammuni-

tion placed in the castle for the use of Montrose, from falling into the hands of the enemy. The Countess was treated with great consideration by her captor, who restored the castle into her possession, after removing the munitions of war.

When Montrose was compelled by the King's command to disband his forces and retire to France, Seaforth found himself in an embarrassing position, and was forced, as the price of forgiveness by the Estates, to undergo the ignominy of doing public penance in sackcloth within the High Church of Edinburgh. His restoration to favour was partly, if not wholly, due to the attitude of the "commons" of his clan, who, in 1648, resolutely refused to follow the "uther" (who is unnamed) appointed to command them; they would fight under no one but their chief.* Shortly afterwards, Seaforth joined the Earl of Lanark with 4,000 picked and well-armed men, chiefly drawn, apparently, from Lewis, to suppress the insurrection of the extreme Covenanters in the West. Lanark achieved some minor successes, but failed to follow them up with the energy which his superior strength demanded. Eventually, a treaty was arranged in 1648, in terms of which the opposing armies were disbanded; the insurgent "Whigamores" went home to cut their corn, which was "ready for the sickle"; and Seaforth's men returned to the North, after a campaign which yielded little glory and probably less loot.

After the execution of Charles I., Seaforth, whose debts were hanging like a millstone round his neck, announced his intention of retiring permanently to the Island of Lewis; but instead of crossing the Minch, he repaired to France, where he was cordially received by Charles II., who appointed him one of his Secretaries. While in France, he appears to have instigated the rising of 1649, which took place in the Highlands under the leadership of Mackenzie of Pluscardine, a soldier of Continental

* *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report II., Pt. I., pp. 125-6.

renown. The insurrection, ill-timed, ill-organised, and ill-conducted, was soon suppressed by General David Leslie, who surprised the insurgents at Balveny and dispersed them. In 1650, Montrose returned to Scotland, and embarked upon his ill-fated campaign, which, had it synchronised with Pluscardine's insurrection, would probably have had a different result. His raw, foreign and Orcadian troops were overwhelmed at Carbisdale, his opponent, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan, having previously accomplished the great feat of outwitting so incomparable a strategist as Montrose. His subsequent so-called betrayal by Neil Macleod of Assynt (or his wife), and his trial and execution in Edinburgh, are familiar incidents. A great soldier; a commander who inspired the love and implicit confidence of his followers; a man capable of going anywhere and doing anything; his death proved a serious loss to Scotland in the troublous times which were close at hand.

When Cromwell had brought Scotland under his iron heel; when clerical interference with military matters had borne fruit in the terrible slaughter at Dunbar; when the Protector and Argyll were negotiating for the total suppression of monarchy throughout the length and breadth of Britain; the independence of the country, the influence of the Covenant, and the fortunes of Charles II. appeared to be equally at their lowest ebb. But it has ever been at such crises that the spirit of the Scottish nation has shown itself at its best.

The tocsin of alarm resounded throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom. "For King and Covenant" was the rallying cry, which brought fighters alike from the remote Hebrides and the Border counties. On 23rd December, 1650, a levy was called out, in which were included all the chiefs of the Long Island, viz.:—Lord Kintail (Seaforth's son and heir); Sir James Macdonald of Sleat and North Uist; Roderick Macleod of Talisker, the uncle and tutor of Roderick Macleod of Harris (then a minor by the death of his father, John Macleod); the

Captain of Clan Ranald; and Macneill of Barra. Charles II. was crowned at Scone on 1st January, 1651, and took command of the army of 20,000 men which was raised to dispute the pretensions of Cromwell. The successful tactics of Lambert, and the fight won by him near Inverkeithing—at which the Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves—opened a free passage for Cromwell to the North of Scotland. The difficult position in which the Scots found themselves was relieved by the bold resolution which, on the King's initiative, was taken, to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to raise the English Royalists. Cromwell himself, bold strategist though he was, never anticipated such a daring and skilful move, and was compelled to follow his opponents with all possible despatch. The two armies met at Worcester, the Royalist forces having been reduced by desertions to 14,000 men, of whom 2,000 were Englishmen; while Cromwell found himself at the head of 30,000 troops, two-thirds of whom had concentrated at Worcester to oppose the advance of the King. The battle of Worcester, which was fought on 3rd September, 1651—the anniversary of Dunbar—was as stiff a fight as even Cromwell had ever seen. The Highlanders fought with great bravery; but the odds were too great, the generalship of Cromwell too skilful, and (according to Clarendon), the influence of the Kirk again too powerful, to leave the final issue in doubt. The King was completely defeated and had to seek safety in flight. The defeat was disastrous to the Highlanders, and more particularly to the Macleods. Under the leadership of the Tutor of Macleod and his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod of Bernera (Harris), a regiment of no fewer than 1,000 Macleods marched to the fatal field. The carnage among them was so great—most of them were killed, while others were sold as slaves—that by general agreement of the Highland chiefs, the Macleods were relieved from further participation in all future risings of the clans, until they had had time to recuperate from their terrible losses. And it may here be remarked that the

general lukewarmness of the clan, and in some cases, their active opposition, to the Stuart dynasty in the risings of the eighteenth century, may conceivably be attributable, in part, to the neglect which they experienced at the hands of Charles II. after the Restoration. Roderick and his brother were knighted, but received no other recognition of their services and the clan's sacrifice. Norman Macleod was taken prisoner at Worcester and tried for his life, but he escaped and lived to prove a thorn in Cromwell's side. The Mackenzies do not appear to have obeyed with unanimity the summons to arms. The Kintail men refused to rise under the young laird, who was a mere schoolboy. Seaforth himself they would follow anywhere—and the King was censured for not bringing him over from Holland and placing him at their head—but to commit their destinies to Lord Kintail, who was "but a child," was not in accordance with their ideas of the fitness of things. That doughty fighter, Mackenzie of Pluscardine, with Alexander, son of the laird of Gairloch, brought, however, a force of Mackenzies south, who shared in the experience of Cromwell's "crowning mercy" at Worcester.

There is no satisfactory explanation of Seaforth having remained abroad, while these stirring events were in progress. From a letter written by Montrose to the Earl on 15th August, 1649, we have a hint that Seaforth's presence elsewhere—presumably in Scotland—would be desirable; but, writing on 18th January, 1651, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, informed the Earl that "I now finde you have a great reason not to venture to soone amongst them." What that reason was we are left to surmise, but from the Queen's ironical reference to the loyalty of "that brave, valiant Lord Argille," we may assume that the enmity of Argyll had something to do with Seaforth's continued absence from Scotland.* We are told that on receiving the news of the disaster at Worcester, Seaforth fell into a deep melancholy and died at Schiedam in 1651. But it

* Wishart's *Memoirs*, pp. 444-5.

is barely conceivable that the intelligence of the defeat would prove fatal to a man in the prime of life—he was only forty-three—unless he was the victim of some disease which, as in his brother's case, carried him off prematurely; his end possibly being accelerated by the sad tidings from England. He is described by the Earl of Cromartie—not an unbiassed critic—as “a nobleman of excellent qualifications”; and Montrose himself, in a letter to the Earl, congratulated him upon his “noble and resolute carriage towards the King and his kindness to his friends, which had procured him so much respect among all honourable people as it is not to be exchanged for a world” . . . and he could “never forget” what he owed to him.* The importance of this testimony, coming from such a source, cannot be overlooked, and goes far to mitigate the harsh judgment which, on account of his feats of political jugglery, posterity has inevitably passed upon his memory. When it is recollected that, according to Clarendon, it was “a very rare virtue in that time” for a man to be “the same man he pretended to be”; that Montrose, Urry, Middleton, and Balcarres were all ardent Covenanters, and no less ardent Royalists, at different periods of their careers; it may be admitted that Lord Seaforth's mixed politics were not peculiar to him, although his was perhaps the most glaring case of inconsistency. He may have been a “subtill” man—so he has been described—but he was undoubtedly both an influential partisan, and in his private relations, a generous friend, and a chief who was capable of inspiring the devotion of his clansmen.

* Wishart's *Memoirs*, pp. 443-4.

CHAPTER XII.

WHILE Cromwell was pursuing the Royalists in England, General Monck was engaged in the task of bringing Scotland under the domination of the Commonwealth. So thoroughly did he perform his mission, that by the end of 1651, the whole of the Lowlands had submitted, Inverness was in the hands of the English, and the country became, to all intents and purposes, a province of England. The Marquis of Huntly had disbanded his men ; the Earl of Balcarres had followed his example ; and there was no organised resistance to the victorious arms of the Republic. A few stalwarts, however, continued to hold out, among them Kenneth Mòr Mackenzie, then a youth of sixteen, who, on his father's death, became Earl of Seaforth and Chief of Clan Kenneth. The career of this chief has been strangely overlooked by Highland historians. Indeed, the insurrection itself, in which he took so prominent a part, and in which the Island of Lewis bulked so largely, has received but the scantiest notice at the hands of all writers who have dealt with this period. An attempt will be made in the following pages to supply the omission, to some extent.

After subjugation came administration. Monck, the capable general, proved himself a capable governor. Moderation was the keynote of his policy, and in his care to avoid exasperating, he succeeded in reconciling the Scottish people to his rule. The institutions of the country were re-organised and Anglicised, and intermeddling of the clergy with State affairs was put down with a strong hand. But it cannot be asserted that, except for the loss of its independence, the country

suffered by the change; the contrary, it must be admitted, was the case. According to Clarendon, Monck "was fear'd by the nobility and hated by the clergy, so he was not unlov'd by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him than they had been accusom'd to under their own lords." According to the same authority, the clergy had good reason to regard the English with loathing. "Their preachers," he says, "who had threaten'd their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication" were "disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal."

To compel the submission of the Highlanders who still held out, three forces, commanded respectively by Colonels Lilburn and Overton and General Dean, were sent in the summer of 1652 to cross the mountains. Their mission proved to be an utter failure, and they were obliged to retrace their steps without doing any good; the Highlanders, in short, outwitted and befooled them. Clarendon describes in the following words, the methods pursued by the mountaineers in harassing the unwelcome English. "The Highlanders, by the advantage of their situation and the hardness of that people, made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters, and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more of their horses, and where there was most appearance of peace and subjection, if the soldiers stragled in the night or went single in the day, they were usually knock'd on the head, and no enquiry could discover the malefactors." The failure of the English to cope with this state of matters led to an agreement between them and Argyll and Huntly, in terms of which, and in consideration of a sum of £50,000 to be divided between the two Marquises, Argyll undertook to pacify the Western, and Huntly the Northern Highlands.

The duties of these noblemen as policemen of the Highlands may have been efficiently performed, but circumstances proved too strong for them. The outbreak

of the war between England and Holland, and the departure of Monck from Scotland to co-operate with Blake in the command of the English fleet, encouraged the spirit of insurrection in the Highlands. The opportunity of driving the English from the country was too favourable to be neglected. Early in 1653, negotiations were opened with the exiled King, with the object of utilising in the Royal service the differences between the Commonwealth and Holland. Lord Balcarres, who had submitted to the English, took an active part in these secret plans. On 23rd February, he wrote Charles concerning a proposed cession of the Hebrides, or some of them, to the Dutch. Here is his proposal with reference to Lewis. "As to the offer of the islands contained in the instructions, I think it may be of some use as to the engaging of the Hollanders to own your Majesty's interest; and besides, I conceive that the island of Lewis, which was most considerable and of greatest use to them of all the islands in Scotland, may be had, if the offer of it shall be more acceptable to them; so I am persuaded that my Lord Seaforth and his friends, out of their affection to your Majesty's service, shall be easily induced, upon your Majesty's command, to give them possession of the chief harbour in it."* Balcarres, who was married to Seaforth's cousin, no doubt relied upon his influence over his young relative to persuade him to hand over Lewis to the Dutch. Balcarres and the King were both apparently unaware of the fact that Stornoway Harbour (as well as the town of Stornoway) was, in point of fact, the property of the Crown, and as such, was at the King's absolute disposal. However, Lewis was not ceded to the Dutchmen, whose support was purchased by other means.

Whether with the special object of negotiating with Seaforth for the cession of the island, or in pursuance of his plans for fomenting a general rising in the Highlands,

* *Fragments Relative to Scottish Affairs*, p. 53.

Charles sent an Englishman named Crawford—not, by the way, an aggressively English name—"a black proper man," to Lewis, where he was received by the Earl. In May, 1653, while Crawford was with Seaforth, a privateer belonging to one Captain Brassie, and commanded by Captain Edwards, arrived from Ayr in Stornoway Harbour. The arrival of this ship puzzled Seaforth and his friends, who came to the conclusion that she had been sent by the King for Crawford. But all doubt was soon set at rest by the appearance of a lieutenant with seven or eight men, who came ashore for provisions, when it was ascertained that the *Fortune* was employed, not in the King's service, but in that of the Commonwealth. Seaforth at once decided on a hazardous course of action. He seized the lieutenant and his men, and sent a message to Captain Edwards, summoning him to surrender his ship for the King's service, and promising him terms. The letter written by the Earl is a naive document. It assumed that the captain and crew of the *Fortune* were employed in their present service with "greife of heart," and that they would willingly embrace the opportunity of transferring their allegiance to the King. The captain replied in a blunt, sailor-like fashion. Brushing aside the ingenuous sophisms of Seaforth, he demanded the instant delivery of his men, otherwise he would use the power "which it hath pleased God to putt into my hands." But the Earl in his own island, and among his own people, was not so easily intimidated. He made preparations for seizing the ship, whereupon the captain, recognising the futility of resistance, and notwithstanding his brave words, sailed out of the harbour, after discharging a couple of broadsides at the town.*

This overt act of hostility against the Commonwealth marked the beginning of Seaforth's undoing. Captain Brassie lodged a complaint with Colonel Lilburn, who succeeded Monck as Commander-in-Chief in Scotland ;

* *Scottish History Society*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 140-1. *Mercurius Politicus* (Vol. XLIV., pp. 2547 and 2820).

and Lilburn at once ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Blount to seize the Tutor of Seaforth (Mackenzie of Pluscardine) and as many others of the leading Mackenzies in the neighbourhood of Inverness as he could get secure. In reporting these occurrences to Cromwell, on 18th June, Lilburn suggested that Colonels Fitch and Cooper be immediately sent to Lewis with two men-of-war. "I doubt nott," he adds, "but what wee may bee able to doe uppon that island will soe startle the whole Highlands and islands that wee shall nott bee much troubled with them in such like cases heereafter. Undoubtedly, to make the Lord Seaford and his island (called the Lewes) exemplary will bee a very great advantage to the peace of this nation." Three days later, Lilburn reported to Cromwell that the Tutor of Seaforth and some of the other chiefs of the clan had been seized as hostages, including Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat. He suggested that this step be followed by more drastic measures, comprising the sequestration of Seaforth's estates, the seizure of Lewis, "which is very considerable, and would be of great advantage to our nation," and the garrisoning of Stornoway Castle to strike terror into the neighbouring islands.*

On hearing that his kinsmen had been arrested and imprisoned, Seaforth wrote an indignant letter to Blount, their captor, stating that before receiving the news, he had decided to release the men of the *Fortune*. He was not to be intimidated by the measures which had been taken: not "one haire of their head" would he release on that account.*

Meanwhile, Lilburn had received Cromwell's commands to reduce Lewis, with which he was eager to comply, conceiving it to be "a great opportunity" to punish Seaforth, from whom he had heard nothing about the men of the *Fortune*. The Earl received early intelligence of the preparations for his destruction, and immediately took counsel with his friends how to avert the storm. He was determined

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 148-9. *Idem.*, pp. 151-2.

to resist the invasion of the English. In order to strengthen Stornoway, he sent to Kintail for his guns, and constructed a fort on a small peninsula (Holm) near the town, where he placed two great guns and four sling pieces. No time was to be lost. A fleet of men-of-war and merchant ships with provisions was getting ready at Leith for the conquest of Lewis, the military force being under the command of Colonel Cobbet. The expedition attracted a considerable amount of public attention throughout the kingdom, the general feeling being that the seizure of the island was a strategic and commercial measure of the first importance; inasmuch as it would strike a deadly blow at the Dutch fishing industry, further the trading interests of the Commonwealth, and overawe the neighbouring districts.* During the month of July, Seaforth was occupied in pushing forward his preparations for defence; and Crawford was hurried out of Stornoway to France, with the subscriptions which had been collected throughout the Highlands for the King. The Earl then left Lewis to consult with his confederates at Lochaber, taking with him the men of the *Fortune*, whom he set at liberty; Lilburn, notwithstanding, still keeping Pluscardine and Sir John Mackenzie in prison pending the reduction of Lewis. A crisis was now approaching, and the Royalist leaders at Lochaber fully realised the gravity of the situation. The King's commission was read; the Earl of Glencairn was appointed Commander-in-Chief; and a general rising of the clans appeared imminent. Middleton, who, taken prisoner at Worcester, had escaped from the Tower of London, was in Holland working energetically for the assistance of the Dutch, his efforts being seconded by Colonel Drummond. The latter proposed to the States the pawning of Lewis, Skye, and other fishing centres, if they would send a fleet to Scotland.† But the Hollanders were slow to commit themselves. The arrival of a ship at Lewis with ammu-

* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 564; *Merc. Pol.* (Vol. XLV., pp. 2597-8, 2989). Seaforth is said to be playing "Rex" in Lewis.

† *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 235-7. *Thurloe*, Vol. I., p. 460.

nition and officers, of whom Lord Forrester was the most prominent, suggests, however, that the efforts which were being made on the Continent had not proved altogether fruitless.

Seaforth, accompanied by Lord Balcarres, left his colleagues at Lochaber, and returned to Stornoway to perfect his defensive measures. To his great chagrin, he failed to secure the support of his clansmen in the crisis which was now at hand. They regarded his seizure of the *Fortune's* men as a youthful indiscretion which bade fair to involve them in his own ruin. As their chief, they owed him respect and sympathy, but they repudiated his precipitate action and declined to associate themselves with it. From which circumstance, it may be inferred that even at this period, the blind attachment which in earlier times bound the clans to their chiefs, and led them to espouse their personal quarrels, irrespective of the merits of the dispute, was showing signs of weakening. Such being the attitude of Seaforth's clan, we are prepared for the fact that many of "the chief inhabitants" of Lewis fled from the island before the arrival of the English; and Seaforth himself again crossed the Minch, leaving his natural brother in charge of his interests in Lewis.*

The prospect of the English meeting with no resistance from the Lewismen caused Lilburn to issue fresh instructions to Cobbet. The latter was ordered to leave one of his companies at Orkney, and when he had garrisoned Stornoway with four or five companies under Major Bird (the future governor of Lewis), to make for Kintail and seize and garrison Eilean Donain Castle; then to proceed to the coast of Lochaber, whence he was directed to sail for Mull, and seize as many as possible of the Macleans, who were active enemies of the Commonwealth. Two of Colonel Cooper's companies, one of Major Bird's, and one of his own (Cobbet's) were considered by Lilburn to be sufficient to garrison Lewis. Cobbet was further instructed

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 160, 186, 221.

to call at the islands which lay on his route to Mull, and summon the chiefs on board to give security for keeping the peace. To facilitate negotiations, he was told to take with him from Lewis some of the natives, to serve as instruments of his commands to their fellow-Celts. In short, a complete subjugation of the Hebrides, as far south as Mull, was now in contemplation. Cobbet was encouraged in his mission by his superior officer, with the somewhat vague assurance that its successful accomplishment would carry with it his wish, that he might be crowned with more than a "lawrell." On the completion of his errand, Cobbet was to return to Lewis "to see how things are going on," and from Lewis he was to sail for Dundee with all possible despatch. His duties while at Lewis were mapped out. "Let your men o' war while you stay at Lewis go abroad two or three days if they may conveniently ; perhaps they may catch a Dutch East Indiaman." Special instructions were given to him about Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, who had refused to join the Highlanders, and had sent to Lilburn for an order of protection. "Be civil to him," ordered the cautious Commander-in-Chief, "but keep him or some of his friends as hostages till you return to Lewis, if you dare not trust him, but do it that he may not be discouraged."* Macdonald, however, a far-seeing man, and, according to Lord Broghill, a man of very great abilities, remained faithful to the Commonwealth to the end. The Captain of Clan Ranald had taken the same side, and had two months previously asked for a commission to employ as a privateer against the Dutch, a small frigate which he owned. Armed with the foregoing instructions, Cobbet sailed from Leith, but before he arrived at Lewis, the complexion of affairs had somewhat altered.

On 27th July, a proclamation was issued, calling upon the chiefs—of whom a lengthy list is given—to come south, provided with sufficient caution for keeping the

peace. The reply of the Highlanders was to unfurl, on the same date, the King's standard at Killin. Early in August, the Earl of Glencairn had a force of 4,000 men under his command, Middleton, who had just arrived in Scotland with some men and a supply of arms and ammunition, proving a valuable auxiliary.* Seaforth, having left his brother to make the best defence of Lewis he could, was now endeavouring to raise his clan to join the Royalists, and Macleod of Harris, who had hitherto remained neutral, was engaged on a similar mission. Lord Lorne, the eldest son of the Marquis of Argyll, had also joined the Royalists, while "the old fox," his father, ranged himself on the side of the Commonwealth. This was a convenient arrangement for preserving the estates of the Campbells from forfeiture, whichever side proved victorious; a system of hedging not uncommon in later insurrections. Seaforth appears to have succeeded in overcoming the temporary estrangement of his clansmen, who, seeing their chief irretrievably committed to the cause of the King, rallied round him, fired by his appeal to their patriotism and their ties of clanship. He sent the "firdix crosse" before him, summoning the Mackenzies to arms, and by 12th August, found himself at the head of 800 men, with whom he marched to the *rendez-vous* at Inverlochy.† Reinforcements had meantime arrived from Ireland to join the Royalists, who were determined to have 12,000 men in arms by the 20th August; and their determination appeared to be realisable. The moment seemed propitious for a concerted onslaught upon the English in the Highlands, and had Fortune proved kind, the enemy would probably have been driven south of the Grampians. But at this juncture, the news reached the Highlanders of the disastrous defeat, on 29th July, of the Dutch fleet by Monck off the coast of Holland; a defeat which was accentuated by the death of the brave Admiral Tromp.

* Middleton's arrival in Scotland in 1653 appears to have been overlooked by our historians, who deal exclusively with his second appearance in the following year.

† *Merc. Pol.* (Vol. XLV., p. 2954).

This news greatly dispirited the Royalists, who had counted upon the Dutch resistance creating a situation calculated to favour their projected campaign, if not, indeed, upon the active assistance of the States. The want of funds at the disposal of Glencairn also constituted a serious source of concern, while the tactics of the enemy in waiting to be attacked, instead of assuming the offensive, weakened the fighting ardour of the clansmen. The result was that the army which had lately formed so formidable a threat to the continued occupation of the English, melted away, like snow when the rays of the sun beat upon it.

Meanwhile, Colonel Cobbet was making a long voyage to Lewis, the weather being unfavourable. The protracted passage, coupled with the general movement on foot for driving the English out of the country, gave fresh courage to the Lewismen, who were afforded ample time to prepare for resistance. Lilburn reported to Cromwell, on 6th August, that the men in Lewis were up in arms to fight Cobbet. A fleet of twenty or twenty-five Dutch warships was reported to be on the north coast of Scotland, and it was believed that they were lying in wait for Cobbet's fleet, in order to obstruct his passage to Lewis ; a belief which may have been shared by the Lewismen themselves. Whether these were phantom warships, or whether Cobbet managed to elude them, he had no encounter with Dutchmen during his voyage. When, on 16th August, the English fleet hove in sight off Stornoway, it was found that the Lewismen had evacuated their fort, the strength of the English being probably greater than they had anticipated. The official report assigns no reason for the sudden collapse of the anticipated resistance. With military terseness, Lilburn merely states that the defenders quitted the fort and the town of Stornoway, and fled to the hills. But supplementary details are supplied in a letter dated at Stornoway, 7th September, written, apparently, by one of Cobbet's officers. He informs us that on the advance of

Cobbet, the "Redshanks" fired their beacons, and fled with their cattle and arms to the hills. Cobbet followed them in hot pursuit, but the Lewismen poured flight after flight of arrows on them in the valleys, until at length the English were "constrained to make face about." Cobbet then issued a proclamation calling upon the people to return to their homes, and assuring them of his protection. The refugees accordingly came in from the hills, but only some of them gave up their arms. Doubtless, they were agreeably surprised to experience such unexpected leniency at the hands of men whose character for ferocity, we may feel assured, had been represented to them in the blackest colours.*

Major Bird having died of a fever the day the fleet left Orkney, Major Crispe was left by Cobbet to govern Lewis with four companies. Crispe, probably fearing an attack by the Dutch, immediately proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of Stornoway and Holm. On Seaforth receiving the news of the capture of Lewis, he made preparations to strengthen Eilean Donain Castle, but his efforts do not seem to have been warmly seconded by his followers in Kintail. The day after the English landed in Lewis, a man-of-war was observed taking soundings near Eilean Donain, but Cobbet appears to have abandoned his intention of seizing the castle, judging, possibly, that the garrison at Stornoway would suffice to overawe the men of Kintail. He sailed from Stornoway on 27th August for Mull, calling at Skye on his way to secure the submission of Macleod of Harris ("Rory the Witty"). Receiving no reply to his summons to the young chief, he landed a party on the following morning, and found Talisker, the Tutor of Macleod, ready to resist him. Talisker was forced to retreat, whereupon Cobbet advanced to Dunvegan Castle, which was evacuated on his approach. The troops of the Commonwealth took possession of the castle, and on the following day, sent the Skyemen who had fled

* *Merc. Pol.* (Vol. XLV., pp. 2071, 2719, 2750, 2987). *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 221.

to the hills, a summons to surrender. In the meantime, Sir James Macdonald had been sent for to assist Cobbet in treating with the Macleods. Macdonald arrived next day, and succeeded in inducing them to come in. Terms were arranged, Macleod and his kinsmen binding themselves not to act against the Commonwealth on pain of the forfeiture of their estates; while Macdonald agreed to become sponsor for the laird's appearance before Lilburn to give security. We have seen that Macdonald had asked Lilburn for protection against possible molestation by the English. This was granted by a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, in which he forbade the soldiers to seize the stock, or to offer any violence to the persons or property, of Macdonald's tenantry in North Uist, "they doing nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth of England, and giving obedience to the present Government." Sir James secured a similar protection for Clanranald, of whose sympathies Lilburn was evidently in doubt, and who was granted the order only as a mark of favour to Macdonald. The latter, as a further stimulus to his friendship for the Commonwealth, was allowed an extension of two or three months further time in which to find security, in common with the rest of the chiefs.*

The Outer Hebrides and Skye being thus virtually annexed to the Commonwealth, Cobbet sailed to Mull to complete his mission, arriving there on 3rd September. After the dispersal of his army, Glencairn went to Mull, where a safe asylum awaited him with the Macleans, but he seems to have left the island before the arrival of Cobbet, who, with the assistance of Argyll, quickly reduced the Macleans to submission.

Lilburn was meanwhile corresponding with Cromwell concerning affairs in Lewis, which, says Lilburn, "seems to be a considerable place." Cobbet had sent the Commander-in-Chief an account of the island, which Lilburn had transmitted to head-quarters. The Protector gave

* *Merc. Pol.* (Vol. XLV., p. 3032).

express instructions about fortifying Lewis, stating that the Dutch had "an eye on it," and that it was necessary to keep it at all costs from falling into their hands. Lilburn endeavoured to re-assure him by stating that they were more likely to prefer Shetland, but promised to obey Cromwell's commands. Money and ammunition in the island were both running short, and Lilburn was forced to send to Edinburgh Castle and Leith for the requirements of the garrison. In view of the possible contingency of Middleton and the Dutch agreeing to capture Stornoway and fortify the harbour (or a harbour in Orkney), Cromwell was asked to send money and men in order to make the town secure against attack. Cromwell immediately ordered Lilburn to hasten the work of fortification, and to reinforce the garrisons in the Hebrides. The Commander-in-Chief, while anxious to obey the Protector's orders implicitly, found the resources at his disposal inadequate to cope with the situation. He discussed the matter with Cobbet, who had returned from Mull, and with others "who knew the islands," and informed Cromwell that the men who could be spared were insufficient to garrison the Hebrides efficiently. Even if they had 4,000 men, it would be easy for Middleton or any other enemy to land in twenty different places, unless the coast could be guarded by a squadron of warships, the assistance of which was impossible, pending the issue of the peace negotiations with the Dutch Republic. Lilburn therefore asked the Protector to re-consider his instructions, promising to carry them out faithfully if confirmed; he had already ordered the governor of Lewis to strengthen the fortifications of Stornoway. Lilburn's representations appear to have prevailed with Cromwell, for nothing further is heard of the proposed reinforcements, though there can be no doubt that the forts in Lewis were strengthened.*

That Cromwell, who had his spies everywhere, had

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 225-7, 230-232.

some ground for his fears of an attack on Stornoway by the Dutch, may be admitted. Middleton was again busy negotiating with the States-General on behalf of the King. He offered, with the assistance of 1,200 infantry and 200 horse, to put them in possession, twenty-four hours after their arrival, of whatever islands they might want for trading and fishing; to permit them to erect whatever forts they might deem necessary for the protection of their interests; and to place the revenues of the Orkneys at their disposal. And he represented to them that they might count upon the sympathies of the natives, who were ill-disposed towards the English. The States, fearful of embroiling themselves afresh in a costly war with the Commonwealth, received his proposals with the same caution that they had displayed on the former occasion. They would not supply him with men, but they would give him money, arms, and ammunition. On 17th October, they resolved to assist the Highlanders with a grant of 180,000 guilders, and by an order of 24th November, Middleton was permitted to convey to Scotland a specified quantity of arms and ammunition.

A recrudescence of activity was beginning to be apparent among the Highland Royalists. Glengarry and others were hard at work recruiting in the North Isles, and Seaforth was again moving in the same direction, although it was hinted in some quarters that he was not indisposed to come to terms with the English. One thousand men were to be ready about Martinmas, of which number Seaforth was to provide 300, Lochiel and Maclean each 200, while the remaining 300 were to be found by Glengarry and the Commander-in-Chief, the Earl of Glencairn. A movement of English troops from Inverness was thereupon ordered to "amuse and discourage some of Seaforth's confederates," and this measure seems to have gained its object. Seaforth received about this time a letter from the King, dated 12th September, in which Charles thanked him for his affection and courage, and promised never to forget the good services of himself and his father. He

would reward the Earl "as soone as wee shall be able." He encouraged Seaforth to proceed in his good work against the enemies, not only of his Royal person, "but of the nobility and auncient gentry of the Kingdom whom they intend to extirpate if they can." The King concluded his letter by hoping that Middleton would soon be with Seaforth, bringing him arms, ammunition, and good officers.* The attempt to show that the war resolved itself into a struggle between the classes and the masses will not, of course, hold water. Otherwise, it might have occurred to the Royal writer that the common people in the Highlands would, not unreasonably, be tempted to throw in their lot with the democracy of England, notwithstanding the ties of clanship which bound them to their chiefs. But Charles II. was as artful in winning the support of his friends by appealing to their personal interests, as he was forgetful in fulfilling his promises after their services had been secured.

A curious episode occurred in connexion with Glengarry and the Earldom of Ross, which may here be mentioned. Glengarry laid claim to the Earldom as the chief, according to his showing, of Clan Donald. In February, 1653, Lord Balcarres recommended the King, by letter, to create Glengarry Earl of Ross; and at the same time, by his agent, verbally advised Charles to do no such thing!† The King stoutly denied having ever promised the Earldom to Glengarry, but in a letter to the chief himself on the subject, evaded the difficulty by pretending that the lack of an official to prepare the necessary patent, was the reason of his non-compliance with Glengarry's wish. He would not be forgotten when the King came to his own; and so forth. The sequel to the story is not without interest. Charles actually granted Glengarry several warrants for the Earldom, but they never took effect. After the Restoration, Glengarry petitioned for the execution of these

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 201-2.

† *Fragments Relative to Scottish Affairs*, p. 53. *Clarendon Papers*, Vol. II., p. 205.

warrants, but was obliged to rest content with the title of Lord Macdonell of Aros. The reason why he never secured the Earldom is sufficiently obvious. It was tardily discovered—or wilfully overlooked—that on the forfeiture of John, Lord of the Isles, the Earldom of Ross had been inalienably vested in the person of the second son of the reigning monarch ; whence the impossibility of conferring the title upon any other subject. Early in the eighteenth century, Lord Ross of Halkhead made a similar attempt to obtain the Earldom, but for a like reason, if for no other, the attempt proved fruitless.

The King plied the Macleods with soft words, just as he plied Seaforth and Glengarry. Colonel Norman Macleod of Bernera had joined him—in spite of Macleod's submission to Cobbet—and had urged him to erect a Royal burgh in one of the islands ; but in a letter sent by Charles through the Colonel to Talisker, the Tutor of Macleod, evasion is again the chief feature. The convenient excuse that there was no officer to prepare the requisite formalities was once more employed, but the Tutor was encouraged to persevere in his project, and to hope for the time when the King could add "grace and favour" to it.* Thus did Charles stimulate his Highland adherents with vague promises, which were not infrequently evaded when their performance was inconveniently pressed. He was thoroughly conversant with the art of hooking fish with glittering baits of future rewards—when the King should "come to his own."

It has been mentioned that Middleton succeeded in obtaining, in October and November, a grant of money from the States of Holland, and permission to send a quantity of arms and ammunition to Scotland. Concurrent with Middleton's attempts to raise the sinews of war, a gathering of Royalists had taken place during September, in Stirlingshire, which Colonel Kidd, the governor of Stirling Castle, attempted to suppress. In

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 255.

the attempt, he was badly beaten, with the loss of sixty men, by Glencairn, under whom were Lord Kenmure, Lord Lorne, and John Graham of Deuchrie, the author of *Glencairn's Expedition in Scotland*. This successful skirmish brought fresh accessions to Glencairn's standard, Glengarry, Lochiel, Macgregor, Sir Arthur Forbes, and the Earl of Atholl all bringing contingents. Glencairn now had the men, and when Middleton had secured the money and the arms, the insurrection bade fair to become formidable. But once more misfortune, or the superior generalship of the English, nipped the rising in the bud. Morgan, an active officer of the Commonwealth, marched from Aberdeen to prevent a junction between Glencairn's army, and a force which was being raised at Cromar by Farquharson of Inverey. Glencairn was surprised by Morgan, and was forced to retreat through a glen leading to the forest of Abernethy, where he was pursued by the English and narrowly escaped disaster. This check necessitated a supply of additional reinforcements before further active measures could be taken ; and Glencairn, perforce, remained inactive for about five weeks at Cromar and Badenoch, awaiting recruits.

While these events were transpiring, the young Earl of Seaforth was not idle. In October, or early in November, he and Glengarry set out with 300 men to Lochaber, where they hoped to raise a considerable number of recruits, to fall upon the North and wrest it from the English. Foiled, apparently, in the attempt, Seaforth joined a band of Highlanders who were engaged in the congenial employment of harassing the English. The accession of Seaforth greatly heartened the Highlanders, whose tactics consisted in cutting off detached bodies of the enemy, in pursuance of which system of warfare, they penetrated as far south as Falkirk.* As the result, probably, of Seaforth's connexion with these "Highland Tories," his estates were sequestrated, a proceeding which Lilburn had recommended

* Gwynne's *Memoirs*, p. 213.

to Cromwell some months previously. Pluscardine had become Seaforth's cautioner, and had acquired an infeftment upon a portion of his nephew's estates as security. In a letter dated 10th December to the Commissioner at Leith, Lilburn instructed that official to respect Pluscardine's rights in the process of sequestration. The laird being one of the chiefs of "a great clan," it was politic not to drive him to extremities, and his security was therefore to be allowed to remain intact.*

The mind of Cromwell being still exercised about the security of Lewis against attack by the Dutch, he desired Lilburn to send him certain particulars about the island, which the Commander-in-Chief, after a conversation with Cobbet, duly supplied. He took occasion to point out to the Protector that the bays to the north of Stornoway were "very convenient places for landing men," and commenting upon the absence of a sufficiency of fresh water for the garrison, stated that he had sunk a well at Stornoway, "which proved very well."† He again reassured Cromwell on the subject of a Dutch invasion, asserting that the Hollanders rarely touched at Lewis, but were constantly calling at the Shetlands, from which fact he inferred that it was more important to have the latter group fortified during the war with the States.‡ Soon afterwards, Lilburn had occasion to feel alarmed for the safety of Lewis, against an attack from a totally unexpected quarter.

A man of Seaforth's temperament could hardly view with equanimity his great island-territory in the hands of the English, and he only awaited a suitable opportunity for making an attempt to wrest it from their possession. When he returned to the North after his adventures in the South, he set about planning the re-capture of Lewis, with the help of his sympathetic neighbours. News of these prepara-

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 294-5.

† This well may still be seen; it is situated near the junction of South Beach and Kenneth Street.

‡ *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 275.

tions reached the ears of Lilburn, who was much exercised in his mind how to avert the threatened danger. The want of shipping proved an insuperable obstacle in the way of preventing a landing in the island. He had asked for seven ships of war to patrol the coasts efficiently, but only three had been sent, and of these he could not spare one to help the Stornoway garrison or give them warning of their peril. To make matters worse for the English, some Dutch ships were discovered to be prowling about on the coast, acting in concert with the Highlanders. Captain Brassie (the owner of the *Fortune*), who had been trading in Lewis, came across one of them which had just landed arms at Lochaber, and exchanged shots with her, but was afraid to come to close quarters. Next day, the Highlanders put some men on board the Dutchman, and Brassie sailed away. The Tutor of Macleod, whose fidelity to the Commonwealth was not of long duration, was Seaforth's principal associate in the projected recovery of Lewis, and as a preliminary measure, passed over to Harris with the object of raising his tenantry there. But the Harrismen declined to arm, being overawed by the garrison at Stornoway, whose vengeance they feared if the attempt were unsuccessful. They took good care, notwithstanding, to give no hint to the English of Talisker's presence in Harris until he had safely reached the mainland. On his way back from Harris, Talisker tried to surprise some trading vessels belonging to Captain Brassie, which seem to have been lying at anchor at the Long Island; but his intention being discovered, the ships put out to sea, and managed to escape. What with the risk of being attacked by the Highlanders, and the danger of being snapped up by Dutch warships—one of which was at that time in the Minch, acting in conjunction with Macleod—the English vessels then trading at the Outer Hebrides, had experiences which were not devoid of excitement. Talisker's men, it appears, consisted chiefly of Irishmen who had fled from their native country, and these troops were expected to be reinforced by Lord Kenmure.*

* Gwynne's *Memoirs*, p. 223.

In January, 1654, a "very strange report" reached Dalkeith, that Lord Seaforth had stormed the fort at Stornoway with 1,400 men, and taken it—a report which the correspondent "cannot believe," as the governor was confident of holding his own against "thousands." Later, this vague rumour crystallised into definite information. Colonel Norman Macleod had landed in Lewis (at Loch Shell) with four or five hundred men and had taken to the hills, where he remained for three or four days, waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack the garrison. The landing had been effected so secretly and expeditiously, that the English seem to have been totally unprepared. A party of the garrison were in the town of Stornoway, unsuspecting of danger, when Colonel Macleod pounced upon them and killed twelve men, before the soldiers in the castle were aware of what had happened. Assistance was quickly forthcoming from the fort, and the Englishmen were relieved by their comrades. In the fight that ensued, Macleod was beaten back, and the garrison, after removing their goods into the castle and burning their houses, prepared for a siege. Local tradition states that the attack on the garrison was made at night, jointly by Seaforth himself and Norman Macleod, the former leading his force by the lands of Torry, and the latter by Bayhead. According to Lewis accounts, the Islesmen killed many of the garrison and attacked the trenches, but were unable to draw the Englishmen out of the fort, and having no artillery, Seaforth was compelled to abandon the siege. Whatever the exact facts may be, it is certain that the attack failed, and that Lewis remained in possession of the English.* It is strange to find a Lewisman who wrote only thirty years after the event, making the amazing statement that the garrison was "under Cromwell." Probably the writer (John Morison of Bragar) merely

* Gwynne's *Memoirs*, pp. 238 and 243 (from *Merc. Pol.*). John Morison's *Account of Lewis* (*Spott. Misc.*, p. 342). *Clarendon Papers*, Vol. II., p. 314. "Torry" is obviously *Eilean Thorraidh* near Marabhigh (Lochs), and seeing Macleod landed at Loch Shell, it is probable that the column from Torry was led by him, and that from Bayhead by Seaforth.

meant that it consisted of Cromwell's men, but his statement appears to have given rise to misunderstanding. That the Protector himself was popularly believed to have acted as governor of Lewis, may be inferred from the fact that the principal thoroughfare in Stornoway at the present day is named "Cromwell Street," a curious illustration of the inaccuracy of tradition.

The failure of Seaforth's attack led to savage reprisals. There is no room for doubt, that prior to his attempt, the Earl had been in close communication with his friends in the island, and that his plans for storming the fort were not only made with their connivance, but were carried out with their active assistance. The garrison, infuriated by their losses, proceeded to slaughter without mercy those who had taken part in the plot, and "the old natives" of Lewis joined them in the butchery. Fighting for their lives, Seaforth's men made a stout resistance, and accounted for a number of the Englishmen; while the inter-clan war which was re-commenced between the Lewismen themselves, caused, we are told, "great devastations in those parts."* The "old natives" can be no other than the descendants of the Siol Torquil and their sympathisers. The renewed hostilities between the Macleods and the Mackenzies carry us back nearly half a century, when similar scenes were being enacted. It is a striking fact that after fifty years of Mackenzie rule in Lewis, the Macleods were still unreconciled to it, and were eager to seize a favourable opportunity of striking a blow at their ancient enemies. It affords clear proof that there had been little real fusion between the two clans during a whole generation, and that the remembrance of the wrongs which they believed their chiefs to have suffered at the hands of the Kintail family, had rankled deeply in the hearts of the Macleods. The history of the past was not to be eradicated in fifty years, in spite of the undoubted benefits conferred upon the island by the Mackenzies. But the

* Whitelocke, p. 584. Gwynne, p. 257.

memories of Highlanders are proverbially long ; especially for injuries sustained, not only by themselves, but by their forefathers as well.

We left Glencairn at Badenoch awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. These consisted chiefly of 1,000 foot and 50 horse, under the command of Lord Lorne, who joined Glencairn about the middle of December. A fortnight later, owing probably to some disagreement, he secretly left the camp, taking with him the whole of his men. Glencairn at once gave orders to Glengarry and Lochiel to pursue him, and, if necessary, take him back by force, a proceeding which appears to have been more than justified by the fact that Lorne was making his way to Ruthven Castle, then garrisoned by an English force. The Campbells were overtaken, and Lorne, with his horse, incontinently fled, leaving his infantry at the mercy of their pursuers. There was bad blood between Lorne and Glengarry—they had on one occasion gone the length of drawing upon one another—and in view of past feuds and the incidents of the Montrose campaign, it could hardly be expected that a chief of Clan Donald would be disposed to treat the Clan Campbell with lenity, if he had it in his power to deal them a blow. When, therefore, the Campbells offered to return to the camp, Glengarry was for attacking them, but the opportune arrival of Glencairn prevented bloodshed. The Campbells were persuaded to deliver up their arms, which were, however, restored to them, on their promising allegiance to the King and obedience to Glencairn. The incident thus terminated peacefully, but the Campbells again deserted in a body a fortnight afterwards. Lorne himself, the prodigal son, returned to the bosom of his family, and to the paths of submission and safety.

The defection of Lord Lorne and the Campbells was a serious blow to the Royalists, but it was partially repaired by accessions from other quarters, among the recruits being a party of London volunteers under Colonel Vogan, a gallant officer who was soon afterwards wounded in an

engagement, and, as the result of unskilful surgical treatment, succumbed to his wounds after an apparent recovery. Finding himself sufficiently strong to take the offensive, Glencairn marched into Aberdeenshire to menace the English and obtain supplies for his army. At White-lums, near the Earl of Mar's Castle of Kildrummie, where an English garrison lay, Glencairn remained for a fortnight, inactive and unmolested. Thence he moved to Elgin, which he made his head-quarters, and where he was joined by the Marquis of Montrose (son of the great Montrose), and by Lord Forrester and others.

In March, 1654, Middleton landed in Scotland with two vessels from Holland. He was accompanied by Lord Napier, Sir George Monro, Major-General Dalziel, Colonel Lewis Drummond, and about 200 men, and was furnished with a commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Royalists in Scotland. In that capacity, he sent a communication to Glencairn at Elgin, desiring him to move north and join him in Sutherlandshire. At the grand muster of the combined forces which took place at Dornoch, Middleton found himself in command of 3,500 foot and 1,500 horse. These included 600 of Seaforth's men under the leadership of Kenneth Mòr, who had marched from Ross-shire to join Middleton, after having distinguished himself by capturing with boats, an English vessel laden with a cargo of arms and ammunition.* The supersession of Glencairn by Middleton gave rise to considerable ill-feeling among the partisans of the former, which reached a climax at an entertainment given by the superseded General to his successor. An imprudent, not to say impudent, remark by Sir George Monro about Glencairn's following led to hot words, followed by two duels, one between Glencairn and Monro, in which the latter was severely wounded, and the other between Captain Livingston, a friend of Monro, and a gentleman named Lindsay, resulting in the death of Livingston. These disputes were peculiarly unfortunate

* Whitelocke (April, 1654).

for the Royalist cause. Disunion at this juncture was fatal. Glencairn, perhaps, acted a wise part in withdrawing himself with 100 horse from the army—Middleton had placed him under temporary arrest for fighting Monro, and Lindsay had been shot for killing Livingston—until these divisions should be healed. Passing successively through Assynt, Kintail, and Lochaber, he reached Killin, where he was joined by Sir George Maxwell, the Earl of Selkirk, and Lord Forrester. His forces being now increased to 400 men, he sent them to Middleton, while he himself proceeded to the castle of Colquhoun of Luss, from which centre he endeavoured to foment a Royalist rising in the Lowlands. Ultimately, he made terms with the English on 4th September, 1654. Thus ended Glencairn's connexion with the insurrection, in the conduct of which he showed himself to be a brave soldier, if not an energetic leader, and a staunch Royalist, if not a military genius. If he failed to win decisive victories over the enemy, he succeeded in winning the affection of his men; and his supersession by Middleton, while it weakened his rival's authority with the army, elevated Glencairn into the position of a popular hero who had received shabby treatment.

Middleton's campaign against the English proved to be short-lived. He, too, was a gallant soldier, and a commander of greater renown than Glencairn; but it required a Montrose to surmount the difficulties which surrounded him. And Middleton, good general though he was, had no pretensions to be the lineal descendant of Montrose. The worst blow that befell the Royalists was the final arranging of peace between England and Holland, in April, 1654, after protracted negotiations. The English navy was now free to co-operate with the land forces, and interrupt the communications of the Royalists. "That peace," as Middleton expressed it at a later date to Hyde, "did strike all dead."* But in spite of this severe disappointment, much might yet be done to harass the

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI., p. 196.

English ; a system of guerilla warfare was now, indeed, the only course open to the Royalists.

After peace had been made with Holland, General Monck returned to Scotland to resume the chief command of the Commonwealth troops. One of his first acts was to vest in trustees the estates of the leading Royalists, including those of Lord Seaforth; and on the same date (12th April), to pass an ordinance for the union of Scotland with the Commonwealth. The Town Councillors of Edinburgh vied with one another in showing him every mark of respect. A feast, which took six days to prepare, was given in his honour ; and, with disgusting servility, the Bailies of Edinburgh stood and served at table as amateur waiters.* By feasts and fireworks, the City of Edinburgh rejoiced in a humiliation which, from one standpoint, should more fittingly have been mourned in sackcloth and ashes. The pride in national independence, which from the earliest time had been the birthright of every Scotsman, seemed to have been temporarily forgotten, or was outwardly suppressed, by the civic authorities of the Capital of Scotland. That the Highlanders, at least, regarded their struggle against the Commonwealth in the light of a patriotic duty, is suggested by a notice which, during one of their raids, they posted on the market cross of Dumbarton ; making it clear that their quarrel was with "our ancient old enemy, the Kingdom of England."

Monck commenced the government of Scotland by plastering the market cross of Edinburgh with proclamations. By these, he declared Cromwell to be the Protector of the three kingdoms ; he formally united Scotland to the Commonwealth ; and forfeited the estates of the leaders of the so-called "rebels," among whom figured Kenneth Mòr, Lord Seaforth. He endeavoured to end the insurrection in the Highlands by the same method. A proclamation was issued, imposing fines upon parents whose sons had joined the insurgents, and upon parishes which had

* Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 125.

supplied them with volunteers ; but the fines do not appear to have ever been exacted. The same proclamation offered a reward of £200 for the capture, dead or alive, of the leaders, who are specifically named as Middleton, Seaforth, Kenmure, and Dalziel. "Such a vile sum," wrote Hyde to Middleton, "will be contemned in the Highlands" ; and so, in fact, it was, the offer being received with derision.*

The attempt to wage war by proclamation having failed, Monck had recourse to sterner measures ; fire and sword were now the weapons to be employed. In concert with Morgan, he endeavoured to come into touch with the insurgents in the Highlands, Colonel Brayn, with 2,000 foot from Ireland, co-operating in the attempt to hem the Royalists in on all sides, and force them to an engagement. The policy of Middleton was to avoid a pitched battle, and by constantly harassing the enemy, to tire them out and force them to retreat. These tactics nearly proved successful, the English troops being reduced to great straits for want of food ; but by his persistent watchfulness, aided by good luck, Morgan at length succeeded in getting in touch with the insurgents, whom he surprised in a defile near Loch Garry, on 19th July. Middleton was caught at such a disadvantage, owing to the nature of the ground, that he was unable to offer battle on equal terms, and an orderly retreat was the most he could hope to effect. His troops behaved gallantly, until the pressure of the enemy became so severe that they were forced to disperse, every man to shift for himself. The loss of life was small, but the dispersal was complete ; and the insurrection was virtually brought to an end.†

Monck behaved like the statesman that he was, after Morgan's success at Lochgarry. Instead of inviting a fresh rising by harsh measures of reprisal, he sought to win over the leaders of the insurgents, by offering them fair and reasonable terms. The wisdom of this policy was proved by its results. The back of the insurrection had been

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Intro., Vol. XXXI. p. 29.

† Heath, pp. 361-2

broken, but by a series of petty skirmishes, in which the insurgents met with some success, the spirit of resistance was still maintained. But the conciliatory attitude of Monck and his subordinates gradually reconciled the Royalists to the inevitable, and one by one, most of the leaders gave in their submission. Middleton and Seaforth were invited to avail themselves of Monck's clemency, and seemed disposed to come to terms. But on re-consideration, Middleton withdrew from the negotiations, on the ground that his submission might be construed as a cession of Scotland by him, as the King's representative, to the Commonwealth ; a punctiliousness which, although honourable to Middleton, certainly showed a want of recognition of existing facts. The negotiations with Seaforth were also abortive at this stage : he appears to have decided to stick loyally by Middleton. In a despatch to Cromwell dated 7th July, Monck described Seaforth, Glengarry, and the Clan Cameron as the "stubbornest enemies in the hills," who overawed the other clans. He was yet to find that their stubbornness was proof even against his well-meant efforts to bring them in.

In a memorandum to the Earl of Lauderdale, drawn up by the Earl of Moray in 1662, it is stated, in a series of charges against Kenneth Mòr and his father, that the former wished to marry Cromwell's daughter, and undertook, if his desire were consummated, to secure the Highlands in the Protector's interests. A letter from Seaforth to the King, dated 2nd June, 1654, contains what is probably a reference to this rumour. In that letter, Kenneth Mòr, after regretting that his services to Charles had been so fruitless, and remarking that notwithstanding the desperate state of his fortunes, he conceived it to be his duty to continue his work in the Royal interest, expressed his appreciation of the King's concern for him, "espetically that mark of kyndnesse your Majesty has been pleased to expresse concerning my mariege." "I know not," he went on to say, "that (how) your Majesty may have heard of it, bot indeed no designe that way hath ever entred in my

thoughts. And if it had, your Majesty's commands wold certainly dirrect me from anything might be displeasing to your Majesty."* If, as there seems reason to believe, the projected marriage that displeased Charles II. was that between Kenneth Mòr and the daughter of Cromwell, we have here a categorical denial from Seaforth himself of the truth of the report. And of course, if there were no foundation for the report of the marriage, its corollary, the intention of Seaforth to endeavour to bring the Highlands over to the English, was equally baseless.

The same memorandum makes the statement, that Seaforth ultimately capitulated with the English, without the knowledge of Middleton, who was his guest at the time; and Middleton himself charges the Earl with having basely deserted him.† But the facts of the capitulation and the events which immediately preceded it, are these. Early in September, Middleton, with his allies, made preparations to land his forces in Skye, where he could reckon upon the assistance of the Macleods, but upon the antagonism of the Macdonalds. Whether this move was intended to secure Skye as a base of operations, or whether it was directed against Sir James Macdonald of Sleat as a punitive measure, we are not informed. But it is certain that one Captain Monson was sent to Skye, to prevent Middleton from effecting a landing on the island; and that Macdonald of Sleat assembled his men, marched to meet Middleton, and beat him back, the Royalist forces being compelled to retire in the direction of Lochaber. Captain Monson remained at Skye to re-victual, and gave a supply of ammunition to Macdonald, who is described as being "very faithful to the Commonwealth." It appears from a letter dated 26th October, from Monck to Cromwell, that Seaforth, Glengarry, Lochiel, and Macleod, who seem to have been co-operating with Middleton, repaired to their various spheres of influence to recruit their clansmen, and

* *Scott, Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI., pp. 117-8.

† MSS. in Brit. Mus. (Add. 23,117, Fol. 17). *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Rep. XI., Part I., p. 137.

were under engagement to meet Middleton on the following 25th November. We are left in doubt as to the result of their efforts, but in November, 500 Irishmen landed in Skye to join Middleton, who was simultaneously reinforced by Seaforth and his recruits. Judging, however, by the sequence of events, the attempt to organise a fresh rising on an important scale, was unsuccessful. In December, Middleton was in Kintail with Seaforth, and while there, tried, with the assistance of Colonel Norman Macleod, to intercept Macdonald of Sleat, who was passing through the country on his way to Skye. But Macdonald was on his guard, and succeeded by means of a ruse in eluding his pursuers. He divided his men into two parties, one party with the baggage going in a certain direction, while he himself, with the rest of his men, went another way. Middleton captured the baggage party, but missed the laird of Sleat, who crossed to Skye in safety.*

A terrible storm was raging in the West Highlands during the month of December; the worst that had been known for twenty years. To the fugitives in the hills, this was an additional misfortune. Their sufferings were so great, that the question of arranging terms with the English again forced itself to the front. The first to commence negotiations with Monck was Middleton himself, who wrote the English General on the subject, on 15th December. Seaforth followed suit, by approaching Colonel Fitch with a like object. On 10th January, 1654, the treaty with Seaforth was signed. An impartial examination of the conditions cannot but lead to the conviction that they were absolutely fair, if not generous, and were entirely free from the element of vindictiveness. The clauses of the agreement, briefly stated, are these.

(1.) A general amnesty to be granted, except to those who had killed men in cold blood, and Seaforth to be confirmed in possession of his estates.

(2.) For the lands in Kintail and other places, which had

* *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI., p. 225.

been wasted and burnt by the English, no cess (land tax) to be payable by the Earl or his tenants until the following harvest ; and for the lands which had escaped devastation, the tax to be remitted till 1st January, 1654, from which date the tax was to be exacted. For the rents payable by the Earl to the Crown, and now due to the Protector, one half of the arrears to be remitted till 1st January, 1654, from which date the whole amount was to be payable.

(3.) The Castle of Eilean Donain to be garrisoned by the English, when so desired, and Seaforth to give security for its delivery.

(4.) The Earl and his followers to proceed to an appointed place near Inverness within thirty days, and there deliver up their arms, after giving twenty-four hours' notice. All horsemen who embezzled or concealed their arms, to lose the benefit of the treaty.

(5.) The Earl to give security, amounting to £6,000, within thirty days after delivery of the arms, for the peaceable deportment of himself and his clan ; his tacksmen and officers also to provide security ; and all others of the Clan Kenneth to give an undertaking to keep the peace.

(6.) Seaforth's officers to have permission to retain possession of their horses and swords, which they were to sell within three weeks ; and to be provided with passes to their homes. The Earl and his clan to be allowed to carry arms, for their defence against broken men and thieves within their own bounds.

(7.) The money expended on the survey of Seaforth's properties, by order of the Trustees for Surveying Delinquents' Estates in Scotland, to be refunded before the Earl entered into possession.

(8.) Those concerned (of whom a list is given) in inflicting damage upon the laird of Foulis to be tried by court-martial. Seaforth, his uncle Simon Mackenzie of Lochslinn, Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul, John Mackenzie of Ord, John Mackenzie of Applecross, and Thomas Mackenzie of Inverloath, to give satisfaction, according to judgment of

law or court-martial, to Neil Macleod of Assynt, for such damage as he had suffered by them ; unless they could show that Assynt sent supplies to the enemy, in which case he was to have no reparation.

(9.) The articles of the treaty to be ratified by the Protector or Parliament, and delivered to the Earl within two months.*

The treaty was signed by Monck, and, on behalf of Seaforth, by Sir Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine. The clause which mentions Neil Macleod, relates to the depredation committed by the Mackenzies, in the previous year, on his estate. The feud between the Seaforths and Neil is a long story, which need not be told here. It has been shown how the Macleods of Lewis became possessed of Assynt, and through them, the estate passed, early in the fifteenth century, to Tormod, second son of Roderick Macleod, who thus became the founder of the Assynt branch of the Siol Torquil. After the Mackenzies had obtained possession of Lewis, they sought means to enforce their claims to the superiority of Assynt, the lands and barony of which had been included in the barony of Lewis. It is not proposed to enter here into the merits of the dispute, nor of the persecution which Neil Macleod suffered at the hands of his powerful opponents, particulars of which are given in Mr. Alexander Mackenzie's histories of both clans. Suffice it to say, that Neil was bested by the Seaforths, not only in the field, but in the Courts of Law ; his charter-chest was conveyed to Brahan Castle ; the Clan Kenneth obtained the legal rights to, and the actual possession of, Assynt ; and all the efforts made by Neil and his friends failed to oust them. The prejudice existing against Macleod, owing to his supposed complicity in the delivery of Montrose, operated adversely against him.

The negotiations between Middleton and Monck again fell through, and the Royalist General remained irreconcilable, until his departure from Scotland in 1655. Macleod

* *Scott Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI., pp. 234-7.

arranged a treaty of peace with the English on 29th May, and Glengarry, who adhered to Middleton until the latter left Scotland, accepted, on 8th June, the terms offered him by the enemy ; he was the last of the chiefs to give in. Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel was no less stubborn in his resistance to the Commonwealth. By his daring exploits and his harassing tactics, as narrated by Pennant, and fully confirmed by the Public Records of England, Lochiel created so profound an impression upon the English, that they were only too pleased to accept his submission on his own terms. He marched to Inverlochy with pipes playing and banners flying, and laid down his arms in a manner more befitting a victor than a suppliant for peace. The governor of Inverlochy, in admiration of the Highlander who had twice decisively beaten his soldiers with greatly inferior forces, paid the respect to his foe which one brave man pays to another. He prepared a feast in Lochiel's honour, and at this unique ceremony, the old enmity between the two was quenched in the flowing bowl. After the Restoration, Lochiel went to London to arrange for a grant of land, which, in the apportionment of rewards by the King, he richly deserved ; but by a "trick" of the Earl of Lauderdale, his mission proved unsuccessful.

The insurrection was now a thing of the past. The Highland chiefs had achieved nothing by their spirited resistance to foreign domination. Undoubtedly, their innate loyalty to the monarchy was the chief motive in their struggle against the Commonwealth ; but the loss of national independence, antipathy to the rule of the Saxon, and, perhaps, the hope of future reward for their services, were also factors which were not without weight. Whatever their motives, it is to their credit that they acted the part of patriots while the Edinburgh Bailies were acting the part of waiters. It may be freely admitted, that the English commanders in Scotland conducted the war against the Highlanders on humane principles. It is true that instances are on record, where the exasperated Englishmen compelled their prisoners to throw dice, "and the

tenth man was hanged or shot” ;* and the massacre of Seaforth’s adherents in Lewis does not redound to their credit ; but their general behaviour, in view of all the circumstances, appears to have been exemplary. The discipline of the soldiers, in conjunction with the conciliatory policy of Monck, went far to prevent the insurrection from assuming more formidable proportions ; and served effectively to stamp out the embers of rebellion, which a series of reprisals would have fanned anew into a conflagration. But the disunion among the insurgents themselves produced more fatal consequences to them, than the measures taken by the English to subdue them. In a letter from the King to Seaforth, dated October, 1654, he deplored the jealousies existing among his friends ; and in stating that the Earl’s adherence to Middleton should serve as an example to the other chiefs, he expressed the pathetic hope that “ poor Scotland ” might be destroyed by the malice of her enemies, not by the disunion of her friends.†

John Morison of Bragar tells us that Stornoway Castle was “ broken down by the English garrison in Cromwell’s time.” This statement is doubtless correct, for, apart from Morison’s credibility, it is only reasonable to suppose that prior to their departure from Lewis (in the reign of Charles II.), the English would have dismantled and demolished the forts. An undated document which, however, bears internal evidence of having been written early in the seventeenth century, states that “ the house of Stornowa in the Lewis is fallen, albeit it had bidden the canon be the Erle of Argyle of auld, and by the gentilmen ventourares of *lait*.”‡ The latter reference, of course, is to the Fife Adventurers, so it may be assumed that the Mackenzies rebuilt, or restored the castle, after they obtained possession of Lewis. The remains of the fort were removed in the year 1882, owing to the exigencies of increased harbour accommodation ; an act of apparent

* Whitelocke. No other historian mentions this practice.

† *Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI., pp. 206-7.

‡ See *supra*, p. 147.

Vandalism which the circumstances of the case, unfortunately, rendered necessary. A flagstaff now marks the site of the historic building.

There seems reason to believe that soon after his submission, Seaforth's fidelity to the Commonwealth became suspected; or that the Royalist insurrection in England in March 1655, which was easily suppressed, may have induced Monck to adopt extraordinary measures of precaution to prevent trouble in the Highlands. Whatever the cause, Seaforth was, in that year, lodged in prison in Inverness. He was obviously not regarded as a dangerous captive, for he obtained leave, under bail to Governor Miles Man, to visit Kintail; and on his way there, organised a great deer hunt in the forest of Monar, and a programme of athletic sports for the delectation, apparently, of the Englishmen who accompanied him.*

In 1656, intelligence reached Cromwell that the King was preparing for a descent upon Scotland. Monck at once seized a number of Scottish Royalists, including Lord Seaforth, who had been actively engaged in the recent rising. When, owing to the energy of the Protector, or from other causes, the projected invasion was abandoned, the King's partisans were set at liberty. But in 1659, after the resignation and retirement of the gentle Richard Cromwell, and the restoration of the Rump Parliament, the Royalists, both in England and Scotland, again bestirred themselves. The conspiracy in England was dissolved in July, by means of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis; and in the following month, Monck, fearing that the King might land in Scotland during the commotion in England, once more seized the Royalist leaders and imprisoned them, Seaforth being again among the number. There is nothing to show the nature or extent of the Earl's connexion with these plots for the restoration of the King. Whether he was actually engaged in any or all of the conspiracies, or arrested on suspicion of complicity, or what

* Anderson's *Guide to the Highlands*, p. 435.

is perhaps most likely, merely detained in order to keep him out of mischief, the fact remains that he was not set at liberty until the Restoration opened his prison doors. Of his subsequent career little is known. He was Commissioner of Excise for Inverness-shire in 1661, and Sheriff of Ross in 1662, the bounds of that shire having, in the previous year, been finally delimited. In 1667, he was appointed, jointly with the Earls of Argyll and Atholl, Overseer of the Highlands, with comprehensive powers for the punishment of thieves and the restoration of stolen goods. In the same year, we find him figuring as Commissioner of Supply for Ross-shire. In 1675, the commission of shrievalty was renewed to him and to his eldest son, Kenneth, jointly. The appointment as Sheriff was preceded by a dispute between him and the Earl of Moray, the predecessor of the latter having had a gift from Charles I., in 1647, of the Sherifffdom of Inverness, of which Ross, at that time, formed a part.* This dispute led to the drawing up of the memorandum by Moray to the Earl of Lauderdale, which has been quoted in the preceding pages; a document marked, not unnaturally, by a strong anti-Seaforth bias. Lord Seaforth, it appears, had presented two petitions to the King, which based his claim to favourable consideration, on the services rendered by his father and himself to the Crown, and the losses suffered by both in the promotion of the Royal interests. The petitions also complained of the rigid dealings of the Earl's creditors, and sought a remission of past feu-duties payable to the Crown. The Earl of Moray, in reply to Seaforth's petitions, enumerated the charges against father and son, some of which have been noticed. The father, according to Moray, "never suffered but by his misgovernment of his private estate. And the sone hes been so farr from a sufferer that he hes been a gainer; for these lands his creditors ought to have been in possession of, according to

* It would appear that the Act of 1503, providing for the division of the Sherifffdom of Inverness, did not take effect; or was allowed to become inoperative; or that the Sherifffdom of Ross was at first subsidiary to that of Inverness.

their rights, he raised the rents thereof, as he did off all the rest of his estate, he not wanting a farthing of his rent, notwithstanding some sufferings of his tenants, or such of his friends as had possession by private rights." The memorandum denied the rigid dealings complained of by Seaforth, and sarcastically combated the suggestion that the arrears of feu-duty should be remitted.*

It is probable that these charges against Seaforth influenced the King and his advisers in their dealings with the Earl, for, with the exception of the Sheriffdom of Ross, and the other offices which have been named, there is no record of any mark of Royal favour having been shown him. But he was not alone in this neglect. While honours were showered upon Middleton, none of his old Highland comrades—if we except Glengarry who got a trumpery title—received rewards which were in any way adequate to the sacrifices which they had undergone for Charles II. It may be that loyalty should be its own reward, but gratitude is a virtue wherever it is found; and gratitude was not one of Charles Stuart's strong points.

By an Act of Parliament, a Commissioner was appointed to report upon the losses of various Royalists during the "usurpation"; and Seaforth's name is found on the list. If the Earl had hopes of relief from the creditors of his estates, they were rudely dispelled by an Act passed in 1663, ratifying certain comprisings led against the property by virtue of an Act of 1649. The Acts of the Parliament of 1649 were, after the Restoration, declared to be null, but an exception was made in this instance for the protection of the rights of private persons. In 1678, an arrangement was made with the creditors, by virtue of which the Seaforth estates were vested in trustees (Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat and others) for behoof of the heir, Kenneth Og.† We shall notice, later,

* MS. in Brit. Mus. (Add. 23,117, Fol. XVII.).

† Seaforth wrote Tarbat on 7th August, 1678, alluding to a current report, which he refused to believe. He expressed the hope that whatever preferment Tarbat might receive from the Duke of Lauderdale, would not "interfere" with him (Seaforth).

the legal proceedings which arose out of this arrangement. For the present, it suffices to state that during the lifetime of the first Earl Kenneth, the Seaforth estates were in the hands of his father's creditors. Had the Royalist rising been successful, the Earl would probably have effected the recovery of his property, but it was not to be. Kenneth Mòr, the big Earl, big both in body and mind, must have been a disappointed man and a disillusioned Royalist when he breathed his last in December, 1678. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Kenneth Og, whose mother was Isobel, sister of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat.

Kenneth Og inherited the political faith of his father, and, early in his career, he was provided with an opportunity of striking a blow in the cause of the Stuarts.

The unsuccessful insurrection in Scotland of the Earl of Argyll, who was brought to the scaffold, like his father the Marquis, and the equally useless rising in England of the Duke of Monmouth, were the first signs of the gathering storm which was soon to sweep the Stuarts for ever from the British throne. When, in 1688, the storm burst, and James II. lost, by his tyrannical bigotry, his crown, his kingdom, and the respect of his subjects, a minority, influenced by considerations of personal attachment, religious sympathy, or unswerving loyalty to the name of Stuart, was left to champion the luckless King. Among these was the Earl of Seaforth, a co-religionist of the deposed monarch, and therefore attached to his cause by the strongest of ties. He accompanied James to France, or joined him there; and when the King, in 1689, sailed to Ireland to head his partisans in that country, Seaforth was one of the four Earls who attended him. He took part in the famous siege of Londonderry and other engagements, and as a reward for his services, James created him Marquis of Seaforth.*

Meanwhile, the Jacobites in Scotland under John Gra-

* His son was also recognised as a Marquis by the Jacobites. Kenneth Og was made a Privy Councillor in 1685, and was one of the eight original Knights of the Thistle on the revival of that order in 1687.

ham, Viscount Dundee, were stirring. By the Covenanters in the latter part of the reign of Charles II., the two best hated men in Scotland were Graham of Claverhouse and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat. The former harried them in the field, and the latter showed no mercy in the Courts. Hence the "bloody Claver'se" and the "bloody Mackenzie" became the bogies of the Convenanting Whigs. Whether they deserved the obloquy which attached, and in a modified degree still attaches, to their names, may, conceivably, be a debatable point. That their measures were harsh, vindictive, even cruel, may be fairly granted. But their conception of their duties, however repugnant to modern ideas, if it does not excuse their severities, at least palliates them. It is certain that they were neither the monsters which they are sometimes represented to have been, nor, probably, was Claverhouse the pattern of chivalry which some of his modern apologists would have us believe. The truth here, as in so many other cases, doubtless lies between both extremes. Graham and Mackenzie were both men of marked ability : one was probably the greatest soldier, and the other the greatest lawyer, of the day, in their native country. Mackenzie was a Lord of Session at the age of thirty-one, and successively filled the offices of Lord Justice-General and Clerk-Register of Scotland. He was also a Privy Councillor, and in the reign of Queen Anne was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. He adopted the judicial title of Lord Tarbat ; was in 1685 made a peer of the realm, with the titles of Viscount of Tarbat, Lord Macleod,* and Castlehaven ; and by Queen Anne was created the first Earl of Cromartie. At the Revolution, Mackenzie went over to the side of William of Orange, and rapidly rose to great influence and authority, crowning

* The Cromartie family emphasised their descent from the Macleods of Lewis in various ways. In 1688, an unnamed person, but who from internal evidence appears to have been John Mackenzie, son and successor of the first Earl of Cromartie, threatened to bring an action against Seaforth for the recovery of the lands of Lewis, which, he asserted, belonged formerly to one of his predecessors (? Torquil Conanach) by his daughter who was an heiress. (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report II., Part II., page 24).

his career in the reign of Queen Anne by being one of the chief promoters of the Union. But his old colleague, Dundee, remained faithful to King James, and ended his career at Killiecrankie. This, then, was the man who was the Jacobite mainstay in Scotland, at the time his Royal master was fighting for his crown in Ireland.

Opposed to Dundee was General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, an ex-soldier of fortune, like Graham himself, both being men who had made their military reputation in the Dutch wars. Dundee depended entirely on the Highland clans for the success of his insurrection. Viscount Tarbat, who, a Highlander himself, understood his fellow-Highlanders better even than Dundee, endeavoured to checkmate the latter by detaching the Highland chiefs from the cause of James. There seems good ground for believing, that if the negotiations had been left in his hands, the movement would have been stopped at the outset, and much useless bloodshed and misery averted. But the business was bungled, and the differences between the Jacobites and the Williamites were referred to the arbitration of the sword. The events of Dundee's campaign are well known to every student of Highland history ; from the first hide-and-seek campaign of Mackay, down to the final encounter at Killiecrankie, on 27th July, 1689 ; when one of the most complete victories ever gained by an army of Highlanders was practically nullified by the death of their leader. When Dundee was in Lochaber, a month before the battle, he wrote a letter to John Macleod of Harris (whose harper, by the way, was the famous "Clarsair Dall," Roderick Morison, a native of Lewis) reviewing the situation generally. From that letter, it would appear that among the chiefs who had mustered their men in obedience to the summons of the General, were Allan Macdonald, the youthful Captain of Clan Ranald, attended by his tutor, Ranald Macdonald of Benbecula, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat and North Uist, and Macneill of Barra ; the whole of the heritors of the Outer Hebrides being thus engaged in the Jacobite cause. Macleod, however, for some reason,

abstained from joining Dundee, while Seaforth, of course, was fighting in Ireland at the time ; so it may be doubted if there were either Lewismen or Harrismen at Killiecrankie, though the Uists and Barra were represented.

In a letter dated 30th November, 1689, addressed by James to Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, the King intimated his intention of sending Seaforth to Scotland to head his clan ; the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of James, to follow him as soon as the season permitted the shipment of horses from Ireland. In this letter, the King expressed himself as "afflicted" at the news of the death of Dundee ; but hoped that the work so "happily begun" by that general would be carried on, since "no less than the preservation of the hereditary succession of our Crown is at stake." Above all things, James urged union among his partisans, and in wishing success to their joint efforts, promised that he would reward them "out of such forfeitures as shall come to us by the unnatural rebellion of the rest of our subjects there."* It may be questioned whether, even as a matter of policy, Charles II. or James II. helped their cause much by appealing to the cupidity of their supporters. By taking such low ground, they eliminated the higher considerations which influenced the most chivalrous of their friends in drawing the sword for them. An appeal to the generosity of the Highlanders would have proved a more powerful incentive to the best of the chiefs. While winnowing the chaff from the wheat—the mere fortune-hunters from the men of principle—such an appeal would have ensured the enthusiasm of a staunch, if reduced band of adherents, whose support was not to be measured by material rewards. This system of drawing bills on futurity was not flattering to the motives of the Highlanders. In the case of Charles II., few of the bills had been met at maturity ; and it says much for the credulity, or, as we prefer to put it, the innate loyalty of the chiefs, that after their past experience, they continued faithful to the family

* *Cal. of State Papers* (1689-90), p. 338.

of large promises but small performances. Prince Charles Edward avoided the mistake of his ancestors in the rising of 1745. His appeal was directed to the best part of the Highlanders' nature, and the result was a passionate attachment to his person and his cause, to which history furnishes few parallels. But James II. was of a meaner spirit, and preferred to secure the allegiance of the Highland clans by inciting them to break the tenth commandment.

In January, 1690, Seaforth was still in Ireland. In that month, he wrote from Dublin to Macdonald of Sleat, expressing great satisfaction to hear of the readiness of himself and his men to serve the King, "which is the greatest proof you can give of your loyalty." "Nothing," he adds, "shall be wanting on my part to do you right and kindness ; and that I may appear a true gentleman, pray order some one in your island to have a fine plaid ready for me."* From the petition of one Sir Thomas Southwell, we find that Seaforth left for Scotland on 1st May. Southwell, whose life Seaforth had saved after he had been condemned to death by the Earl of Clanricarde, and who accompanied Seaforth to Scotland, makes the astonishing statement that he drew the latter to King James's party, and thus disappointed the enemy of 3,000 of his clan.† Whether this was mere braggadocio on Southwell's part, or whether the Earl was really wobbling between the two parties, we are left to conjecture ; but the suggestion of disloyalty to James, is strongly at variance with Seaforth's expressions of aggressive Jacobitism.

The death of Dundee placed the supreme command of the Highlanders in the hands of Colonel Cannon, who might have achieved some success with an army of regulars, but who was totally unfitted to lead the clans. The fruits of the victory at Killiecrankie, which, had Dundee lived, would probably have meant the subjugation of the whole of Scotland, were wholly lost by the incapa-

* *Cal. of Treasury Papers*, Vol. XI., No. 51, p. 153.

† *Cal. of State Papers* (Nov. 1691–Dec. 1692), p. 91.

city or inertness of his successor. Mackay of Scourie was soon enabled to take the field again, confident of retrieving the defeat at Killiecrankie, now that the "deil o' Dundee" no longer led his formidable Highlanders. His anticipations were realised, for the caution, not to say the timidity, of Cannon, and his impolicy in restraining the fighting ardour of the clans, gave Mackay an advantage which decided the issue in his favour. The repulse of the Highlanders at Dunkeld, where the gallant obstinacy of the Cameronians saved themselves from annihilation, further dispirited the clans, and finally led to their voluntary dispersal, disgusted with their commander, but steadfast in their loyalty to King James. Mackay, a generous enemy, endeavoured at this juncture to induce them to lay down their arms; but a spirited letter addressed to him by the chiefs, in reply, showed that although temporarily discouraged, they were not disposed to admit defeat. "We scorn your usurper and the indemnity of his Government. Those of us who live in the islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange his frigates."* Such were the uncompromising terms in which they answered Mackay's well-meant overtures. And among "those of us who live in the islands" appear the names of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, Macdonald of Benbecula, and Macneill of Barra.† A week later (24th August), a bond was signed by the insurgent chiefs, obliging themselves to assemble in September for the service of King James, and in the meantime, to stand by one another in the event of attack. Macdonald of Sleat was to bring 200 men, Benbecula, 200, and Barra, 50. Lochiel was by common consent chosen to command the clans, Colonel Cannon, in whom the Highlanders had lost all confidence, being now an impossible leader. Mackay, disgusted with the supineness of the Government, wished to throw up his command, but failing to obtain even temporary leave of absence, applied himself,

* *Parl. Records* (Keltie's *Highlands*, Vol. II., p. 385).

† Colin Mackenzie, afterwards of Kinachulladrum, Seaforth's uncle, was one of the chiefs who signed the defiant message to Mackay.

like the good soldier that he was, with additional energy, to the suppression of disaffection in the Highlands. His plan was to erect a fort at Inverlochy, of sufficient strength to overawe the Western Highlands ; and in spite of the want of Government support, he managed to surmount his difficulties with the help of the citizens of Glasgow. These preparations were not without their effect upon the insurgents. But the arrival of Major-General Buchan from Ireland, in April, 1690, whence he had been sent by James to assume supreme command of his supporters, heartened the Highlanders afresh. A conference took place to decide upon a course of action, when it was resolved to renew the contest immediately after the spring. In the meantime, Buchan was to harass the enemy on the borders of the Lowlands, while emissaries were sent to the islands, in particular to Skye, to sound the clans and ascertain the support upon which the insurgents might count from that quarter. On ascertaining that Buchan had taken the field, Mackay ordered Sir Thomas Livingston, who was stationed at Inverness, to keep a watch on the movements of the Jacobites. The operations that succeeded — in which Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, a brother of the Jacobite General, was associated with Livingston—were not productive of any tangible result, until Livingston came in touch with the insurgents at Cromdale on the Spey. A skirmish took place, in which Buchan, taken by surprise, was worsted, and his men were dispersed.

Such, then, was the condition of affairs in Scotland when Seaforth came over from Ireland, with a body of troops, to give his powerful support to the Jacobite cause. Mackay having completed the erection of a fort at Inverlochy—which he named Fort William in honour of the King—was about to lead a force to Mull to subdue that island, when he received orders to proceed south in view of an anticipated invasion of the French. The insurgents took advantage of his absence to resume offensive operations, but the promising commencement of this fresh campaign underwent a change when Mackay, on the subsidence of the French

alarm, returned to the North to lead the Government troops in person. Buchan and Cannon, the latter of whom had rejoined the Jacobites as second-in-command, had pushed as far north as Inverness, where they waited for Seaforth, with whose reinforcements they intended to make a concerted attack upon the town. But the celerity of Mackay's movements wholly disconcerted them, that commander having wisely determined to disperse the insurgents before the rising in the Highlands could become general. The arrival of the troops in the neighbourhood of Inverness, before the Mackenzies had joined their allies, completed the discomfiture of the insurgents. Buchan and Cannon turned tail and fled to Lochaber ; and the insurrection was at an end.

Seaforth was placed in an awkward situation. Had the proposed junction between him and Buchan been effected in time, the whole course of the campaign might have been altered, but the flight of Buchan left him exposed to the vengeance of Mackay, whom he was too weak to meet single-handed. There was nothing for it but to make the best terms he could. He sent his mother and Mackenzie of Coul to interview Mackay. The latter refused to consider any terms which did not include the personal surrender of Seaforth. A reluctant consent to this condition was wrung from the Earl ; but to save his credit, he desired Mackay to send a body of men by night, who were to effect his capture in such a way as to create the impression that he had been surprised by them. But Seaforth failed to play the game, for on the arrival of the troops sent to apprehend him, he declined, on the plea of ill-health, to be arrested. His unconditional surrender would have placed his vast estates at the disposal of the Privy Council of Scotland ; and although his deception may have been inexcusable, his strong objection to place himself at the mercy of an unscrupulous gang, like some of the members of the Council, is perfectly intelligible. Mackay, annoyed at the trick played upon him, prepared to proceed to extremities, and informed the Earl that unless he surrendered at once,

his estates would be ravaged by fire and sword. At the same time, he instructed the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay, and Ross of Balnagown, all staunch Whigs, to hold in readiness 1,000 men under Major Wishart to occupy Lewis, should Seaforth persist in his obstinacy. Notwithstanding these preparations, Mackay was unwilling to give effect to them. Seaforth's men were "all Protestants, and none of the most dangerous enemies," although the Earl was a Catholic ; and the General, himself a sound Protestant and, what was better, a man of sound principles, was averse from making the innocent Mackenzies suffer for the stubbornness of their chief. He therefore sent a secret intimation to Seaforth of his intention, hoping that at the eleventh hour, the Earl would re-consider his decision.* In the result, Mackay was relieved from an unpleasant duty. Seaforth surrendered and was sent to Edinburgh under a strong guard, but was released on giving security for himself and his friends. Probably he had to thank his uncle, Lord Tarbat, for the leniency of the Government.

In June, 1690, after negotiations with the Government, undertaken with the express sanction of King James, the Jacobite leaders agreed to a cessation of hostilities until 1st October ; and we find that Seaforth was compelled to provide further security against taking up arms until the expiry of that date. The Earl of Breadalbane—a name of sinister import to Highlanders—conducted the negotiations on behalf of the Government. In order to make the submission of the Jacobites permanent, he was entrusted with a sum of £15,000 or £20,000 to buy up the claims which the Earl of Argyll and other Superiors exercised over their feudal vassals. No more unfortunate choice of an agent could have been made. A contemporary describes Breadalbane as being "cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, but slippery as an eel." Before the Highlanders, he posed as a friend of theirs and of King James ; before the Government, he posed as a zealous partisan of King William. But

* Mackay's *Memoirs*, pp. 101-2.

the truth is, that the man for whom he worked was neither King James nor King William, but John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane. How the money which was placed at his disposal was employed, remains a mystery to this day. "The money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting among friends," was his answer when required to give an account of his stewardship. Wherever the money went, there is nothing to show that the Highland chiefs received much benefit from it. As the result, however, of the negotiations between Breadalbane and the Jacobites, who received the sanction of James for arranging a treaty, the Government issued a proclamation, on 27th August, 1691, promising an indemnity to all who had been in arms, and who should take the oath of allegiance to King William before the 1st of January, 1692. James and his supporters recognised that their cause was, for the time, hopeless, and that the stern necessity was forced upon the Highlanders to come to terms with the Government. But the expectation of the Government, that at last the trouble was over, proved to be illusory.

In the autumn of 1691, the Highlands were once more in a state of political ferment. A fresh rising was being organised, and a number of Highlanders again unsheathed their claymores. Among the latter was Seaforth, who was driven to the hills, and Brahan Castle was occupied by a garrison under Ross of Balnagown. King William's Councillors were divided in their opinion as to the best means of putting down the rising, and preventing a spread of the conflagration. There was the peace party, the ablest exponent of whose policy was Lord Tarbat; and there was the party whose sole remedy was uncompromising war to the knife. "Several of your Councillors," wrote Tarbat to King William, "thought it dishonourable to treat with them, and all these thought it better to root them out by war than to give them any favour." The Earl of Argyll trimmed. Without going the length of the war party, he "was against such concessions as affected his interests."

The Earl of Breadalbane proposed a fresh armistice until the end of November, and offered his services to treat with the clans. General Mackay, who was then ready to lead his troops against the insurgents, was opposed to a policy of conciliation, having, as a soldier, a greater belief in the efficacy of force than in the negotiations of statecraft. The firebrands prevailed ; and a force under Major Fergusson was sent to reduce the West Highlands and Isles to submission. At this stage of the proceedings, Tarbat intervened to save, if he could, the Highlanders from "ruin," and to prevent those who were wavering from being driven to desperation. But although backed by Colonel Hill, the brave and humane governor of Fort William, Tarbat's representations were frustrated by the war party, and the expedition against the insurgents was set in motion. Major Fergusson harried the coasts of the Jacobite chiefs, from Mull to the Long Island ; while the Highlanders on the mainland discreetly kept out of the way of Mackay, who "judged it not fit to seek them out." Much credit seems to be due to Colonel Hill, for his methods of warfare against the Highlanders. Instead of exasperating them by severity, he sought to subdue them by treaty. He succeeded in detaching Seaforth from the irreconcilables, and in extracting a promise from him not to rejoin the enemy, until the result of the pending negotiations should be declared. In terms of his agreement with the Colonel, Brahan Castle was to be evacuated by the garrison, and the Earl suffered to re-occupy it peacefully. Hill communicated with Lord Tarbat on the subject, and sent a report to the King's Commissioners ; but for some unknown reason, the report never reached its destination, and Seaforth was left to nurse his chagrin in the hills. When General Mackay left the Highlands, Colonel Hill resumed his negotiations with the chiefs. With the exception of Seaforth, they had all determined to hang together—which, although in a totally different sense, was precisely what the war party wanted them to do—and treat for peace in a body ; and they had decided to inform King James of

their resolution. All they required was to have a general indemnity, security in their possessions, and a small payment to certain of their number "to put them at ease." The attitude of the chiefs was well known to Hill, who thus found an easy basis for negotiations. But, with criminal recklessness, the Government continued to ignore the advice of the peacemakers, and to listen to that of the Jingoës. The Commissioner, though convinced by Hill and Tarbat of the wisdom of pacific measures, was over-ruled by the war party, and refused to interfere with the military dispositions which were being made for crushing the insurgents. General Mackay again took the field with so considerable a body of men, as to render organised resistance on the part of the Highlanders, impossible.

It was at this stage that Lord Tarbat again addressed a long and weighty letter to the King, detailing the recent occurrences, and earnestly pressing for a reversal of the policy which was being pursued. He pointed out the vast expense which was being incurred, with such barren results, and the misery suffered by peaceable subjects, equally from the "necessary harassing" of the army and the "ravaging and robbing" of the enemy. "Twenty such campaigns," he declared, would not reduce the Highlanders; for, notwithstanding the utility of the Fort William garrison, it would never conquer the enemy nor adequately protect the Lowlands from their incursions. "All their estates will not recompense a tenth of one year's losses, and giving them what they desire is less loss than to keep up the army three months, besides three years." But he had an alternative suggestion to offer. "I ventured to tell you that persuading the Highlanders was a good way to fatigue your enemy and waste money, but in my opinion was not so fit a way to reduce the Highlands as by posting the army so as to block them up within the hills, and meanwhile invest them by sea. But neither way is so easy and secure as by treaty, which the tenth part of what is already expended would have done." With reference to Seaforth's position, Tarbat wrote in the same spirit. The Earl was

still in the hills, he told the King, but had not joined the enemy. "Nor do I wish he should, for he would add too much strength to them." If tolerable conditions were offered to him, he would probably "come over and be a peaceable subject to you, and if he should join the enemy, ten times so much will not reduce him." The "tolerable" conditions suggested by Tarbat, embraced an indemnity and protection for his person and estates; a payment of £1,000 to repair the damage done to Brahan Castle and estate by the garrison; and relief from the oath, as bearing on his religious belief, "because he is a Papist."

There is a notable statement in Tarbat's letter to King William, which deserves special attention. "One thing," he declares, "all the clans desire, which is as much for your advantage as theirs, which is, that all these superiorities be bought from the Highland lords, so that they may hold their estates immediately of you, and having them immediate vassals." By assuming these superiorities, and by keeping a small garrison in Lochaber, and a man of ability, "being no Highlander," as lieutenant-governor there, "you will be indeed master of the Highlands much as ever King of Scotland was." Lochiel and Glengarry Lord Tarbat calls the "activest" of the chiefs, Maclean and Macdonald (of Sleat) the "most powerful." The distribution of £10,000 among the chiefs would, he thought, be sufficient to satisfy them; and he expressed his willingness to go north, presumably to treat for peace.* Tarbat had considerable confidence in his own influence with his fellow-Highlanders, and more particularly with his own clan. Some years previously, he boasted to Mackay that he would overturn in eight days, more than Seaforth could advance in six weeks, in the country of the Mackenzies. But he did nothing to confirm this boast.

An instructive contrast to Tarbat's pacific views are those given in a memorial, drawn up, apparently, by an Englishman, relating to affairs in Scotland at this period.

* *Cal. of State Papers* (Nov., 1691-Dec., 1692), pp. 60-2.

The writer entirely gives his case away by the virulence of his animosity against the Highlanders. They are "barbares"; a people "without any principle of religion or honour"; always ready to strike a blow "without caring what they have promised, if they are not disarmed." "Religion," he declares, "serves here (in Scotland) sometimes as a pretext; or else they are generally poor, and having to fish in troubled waters, gold and silver, or the hope of obtaining some, is always the principal motive which moves them." After these unflattering statements, we are prepared for the policy which is proposed. "The only way of feeling sure of them" (the Highlanders) "is by restraining them by means of small garrisons." Three garrisons, supported by two regiments of foot and two of dragoons, would be sufficient to subdue them. According to the memorial now quoted, the chiefs had told Breadalbane openly, when negotiating with him, that they would have no compunction about breaking their word in the event of a rising in Scotland, or an invasion from abroad, taking place.* But there is reason to believe that their attitude was secretly encouraged by Breadalbane himself, who, judging by subsequent events, was quite capable of luring the unsuspecting Jacobites to their ruin.

The part taken by Breadalbane and the Master of Stair, in effecting the destruction of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, is well known. The result of the inquiry which was held on the infamous massacre, is detailed in Somers' *Collection of Tracts* (pp. 529-561), and it would be foreign to the scope of this work to attempt to apportion the blame, or discuss the painful subject in any way. But recent research has brought to light the interesting fact, that far from Macdonald of Glencoe being the only one of the Highland chiefs who had neglected to take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January, 1692 (as is generally believed), we have the authority of King William himself for stating, that by the 11th of January, "all of them" had refused

* *Cal. of State Papers* (Nov., 1691-Dec., 1692), p. 62.

the offers made by the Government, and "several of their chieftains and many of their clans" had not taken the proffered indemnity. The truth is, that the Government knew beforehand that the chiefs would not all come in by the 31st December, 1691; and a fortnight before that date, orders were given for taking active measures against those who remained obstinate. And we find the King informing the Privy Council of Scotland, on 11th January, 1692, that an expedition under Sir Thomas Livingston was to be sent to the Highlands, to "cut off those obstinate rebels by all manner of hostility." A war of extermination, in point of fact, had been decided upon, the expeditionary force to be empowered "by fire and sword and all manner of hostility, to burn their houses, seize and burn their cattle, plenishing, or clothes, and cut off the men." No terms were to be offered; but those who surrendered unconditionally, as prisoners of war, were to have their lives spared. If the common people submitted, they were to receive quarter, but would be required to take fresh tacks of their property.*

The massacre of Glencoe was the beginning and the end of the war of extermination. Not only was it a crime unsurpassed, even in Scottish annals, for treachery and ferocity, but it was a mistake which might have cost William of Orange his throne. The thrill of horror which ran through the length and breadth of the land, gave just cause for alarm to the Government. With the state of feeling in the country which the tragedy had aroused, all further attempts to "cut off" the Highlanders had to be abandoned. Indeed, the "barbarous" Highlanders were so horrified by the doings of the emissaries of civilisation, that, for the moment, they were quelled into submission. Colonel Hill, in a letter to the Earl of Portland, dated 28th February, declares that the events of the winter campaign had "put the Highlanders under great consternation," and that they were all "very submissive and

* *Cal. of State Papers* (Nov., 1691-Dec., 1692. Intro.).

humble." He recommends mercy to the fugitives from Glencoe, then hiding in "caves and remote places," and adds, "there are enough killed for an example and to vindicate public justice." Seaforth, whose Castle of Eilean Donain was in Hill's hands, had come in,* therefore his clansmen were likely to remain quiet. Young Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat is a "peaceable inclined man," and his relations in Skye being mostly Protestants, no danger is to be apprehended from them. Clanranald "who is one of the prettiest, handsome youths I have seen" had, with all the chief of his friends, taken the oath, "with the greatest frankness imaginable." He had gone to his uncle, Macleod, to get some money to enable him to wait upon the King in person; and he (Clanranald) would be governed by the King's pleasure, but was anxious so to be disposed of as to "better his education." "It will," adds Hill, "be an act of great charity to breed him!" "I have sent," says the Colonel, "to McNeil of Bara (a remote island) who I doubt not will come in with the rest, so all the work is now done but the settlement of a civil jurisdiction," for which, according to the writer, the people were crying out.† But Colonel Hill's optimism was not justified by events.

From a fragment of a proclamation by the King in 1692, we find that Sir Donald Macdonald—Hill's "peaceable inclined man"—Allan Macdonald of Clan Ranald—the "pretty handsome youth"—Glengarry, Lochiel, Maclean, and Colin Mackenzie, the uncle of Seaforth—the latter being in prison—were again in open rebellion. Lord Tarbat was now offered an opportunity of putting his pet theory of pacification into practice. He was empowered to offer in the King's name, "such honour under that of earl, and such sums of money not exceeding £2,000 sterling, to any one chief or tribe of those above men-

* He had apparently surrendered, and was imprisoned in Edinburgh, but was released in January, on finding caution to appear when called upon, and on condition that he should not go ten miles beyond the walls of Edinburgh.

† *Cal. of State Papers* (Nov., 1691–Dec., 1692), p. 153.

tioned ; and also to secure them in all that they possess by law, or were secured in by gifts from our Royal uncle, King Charles, under the Great Seal of Scotland ; and so indemnify them and every one of them who shall come in and submit to us and our laws, in manner aforesaid, against all accusations, punishments, and dangers, for all crimes and deeds committed by them preceding their submission.”*

Such a complete reversal of the policy of extermination, is the clearest possible indication of the state of panic into which the Government had been thrown, by the strong feeling aroused by the butchery at Glencoe. From extreme severity they now turned to unexampled leniency. “Bribe these troublesome Highlanders into submission. Give them anything they want : make them knights, peers, anything short of an earldom, to get rid of them” ; such, in effect, was their cry. And the choice of an agent fell upon the right man. Had Lord Tarbat’s counsel been followed earlier, the insurgents would have long before given in their submission ; great loss of life and vast sums of money would have been saved ; and the massacre of Glencoe would have been rendered impossible. The precise use that Tarbat made of his authority is uncertain ; but we know that the system of pensioning the Highland chiefs was pursued by King William, and continued by his successor.

In July, 1692, King William ordered the Privy Council of Scotland to cause process of treason to be issued against the Earl of Seaforth, “for his invasion with forces from Ireland and his behaviour since.”† The Earl appears to have led an exciting life during the first six months of 1692, a term of imprisonment alternating with an escape ; that, in turn, being followed by a fresh surrender. Ultimately, he was lodged in Inverness Castle, and the Government, losing patience, decided to proclaim him a traitor. A lengthened spell of imprisonment broke Seaforth’s spirit, and he threw himself upon the Royal clemency. On 1st

* *Cal. of State Papers* (Nov., 1691–Dec., 1692), p. 547.

† *Idem.*, pp. 366–7.

March, 1697, an order was issued for his release, and for the desistence of the process of treason. Whether Seaforth believed that Lord Tarbat was responsible for his troubles, or had failed to help him out of them, it is certain that the relations between the two men were strained ; and although attempts were made by the Mackenzies, on the Earl's release, to patch up the quarrel, there is nothing to show that they were successful. Seaforth seems to have passed the remainder of his life mainly in France, the management of his estates being in the hands of his mother and his brother, Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Assynt and Conansbay. He was married to Lady Frances Herbert, daughter of the titular Marquis of Powis, and was succeeded in the Earldom of Seaforth—or the Marquisate, from the Jacobite standpoint—by his son William (Uilleam Dubh) who, on his father's death in Paris in 1701, was a mere youth.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE Jacobite rising of 1715 had its inception in disappointed ambition on the one hand, and an act of incivility on the other, although its roots lay deeper than both. John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar, was Secretary of State for Scotland at the time of Queen Anne's death in 1714, having succeeded the Earl of Cromartie in that office. A Whig at the time of the Union, he had found no difficulty in changing his political views when his opinions formed a barrier to his advancement. When King George, on his arrival in England, threw himself into the arms of the Whigs, Mar was ready to adapt himself to the altered circumstances. His position, as dispenser of the late Queen's bounty to the Highland chiefs, provided him with a means of influence in the North of Scotland which he sought to turn to good account. He procured the signature of a number of the chiefs to a letter, professing loyalty to the person of George; and endeavoured to deliver to the King an address by the Highlanders, of like import to that which his brother, Lord Grange,* had prepared. By thus hinting, not obscurely, that he had the clans at his back, who were prepared to be the friends or the foes of the new *régime* at his dictation, Mar hoped to secure the Royal favour. But the King refused to receive the address, on the ground that it had been concocted at the Court of the "Pretender." Mar's advances were rudely repelled, and he was unceremoniously dismissed from office. As

* This Lord Grange was the husband of the unfortunate lady who was abducted from her home and kept concealed in St. Kilda, Uist, and elsewhere for a number of years. Her sufferings ultimately affected her reason, and she died in Waternish in 1745 in a state of poverty and idiocy.

a matter of policy, no graver error could have been made by George I. The King acted like a boor, and had soon to pay a heavy price for his rudeness. Mar swore revenge, and the insulted chiefs were heartily with him in his resentment. No Stuart would have behaved so ungraciously as this German new-comer had done; and their secret attachment to the native House was intensified by the attitude of the foreigner. They were ripe for a rising, and the man to lead them was ready to place himself at their head. But they had yet to learn that an able statesman is not necessarily a skilful soldier.

The convocation of the Jacobites, held at Braemar, on 27th August, 1715, under cover of a great hunting match, was the first move in the projected insurrection. Those of the assembly who hesitated to take the irrevocable step were won over by the persuasiveness of Mar, who was more fitted for the council-chamber than for the field. The youthful Earl of Seaforth was one of the Highland chiefs present. His adhesion to Mar evidently preceded the Braemar gathering, for he was attainted for treason on 24th June, 1715, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown.* He was suspected of, and arrested for, complicity in the ill-fated French expedition of 1708, and was probably kept under close surveillance after his temporary detention. Mar himself, as the great-grandson of George, second Earl of Seaforth, had Mackenzie blood in his veins, and, curiously enough, was the vassal of the head of Clan Kenneth for certain lands which he held in the Highlands.

The Government attempted to meet the threatening danger by means of legislation. They passed the Clan Act, hoping to detach loyal vassals from Jacobite Superiors, and *vice-versâ*. They passed an Act, calling upon those noblemen and chiefs who were suspected of Jacobite proclivities to appear at Edinburgh, within stated periods,

* *Appeals to the House of Lords* (1719), p. 156. Elsewhere, it is stated that he was attainted on 7th May, 1716, for the part he took in the rising of 1715. The correct date is given on the Earl's portrait in Brahan Castle.

to give security for their allegiance. But the time was past for legislative intimidation. With few exceptions, the summons to Edinburgh was ignored, and the insurrection was begun. Scarcely had the Jacobite chiefs reached their homes, when they were again summoned by Mar to meet him at Aboyne, on 3rd September, to decide upon an immediate plan of campaign.

The attitude of Seaforth, with his powerful following, was of the utmost importance to the Jacobites. Without his assistance, their chances of success were greatly diminished; upon his help appeared to rest, to no inconsiderable extent, the issue of the impending struggle. The young Earl seems to have been largely under the influence of Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, a fervent Jacobite; and that influence was exerted with all the persuasiveness that "old Borlum" possessed. But it is unlikely that any outside pressure was really necessary to induce Lord Seaforth to take up arms. A sincere Jacobite, and an attainted rebel, he was forced both by sympathy and self-interest into the arms of the Government's foes. His young English wife—Mary Kennett of Coxhoe in the County of Durham—and his mother entreated him to keep out of the rising. A number of his clansmen, too, were opposed to the enterprise, and drew up a remonstrance urging caution, especially until the active co-operation of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, of the Tutor of Macleod, and of Mackinnon, could be assured. To the women his answer was, that they possessed neither the spirit, courage, nor virtues of the Spartan mothers! Possibly not, but they possessed the quality of prudence, in which the impetuous youth had shown himself to be conspicuously lacking. Brigadier Mackintosh opened the ball by marching into Inverness on 15th September, and proclaiming the Chevalier at the Market Cross. This bold step seems to have decided Seaforth. He proceeded to give effect to his fine heroics, and made preparations for assuming the offensive. He drew up a list of officers to command his retainers, and

the following Lewis names appear among the nominations.

Captains:—Colin Mackenzie of Kildun, son of George of Kildun, Seaforth's grand-uncle; Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty, who was Chamberlain of Lewis and Assynt in 1735; Norman Macleod; and Donald Macaulay.

Lieutenants:—J. Macaulay, Bragar; John Macaulay, Kirkibost; Kenneth Maciver, and John Macaulay, Bragar.

Ensigns:—Kenneth Mackenzie, merchant in Stornoway; Rory Mackenzie, Achilty's brother; S. Maciver, Callernish; and George Mackenzie.

"But," writes Seaforth's agent, "notwithstanding of the above nomination of the Lewes livetendants and ensignes, my lord refers to their captaines to have others, if they think them more proper, and to transmit their names to his lordship that he may examine whether or not they are fitt."*

The ardour of Seaforth was damped on finding that the Earl of Sutherland, with the Mackays, the Rosses, and the Munroes, was prepared to bar his way. The dispersal of the Whig clans was necessary before a junction with Mar could be effected, otherwise the Mackenzie country would be left exposed to ravage. In this dilemma, Seaforth was compelled to remain inactive, until the timely arrival of Sir Donald Macdonald, with 700 of his clansmen, and contingents of Mackinnons, Chisholms, and others, enabled him to commence a forward movement. Presumably, the arrival of these reinforcements tended to remove the objections of those of his clansmen who had endeavoured to dissuade the Earl from his enterprise; for he found himself at the head of a well-equipped body of Mackenzies, Macraes, and other vassals, the whole consisting of 2,000 foot and 500 horse. His nomination as "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Counties

* Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

to his Majesty King James VIII." did not tend to diminish his sense of importance. It was not until 8th of October that the combined forces marched to give battle to the Whig clans. They encamped at the Clairs, preparatory to attacking Sutherland's levies at Alness, where these had arrived three days previously. On 10th October, they reached Alness, only to find that on the previous day, the enemy had fled. Sutherland's raw soldiers—inferior in numbers, and some of them armed with long spear-pointed poles—were hardly fit to cope with Seaforth's army, and a panic had seized them, clear evidence of which is afforded by the fact that they threw away their arms and left their cannon behind. The Earl of Sutherland and his son, Lord Strathnaver, with Lord Reay, made good their retreat into Sutherlandshire, attended by only forty men, the remainder of their forces being left to shift for themselves. Sutherland subsequently excused his flight, by stating that he dismissed his men to enable them to secure their crops. Munro, the younger, returned home to Castle Foulis, which was garrisoned and fortified by his father. Seaforth, puffed up by his success, endeavoured to turn his bloodless victory to good account, by summoning the Munroes, the Rosses, and others, to find security for their peaceable behaviour, threatening them with his enmity if they failed to obey. Kenneth Sutherland, Lord Duffus, who accompanied him, was sent to Tain to proclaim the Chevalier, while the Earl proceeded to enforce his authority upon the Whig clans.* At Kinraig, he received the submission of several Rosses, Macleod of Cadboll, and Macleod of Geanies. He is charged by Munro of Foulis, and by Rae the historian, with having abused his triumph by gross acts of cruelty and oppression. "Goths and Vandalls," says Munro, "never shewed more barbarity than the Earl of Seafort practised on my people"; and he then proceeds to give particulars of the offences. The truth, however, is to be found in the report of Munro of Culcairn, who states that

* Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

“a few men of disreputable character did damage wantonly, and their proceedings are said by Seaforth’s enemies to have been countenanced by him.”* The fact of the Earl having sent a party in pursuit of the marauders, is sufficient to show that his hands were clean in connexion with these deplorable excesses.

At Cromarty, where Seaforth intended to proclaim the Chevalier, he was resisted by Captain Stewart of the *Royal Ann*, who threatened to lay the town in ashes if a single rebel entered. Stewart made good his threat by opening fire on the Highlanders, whom he prevented from obtaining possession of the cannon which lay on the Point of Cromarty. Seaforth thereupon withdrew his men, and proceeded on his march to join Mar at Perth. On 1st November, he passed Blair Castle with 2,000 men, having previously left 500 with Sir John Mackenzie of Coul to hold Inverness. That town was invested by Hugh Rose of Kilravock (Sir John’s father-in-law), Duncan Forbes of Culloden,† and Simon Fraser of Lovat, the latter of whom had by this time apparently made up his mind that the Jacobites were likely to prove unsuccessful—and trimmed his sails accordingly. Sir John Mackenzie sought the assistance of Macdonald of Keppoch and the Mackintoshes, but the activity of his assailants frustrated the attempt, and Mackenzie was compelled to surrender on terms which included permission for him to return home.

The Earl of Sutherland, by retarding Seaforth’s advance, rendered an important service to the Government. For, had the Mackenzies come up sooner, the Earl of Mar would, without doubt, have taken the offensive earlier, and the Duke of Argyll, the Government Commander-in-Chief, would have been overwhelmed by the disproportionate strength of the Jacobites. A bolder or more energetic commander would have struck a decisive blow, without

* Murray Rose’s *Historical Notes*, p. 32.

† When at Inverness, Seaforth sent George Mackenzie of Gruinard and, after him, Lord Duffus, to summon Duncan Forbes to surrender, but that staunch loyalist defied them; and the Jacobites deemed it prudent to leave him alone.

waiting for the Mackenzies, but Mar allowed the precious time to slip by, until Argyll was joined by reinforcements from Ireland, which enabled him to take the field with some degree of confidence.

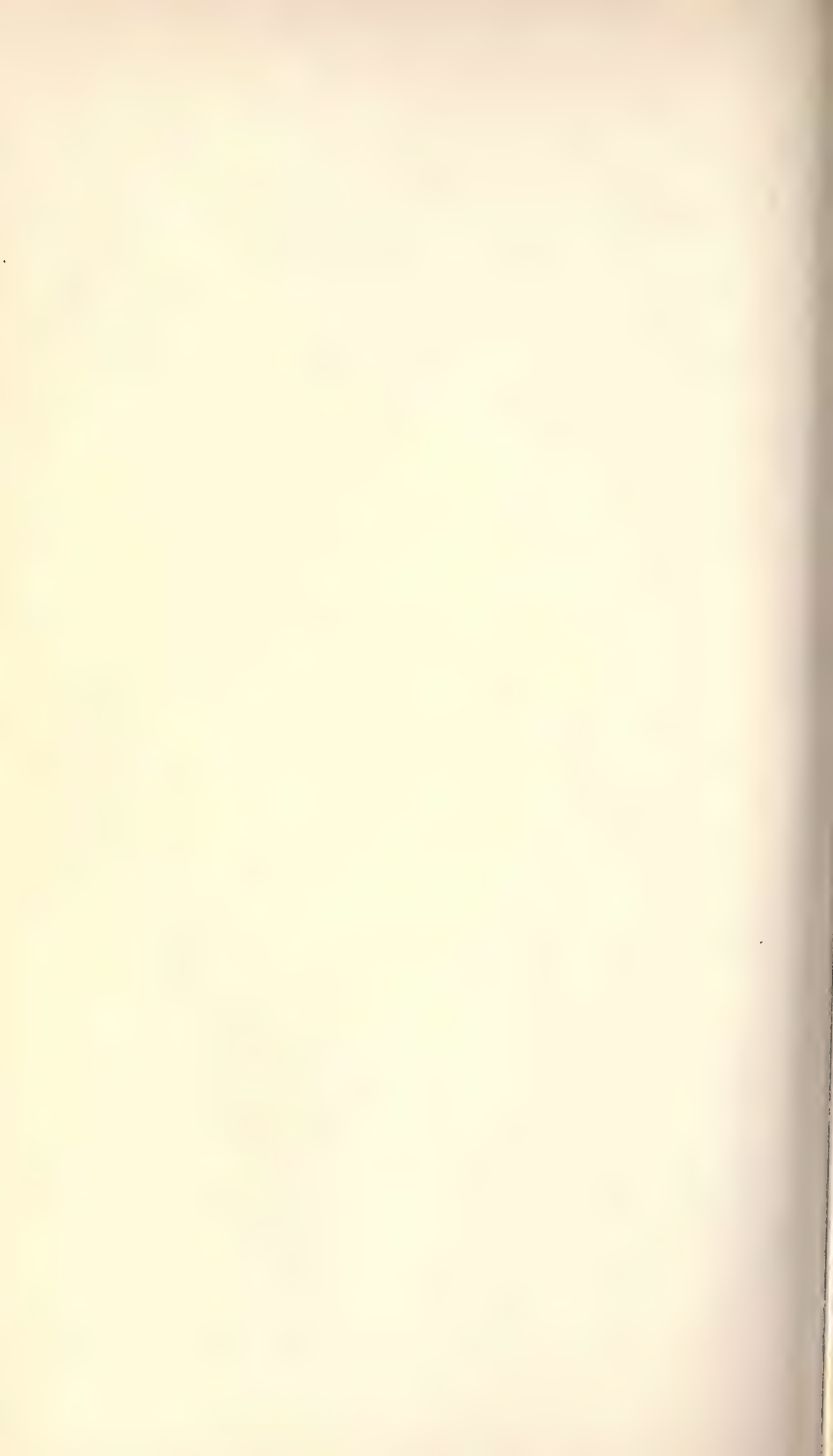
The trial of strength between the opposing forces took place at the famous, but indecisive, battle of Sheriffmuir, on 14th November, 1715. The men of Uist, under Sir Donald Macdonald and Allan Macdonald of Clanranald, were on the right wing of the first line of Mar's foot, commanded by General Gordon, and the Lewismen, under Seaforth, formed part of the centre of the second line.* The memorable charge of the Highlanders on the right wing, which scattered Argyll's battalions like chaff before the wind, should have proved decisive, if Mar's generalship had been equal to that of his antagonist. Mar made no attempt to utilise the enormous advantage he had gained, whereas Argyll profited by the steadiness of his right, when charged by Mar's left, to throw a body of cavalry on the flank of the Highlanders. This masterly movement disconcerted the attack, and threw the Highlanders into confusion. Mar's left wing and the whole of the second line were put to flight; and the curious spectacle was thus witnessed of the left wing of both armies being broken and routed, while the right wing of both was victorious and in pursuit. Thus, with only half the number of men opposed to him, the Duke of Argyll, by his superior skill and experience, averted defeat and gained what, in effect, was a moral victory. Had Montrose or Dundee commanded the Highlanders, it is permissible to say that Sheriffmuir would have been no drawn battle, as it proved to be, but a crushing defeat for the Government troops. But this supposition in no way detracts from the conduct of Argyll, who, by his skilful handling of his troops, and his humane treatment of his prisoners, added to his reputation as a brilliant general and a brave man. He saved the Government, and afterwards got his reward by being deprived of all his

* Macneill of Barra also took part in the rising (*Burt's Letters*, Vol. II., p. 285).



“GATHERING” STONES AT SHERIFFMUIR.

[To face page 400.



employments. He was not sufficiently servile to the Government ; his influence in Scotland was too great ; the Duke of Marlborough was jealous of his military reputation ; and so this great descendant of MacCailein Mòr was disgraced by a shameless Administration.

The combined losses sustained by the combatants at Sheriffmuir were heavy. According to the version of the Government side, Argyll lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 610 men, and the Jacobites suffered a loss of about 800 men in killed and wounded. According to the version of the other side, Argyll's loss in killed and wounded was between 700 and 800, while Mar's loss in killed amounted to 60 men only, and in wounded, to a very small total.

The truth probably lies between both statements, in which case it will be seen that Argyll's casualties were much more severe than those of his opponent.

Perhaps the most regrettable loss on the side of the Jacobites was that of young Clanranald, who fell at the head of his men when charging the left wing of the Government army. His fall momentarily checked the ardour of his followers, who adored their chief. Glengarry, seeing their hesitation, started from the ranks, waved his bonnet, and shouted three or four times, "Revenge, revenge ! to-day for revenge, and to-morrow for mourning," which so animated the men that they "followed him like furies close up to the muzzles of their muskets, push'd by the bayonets with their targets, and with their broadswords spread nothing but Death and Terror wherever they came." Mar, seeing Clanranald fall out of the ranks, and ignorant of the cause, is reported to have asked him why he was not at the front. "I have had my share," said the dying chief, and so saying, he expired. It will be remembered how anxious young Clanranald was to have a military education with William of Orange. He had his wish gratified, but in a different school. He was trained in the French Guards, and returned to Scotland a thorough soldier. He espoused the Jacobite cause with enthusiasm. "My family," he replied to Mar,

when summoned to join him, "have been on such occasions ever wont to be the first on the field and the last to leave it."* His death was a great blow to the Jacobites, and affected his followers so much, that many of them returned home and took no further part in the insurrection.

Seaforth does not appear to have played a very distinguished part at Sheriffmuir. According to one account, he remained in the rear, surrounded by forty of his mounted clansmen,† who acted as his bodyguard, Lord Duffus having in vain tried to induce him to lead his men on foot. It may have been that by Mar's orders, he attached himself to his own body of horse, instead of leading his infantry; a mistake, no doubt, but one for which it is difficult to say that he was blameable. A Highland chief employed in cavalry work, does not appeal to the imagination in the same way as a Highland chief heading his unmounted clansmen in a desperate charge. And there can be little doubt that the absence of Lord Seaforth at their head, must have tended to damp the enthusiasm of the Clan Kenneth foot. Among the prisoners taken by Argyll was Colin Mackenzie of Kildun, who was a captain in Fairburn's regiment, and was one of the Lewis officers nominated by Seaforth.‡

After the battle, Mar sent Seaforth north for the purpose of re-capturing Inverness. But the Earl soon perceived that this was a hopeless task, and that his resources would be sufficiently strained to protect his estates from the ravages of the Whig clans. Discouraged by the result of Sheriffmuir, and depressed by the general outlook, the enthusiasm of Seaforth fell to zero, and he was fain to submit, the Earl of Sutherland offering to mediate for him. But the arrival of the Chevalier in Scotland induced

* Before joining Mar, Clanranald destroyed his Castle of Eilean Tirrim to prevent its falling into the hands of Argyll. Tradition has it that he was shot at Sheriffmuir by one of his own men, who bore him a grudge, and who in view of the belief that the young chief bore a charmed life, used a crooked sixpence to compass his end.

† That arch-grumbler, the Master of Sinclair, calls them in his sarcastic style, "fortie scrub horse of servants."

‡ *Patten*, and *Annals of George I.*

him again to take up arms, and that sealed his fate with the Government. Lord Lovat—who had materially reduced Mar's strength at Sheriffmuir, by detaching the Frasers under Mackenzie of Fraserdale from the Jacobite standard—was, with General Wightman, commissioned to bring the headstrong youth to his senses. The Earl fled to Lewis, taking with him Brigadier Campbell of Ormidale, an experienced soldier who had served in the Russian army, and who had just returned to Scotland. Two detachments of Government troops were got ready; one, under Colonel Clayton, to invade Skye, where Sir Donald Macdonald, with about 1,000 men, still held out; and the other, under Colonel Cholmondeley, to operate against Seaforth in Lewis. Clayton had a short and successful campaign in Skye, but failed to capture Macdonald, who fled to North Uist for safety. About that time, three French ships arrived off Uist with munitions of war for the Jacobites. A consultation was held by Sir Donald Macdonald and his colleagues, to decide whether to fight or to fly; and the latter course was agreed upon. Accordingly, two of the French ships, instead of discharging their cargoes, sailed for home with about a hundred Jacobite officers on board, among the number being George Keith, the Earl Marischal. The third ship, while riding at anchor off Uist, was captured by a Government man-of-war, the *Lively*, with her cargo of fifty chests of small arms and 150 barrels of gunpowder.*

Meanwhile, Colonel Cholmondeley had sailed for Lewis with a strong force. Seaforth, recognising his lack of military experience, had placed his men under the command of Brigadier Campbell, who was apparently prepared to offer a stubborn resistance to Cholmondeley. And now a strange thing happened. According to the contemporary accounts,† the whole of the Lewismen abandoned the Brigadier at the critical moment, and left him to tackle the enemy alone. Disdaining to fly, Campbell was taken prisoner where he stood "in a charging

* Rae, p. 373.

† *Annals of George I.*, pp. 288–9. Confirmed by Rae.

posture." If this story be true—and the picture of the gallant Brigadier, emulating Horatius of old by holding his post single-handed against an army, seems rather too melodramatic to be altogether convincing—we can only conclude that the Lewismen had no heart in their work, and little or no confidence in their Russo-Scottish commander. What part Seaforth himself took in this fiasco is not clear. The whole affair is involved in some obscurity, but it may be confidently inferred from subsequent events, that the rank and file of Seaforth's followers were tired of the Earl's aggressive Jacobitism, and anxious to be allowed to resume their peaceful avocations. Little recked the average Highland retainer whether his king was named James or George. To the bulk of the clansmen, the question of the ruling dynasty was immaterial, and the high politics of the chiefs failed to appeal to their less instructed followers. Those of them who lived in the remote Island of Lewis probably knew little, and cared less, about the merits of the war in which some of them had shed their blood at Sheriffmuir. Their only master was Seaforth, and their only politics were his commands. But even Seaforth's example and influence were powerless to make them enthusiastic in a cause, which had already brought disaster on their chief and misery on themselves. Looking at these facts, their unwillingness to fight becomes intelligible, if their desertion of Campbell remains inexcusable. We are not left in doubt as to the issue of Cholmondeley's campaign. He effectively occupied the island, and forced Seaforth to fly across the Minch to the mainland, whence he made his escape to France. With the young firebrand out of the country, it is unlikely that Cholmondeley remained in Lewis for any length of time: in Seaforth's absence, there was no danger to be apprehended from that quarter.

Seaforth's clansmen in Ross-shire continued to evade the Government's orders, being encouraged, no doubt, to do so by his authority. The patience of General, afterwards Earl, Cadogan, who was in command of the garrison at

Inverness, was severely taxed by their demeanour. While not daring to resist Cadogan openly, the Mackenzies complied in a very leisurely fashion with his orders to deliver up their arms. Irritated by their attitude, Cadogan at length informed the Countess Dowager of Seaforth, who, in her son's absence, managed the affairs of the estates, that unless all arms were given up at Brahan and Coul by a certain date, the agencies of fire and sword would be employed to punish her stubborn tenantry. According to Lord Lovat, who wrote the Countess on the same subject, Cadogan intended to ravage the whole of the Seaforth country, and to send ships to Lewis to "destroy" it. These threats alarmed the Countess, materially accelerated the surrender of arms, and put a stop to what Cadogan termed "trifling and amusing the Government," which, he added, "will be more resented in London than open resistance." The General congratulated the Countess on the success of her efforts, being persuaded that "very near all my Lord Seaforth's people have come in, and that it is principally owing to the good advice your Ladyship gave them."*

Seaforth's warlike aspirations left both himself and his people in a sorry plight. In April, 1716, the Countess Dowager declared to Cadogan that "the tenants and country are now so impoverished that I can expect nothing from them." Zachary Macaulay, Donald Cam's great-grandson, who was then Chamberlain of Lewis, writing, a year later, to Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, Seaforth's uncle, told him that the people in Lewis were in a deplorable condition. The Countess Dowager, for account of the Seaforth estates, entered into an agreement with Colonel Mackenzie in January, 1717, in terms of which, the Countess was to give the Colonel—as the curator of Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt—orders on her agents in Lewis and Leith to pay him the rents of the island, not a fifth of which was obtainable; also the profits derived from

* Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

the crop of 1716; and "for any goods or cargoes sent to Leith from said island for the said year." The Colonel, on his part, obliged himself to pay the Countess an annuity for life of £1,000, to come out of the rents of Strathconon, Brahan, and Chanonry, "any deficiency to be made out of the Lewis revenue."* Towards the end of 1717, trouble arose with the Church in connexion with the Lewis estate. Queen Anne had made a gift of the teinds of the island to the Synod of Argyll, but for ten years (1706-1716) nothing had been paid, and the Sheriff of Argyll threatened to take proceedings for the recovery of the arrears, which amounted to £400. The claim was ultimately compromised for £200.† All this time, Seaforth was residing abroad, but in 1719, he re-appeared in Lewis in a somewhat dramatic fashion.

One April evening in that year, a Council of War was held in a room in Stornoway, where a distinguished company was assembled, to confer upon subjects fraught with momentous issues. The men who took part in the conference were men of note. They had already made a stir in British history, and some of them subsequently acquired European renown. The Earl of Seaforth; the Marquis of Tullibardine; George Keith, the hereditary Earl Marshal of Scotland; his younger brother, James, who afterwards became the famous Marshal Keith; a brother of Kenneth Sutherland, Lord Duffus; Campbell of Glendaruel; Brigadier Campbell of Ormidale, who had escaped from his captors, and was now once more on Lewis soil; these were the persons who were met together in Stornoway to deliberate upon matters of high politics. How they came there; what their purpose was; and in what manner they proposed to effect that purpose, it will now be our business to state.

In the summer of 1718, the Jacobite cause was in a parlous condition. The funds of the party were almost exhausted, and some of the exiles in France, who bore the

* Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

† *Idem.* "The Lewis yielded not a fifth part of its rent in 1716."

proudest names in Highland history, were almost destitute. The death of Mary of Modena, the widow of James II., deprived the Jacobites of one of their main sources of supply, her pension from France dying with her. None of the foreign Powers were disposed to help them. Not a break was to be seen in the clouds. Such was the state of matters, when suddenly an unlooked-for change took place, which once more revived the drooping spirits of the Jacobites, and quickened their hopes afresh. Cardinal Giulio Alberoni, the son of an Italian gardener, and an ex-village curate, was at this time the most powerful Minister in Europe. By his ability, he had restored to his adopted country, Spain, some measure of her former greatness, and he was the absolute dictator of her policy. In 1718, his relations with England, which had previously been not unfriendly, became somewhat strained. When, in August of that year, his attempt to seize Sicily was frustrated by the intervention of England and the dispersal of the Spanish fleet by Sir George Byng, an open rupture became unavoidable. It was in these circumstances that the Cardinal bethought himself of a plan, whereby he could strike England in a vital part. He would invade her on behalf of the Stuarts, and thus add civil war to the external difficulties of the English Government.

In pursuance of this plan, Alberoni entered into negotiations with the Duke of Ormonde, a brave soldier and a zealous Jacobite, whose abilities, however, according to his contemporaries, were not of a commanding nature. Ormonde was, without difficulty, won over to the views of the crafty Cardinal. All the more easily was this effected by reason of Alberoni's assurance, that the famous Charles XII. of Sweden, who was then on bad terms with England, had expressed his readiness to enter into an alliance with Spain against their common enemy. It was arranged that Ormonde should have the assistance of 5,000 Spaniards, with a supply of guns and ammunition, and thus provided, should land in the West of England, obtain recruits, and march upon London.

The desirability of a diversion in Scotland, concurrently with the invasion of England, was pointed out to the Cardinal by the Duke, the latter suggesting the name of George Keith, the young Earl Marischal, who had fought under Mar, as the best man to raise the Highland clans. Alberoni agreed to the suggestion, and Keith, who was then in Paris, was invited to Madrid, but without being told why his presence was required. Accompanied by his brother, James, Keith set out for Madrid, and on his arrival sought an interview with the Cardinal, who unfolded his plans to him. The enterprise appealed to the adventurous and chivalrous spirit of the young Earl Marischal, and preparations were at once set on foot for a descent upon Scotland. Mar, who was created in 1715 a titular Duke, took no active part in the movement, his influence being now overshadowed by that of his rival, Ormonde.

What the outcome of the insurrection would have been, had the soldierly King of Sweden carried out his intention of landing in Britain with 10,000 men, can only be conjectured. His death at Frederickshall, on 11th December, 1718, again dissipated the hopes of the Jacobites. But the Cardinal's project was not suffered to drop. Preparations for the invasion were pushed forward, and, early in 1719, had reached an advanced stage. The Earl Marischal was provided with two frigates, 2,000 muskets, money, ammunition, and a detachment of Spanish troops. He sailed for Scotland from the port of San Sebastian, accompanied, among others, by Brigadier Campbell, and bearing letters from the Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Gordon, Glengarry, Maclean of Brolas, and Donald Macdonald of Benbecula, Clanranald's cousin, tutor, and successor in the chiefship. The whole force, including officers, numbered 307 men. George Keith was followed to Scotland by a number of officers, including Clanranald and Lochiel, who sailed from Bordeaux.

James Keith had a special mission entrusted to him. His duty it was to meet the Scottish Jacobites who were in France, and persuade them, if persuasion were necessary,

to embark upon the enterprise. He found the Marquis of Tullibardine at Orleans; he met Seaforth, Campbell of Glendaruel, and a brother of Lord Duffus* in Paris. Seaforth was at first unwilling to take part in such a doubtful venture, but on pressure being brought to bear upon him, apparently by the Chevalier's agent, General Dillon, he yielded. James Keith's party embarked at Havre on 8th March† in a small vessel of twenty-five tons, bound for Lewis, where they were to meet the Earl Marischal and his companions. They had a lucky escape from capture when off Land's End. They passed, unobserved, through an English fleet, which at first they took to be Ormonde's ships, but which turned out to be a squadron of King George's warships, employed in carrying troops from Ireland to England to repel the expected invasion. On 24th March, James Keith and his party arrived at Lewis, landing, apparently, at Loch Roag. On inquiring about the Earl Marischal, Keith discovered that his brother's frigates had not yet arrived, nor could he ascertain any news about them. After a lapse of some days, intelligence reached Keith that the frigates had arrived *viâ* Barra on the east side of Lewis. He immediately set out to meet his brother, only to find, from a "gentleman of the country," that the ships had gone on to Stornoway, "the only town, or rather village, on all the island." The two brothers exchanged confidences, the younger telling the Earl Marischal that he had discovered a feeling of dissatisfaction among some of his associates, on account of the way the Duke of Mar had, in their opinion, been slighted. James Keith also told his brother that just before embarking, Tullibardine received from General Dillon a commission, the nature of which had not been disclosed to him; but that the Marquis had declared to him that he was ready to obey any one who had a higher commission than his own. This was the first

* Lord Duffus himself, after his release from the Tower, where he was confined till the passing of the Act of Indemnity, went abroad and died an Admiral in the Russian service.

† The dates given in connexion with this expedition are "old style" throughout.

hint of the friction between the leaders, which was soon to arise and mar the whole enterprise.

Seaforth and Tullibardine joined the Keiths on the following day at Stornoway, and in the evening, the Council of War was held to which reference has been made. The chief question to be decided by the Council was, whether it was the more advisable course to take up arms at once, or to wait until advice was received of the landing of the Duke of Ormonde in England. Tullibardine and Glendaruel were strongly in favour of the latter course, but the majority were opposed to it. The plan suggested by the Earl Marischal to Cardinal Alberoni was, to land on the mainland as quickly as possible, and, with the Highlanders and their Spanish auxiliaries, march straight upon Inverness, where there was a garrison of only 300 men. After taking possession of Inverness, it was proposed to await there the arrival of reinforcements before marching south. The Council of War ultimately decided to carry out this plan, and to order the force to sail for the mainland three days later. The Spanish troops were then told to come ashore to stretch their legs, after their voyage of forty-two days.

But on the following morning, Tullibardine called for another Council of War. After having made a speech, "which nobody understood but himself," he presented a commission superior to that held by the Earl Marischal, who at once resigned the command to him, reserving, however, the authority with which Cardinal Alberoni had invested him over the Spanish frigates. Tullibardine and his supporters then made another attempt to carry their point about waiting for the news of Ormonde's landing. Seaforth, having in view the difficulty of getting the Highlanders to rise, with such scanty encouragement of success, not only supported Tullibardine, but would not hear of leaving Lewis until news was received of Ormonde's arrival. It was pointed out to him that the isolation of Lewis greatly increased the difficulty of obtaining prompt intelligence; besides which, there was the

danger of blockade by Government warships, if their presence in the island became known. All except Seaforth were against remaining in Lewis for an indefinite period; and the result of the conference was, that the decision of the previous day was confirmed, "tho' plainly against the grain" of Tullibardine and his supporters.

The expedition sailed from Stornoway for Lochalsh on 4th April, but owing to contrary winds, had to put in at Gairloch, where they heard a false report, which was credited, that Ormonde had landed in England. Glen-garry, who had joined the expedition at Gairloch, and Glendaruel were subsequently sent with letters to known sympathisers, urging them to rise. Two days later, the Jacobites sailed for Lochalsh, but again encountered bad weather, and had to return to Stornoway on the 7th. They again set out on the 11th, but were once more driven back within four leagues of Stornoway. The wind changing, they were at length enabled to reach their destination, on the 13th, and on the following day, were re-joined by Glendaruel, with a "gentleman of no small consideration."* .

And so the Jacobites finally left Stornoway, where Seaforth's chamberlain, Zachary Macaulay, turned their visit to good account, by supplying the Spanish ships and the troops with provisions valued at £153.†

It is unnecessary to detail the events which followed their arrival on the mainland, culminating in the battle of Glenshiel and the dispersal of the insurgents.‡ Sir Walter Scott states that Seaforth raised a "few hundred Highlanders in Lewis," but there is no contemporary evidence to show that a single Lewisman accompanied the expedition. When it was decided to muster Seaforth's men, it

* *Memoirs of Marshal Keith. Mar's Distinct Abridgement. Scott. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XIX.

† *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report X., Part I., p. 123.

‡ Full particulars of these events and of the battle of Glenshiel are to be found in Vol. XIX. of the Scottish History Society's publications; in Terry's *The Chevalier de St. George*, compiled from contemporary sources; and in *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Rep. X., Pt. I., p. 196. The famous Rob Roy took part in the fight.

was too late to obtain assistance from Lewis ; for the Minch was commanded by English warships, three of which had anchored at Lochalsh and blown up Eilean Donain Castle. The total number of Seaforth's recruits does not seem to have exceeded 500, of which number, 400 were Loch Carron men.

The Glenshiel skirmish—for it hardly merits the name of battle—lasted three hours, and the loss sustained by Wightman was considerably greater than that of the Highlanders. The Hanoverian troops had 21 men killed and 121 wounded, including officers, among the latter being Munro of Culcairn, who was severely wounded. The Jacobites lost less than ten men killed and wounded, among the wounded being Seaforth and Lord George Murray. It is clear that the fight simply resolved itself into a case of sharpshooting on the part of the Highlanders, who had no desire to come to close quarters with the enemy ;* and a large number of them were simply spectators. Seaforth undoubtedly bore himself well during the skirmish, holding his ground after his followers showed a disposition to retire ; and the wound which he received in his arm, when waving his sword to encourage his men, left a scar of honour. Accompanied by Tullibardine and the Earl Marischal, he made his escape, it was supposed to Lewist†, but he does not seem to have remained there for any length of time. Meanwhile, Wightman made a tour through Kintail, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people, by burning the houses of those who had joined their chief.

The affair of Glenshiel has usually been described as a drawn action, and Sir Walter Scott states that the Government troops “were compelled to retreat without dislodging the enemy” ; but contemporary accounts on both sides clearly disprove that statement. The High-

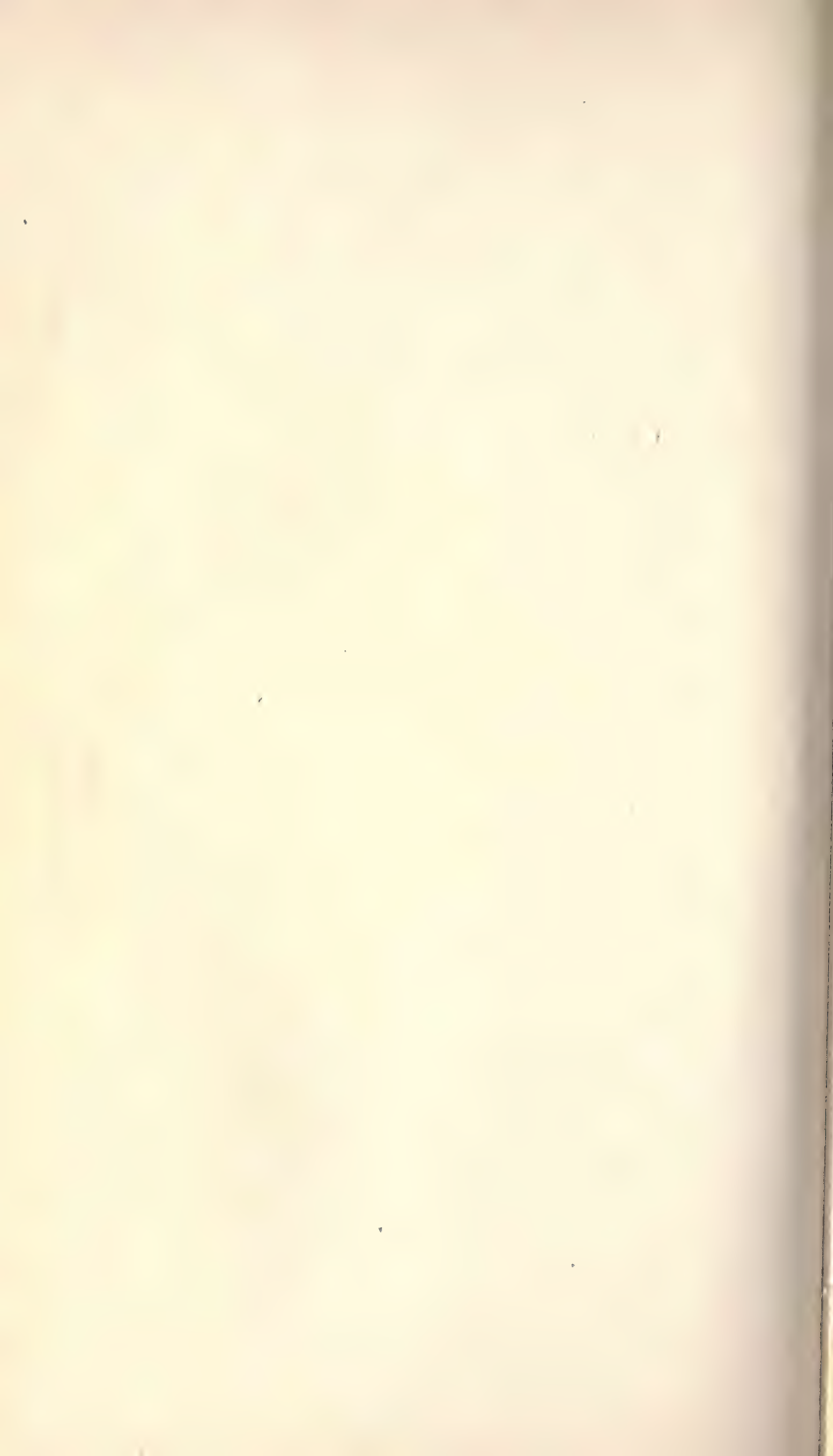
* According to the *Annals of George I.* (Vol. IV., p. 254), “the rebels skipped off from rock to rock when they had discharged their muskets.” The *Historical Register* (Vol. IV., p. 285) states they never ventured to come to a close engagement.

† *Hist. Reg.*, Vol. IV., p. 285.



EILEAN DONAIN CASTLE, ROSS-SHIRE.

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landers failed to hold their positions, and Wightman was left master of the field. Thus ended one more fruitless attempt on behalf of the Stuarts. The causes of failure were various. The death of Charles XII. of Sweden at Frederickshall ; the dispersal of Ormonde's fleet by the elements ; the friction between the leaders of the Scottish expedition ; the lukewarm attitude of the Highlanders generally ; these causes combined to wreck an enterprise which, under more favourable auspices, might well have proved successful. That the wisest course for the Jacobites at Lochalsh was to have made an immediate dash on Inverness, as recommended by the Earl Marischal ; or to defer rising until success was better assured, as Tullibardine and Seaforth wished, is tolerably plain. The compromise was fatal, for it extinguished the flame of rebellion, and left no hope of its being re-kindled. The divided counsels and the petty jealousies of the leaders were sources of weakness, which materially contributed to the utter failure of the insurrection.

Some of the leaders of the rising of 1719 lived to make history in later years. The Duke of Ormonde, deprived by the fall from power of Cardinal Alberoni, in December, 1719, of the means of resuscitating the Jacobite attempt, settled in Spain, where he kept in touch with his confederates. The Marquis of Tullibardine enjoyed the distinction of unfurling the standard of Prince Charles Edward Stuart at Glenfinnan in 1745 ; he died next year in the Tower. His brother, Lord George Murray, became Prince Charlie's ablest officer in the '45. George Keith, the Earl Marischal, rose to distinction in the service of Prussia, after a chequered career, and became Prussian Ambassador at the Courts of Paris and Madrid, and Governor of Neuchatel. It is said that Rousseau licked one hand alone in Europe, that of *le bon milord Maréchal*. George Keith went to Scotland after the removal of the disabilities affecting Jacobite exiles, but he ultimately returned to the Continent. He died at Potsdam in 1778. His younger brother, James, had the most distinguished career of all the Jacobite

leaders. He entered the service of Russia, but soon drifted to the Court of Frederick the Great, and became a Field-Marshal of Prussia and one of the most renowned generals of his time. His death was that of a soldier. He was killed in 1758 at the battle of Hochkirche. To this day, his memory is cherished, both in the German Empire and in Banffshire. His statue adorns Berlin; and in 1889, the German Emperor gave orders that the 22nd Silesian Regiment should thereafter be called the Keith Regiment.

The leaders of the ill-starred rising of 1719 were compelled to shift, each man for himself, when their hopes of a fresh insurrection were finally dissipated. Seaforth fled to France, after addressing a circular letter to his people, in which he counselled them not to pay their rents to the Government.* A copy of this circular was sent to every parish comprehended in the Seaforth properties, and as the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates soon discovered, the advice which it contained was faithfully followed. A body of Lewismen under Mackenzie of Kildun—who, according to Burt, had “power over the inhabitants of Lewis”—co-operated with the Mackenzies on the mainland, in resisting the soldiers who, on two different occasions in 1720, were sent to ‘compel payment to the Government agents. The determination and strategy of Daniel Murchison, Seaforth’s intrepid factor, baffled the officers of the Crown, and they were forced to relinquish the attempt to coerce the refractory tenantry. Murchison collected the rents and remitted them to Seaforth,† giving the tenants receipts, which protected them from having to pay the money over again to the Government. When General Wade, in 1725, received the submission of the Seaforth tenantry at Brahan Castle, he indemnified them against any proceedings which might be taken for the rents so remitted (the factors had threatened to make them pay over again);* and agreed to their

* Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

† *Burt's Letters* (Full account, pp. 268-284).

stipulation that their chief should be granted a free pardon.

While Seaforth was in hiding, previous to his departure for the Continent, his friends were doing all in their power to keep his estates intact. The story of their clever jugglery, and of the events which preceded it, is instructive. Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, contracted large debts by his extravagant style of living and his legal disputes with Argyll. George, the second Earl, claimed to have spent a million of money in the cause of Charles I., and it is an undoubted fact that his debts were enormous. His creditors sued him, apprized his estates, and in 1649-50, were infest in the property. Luckily for the Seaforths, the ablest lawyer in Scotland and one of the wildest men of his day, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat (the first Earl of Cromartie) came to the rescue, and found the means of circumventing the creditors. Conjointly with Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul and Colin Mackenzie of Redcastle, he compounded with nine of the creditors who had recovered the first apprizings, and had their decrees transferred to him and his associates, and vested in their persons as trustees for the heir to the estates. We have already seen how, in virtue of these apprizings, Tarbat and his co-trustees were infest in the Lewis property, with the rest of the Seaforth estates, by a charter dated 30th September, 1678. Being thus in virtual possession of the estates, the Mackenzies were enabled to exclude the other creditors from their payments. After Sir George Mackenzie and his friends had re-imbursed themselves for their outlay, they made over their rights, in 1680, to another trustee of the family, viz., Kenneth Mackenzie, brother of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the Lord Advocate. By him they were, in 1681, transferred to Isobel, widow of Kenneth Mòr, third Earl of Seaforth. The matter was further complicated by the existence of a bond, which the Countess Isobel was prevailed upon to execute, for payment of an annuity of £1,000 to Frances, wife of Kenneth Og. In 1685, the Countess Frances obtained a Crown charter,

under which she was infest in the estates for payment of her annuity. This annuity, after the death of Kenneth Og, formed the subject of tedious litigation, but the Countess Frances ultimately prevailed in her suit. As we have seen, an amicable arrangement was made in 1717, between the Countess and Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, in respect of the annuity.

The Countess Isobel made a disposition, or conveyance, of the nine apprizings to Kenneth, son of John Mackenzie of Gruinard—"a Scots gentleman living abroad," who afterwards married the Countess Frances. Under cover of these deeds, Kenneth Og, the fourth Earl, kept the creditors out of the estates till his death in 1701; and under the same cover, his son, William, likewise retained possession until he was attainted in 1715. The attainder introduced a new element into the question, and called for renewed ingenuity on the part of the Mackenzies to keep the property in the Seaforth family.

Accordingly, advantage was taken of an Act passed by the Parliament of Scotland in 1700, entitled "An Act for Preventing the Growth of Popery." By this Act—a peculiarly stupid piece of legislation, which had the effect of sending the Roman Catholics in a body over to the Stuarts—it was enacted that no Papist over fifteen years of age should be capable of succeeding as heir to an estate, unless and until he renounced his religion. William, Earl of Seaforth, was a Catholic; he married a Catholic wife; and he remained true to his religious convictions. Here was an opportunity for making a bold move to prevent the Government from grabbing the property.

According to an enactment for extending the time to determine claims to forfeited estates, the date fixed as the time-limit within which such claims had to be presented to the Court of Session, was 1st August, 1719. Two sets of claimants appeared for the Seaforth estates. The first petition, in the names of Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt and Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, his guardian, set forth that the estates belonged to Kenneth, as the nearest Pro-

testant heir of Isobel, late Countess of Seaforth,* in whose person the deeds of trust had been invested for behoof of the family; and that William, Earl of Seaforth, as a professed Papist had no title to the property. The other claim was made on behalf of Kenneth Mackenzie of Gruinard, in virtue of the deed of conveyance made in his favour by the Countess Isobel. The Commissioners and Trustees of the Forfeited Estates opposed both claims. They objected—and the Court of Session sustained their objection—that the conveyance to Gruinard was invalid, inasmuch as the deeds of trust were for behoof of the family, and could not be assigned to Mackenzie to the prejudice of the family. They objected to Assynt's claim, that it was founded on the fact of his being the nearest Protestant heir to the Countess Isobel, as trustee; not as being nearest Protestant heir-of-blood to the family of Seaforth.† Therefore, they argued that his claim could only apply to the office of trustee, and could only carry with it the property right which belonged to Earl William. The one was a trust, the other a property right; and the latter not having been claimed, must remain with the public. To these objections, Assynt replied that Earl William, being a notorious Papist, was by the Act of 1700, incapable of succeeding to, or enjoying, the estates; and that the succession consequently devolved upon him. The Commissioners urged that the plea of notoriety failed to hold good, as Earl William had it in his power to exclude Assynt by taking the oath of recantation; besides which, they said (and rightly), the present claim was made to deprive the public of the estates, not to deprive his kinsman of it, otherwise it would have been heard of before. And so the lawyers split hairs. In addition to the Seaforth possessions, Assynt

* Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt was the only son of John, second son of Kenneth Mòr. His uncle (and Seaforth's), Colonel Mackenzie, was the fourth son of Kenneth Mòr. Colonel Mackenzie's two grandsons subsequently succeeded to the estates.

† Probably the form which Assynt's claim took, arose from the consideration that, while he desired to be recognised as heir to the estates, he had no wish to inherit the debts as well! The debts, as a matter of fact, were considerably in excess of the value of the estates.

claimed the superiorities of six of Earl William's vassals, viz., John Earl of Mar, Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, John Mackenzie of Avoch, Alexander Mackenzie of Applecross, Alexander Mackenzie of Davochmaluag, and Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn, who had all been attainted of high treason. The Court of Session, on 18th August, 1719, gave a decree in Assynt's favour on all points. The Commissioners appealed to the House of Lords against the decision, and the whole question was re-opened. It was stated for the respondent, that the apprizings on the Seaforth estates, not having been redeemed within ten years, when the equity of redemption expired, the property became absolutely vested in the creditors; that the nine apprizings carrying priority were vested in the Countess of Isobel's person as trustee for the heir (*i.e.*, Assynt); that the trust for the family was not declared until after he had presented his claim; that as soon as Earl William reached the age of fifteen, and remained a Catholic, his rights passed from him to the nearest Protestant heir (Assynt); that the two living children of Earl William were debarred by the Act of 1700 from the succession; and that he (Assynt) was, on 23rd November, 1716, served heir to the Countess Isobel (who died in 1715). The House of Lords reversed the decision of the Court of Session in respect of the Seaforth estates, and, subsequently, in respect of the six superiorities claimed by Assynt.*

In spite of their ingenuity, the Mackenzies thus failed to wrest the estates from the hands of the Commissioners. Whether or not the decision of the Court of Session was sound in law—and that is a question entirely for lawyers—it is at least fairly evident that, in spite of their ingenuous pleadings, neither Gruinard nor Assynt intended to derive personal advantage from their claims. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that both claims were the fruit of a conspiracy among the Mackenzies, to keep the property intact for Earl William; and if either claim had been

* Appeals to the House of Lords (1719). Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

established, the attainted chief of the clan would have been the person to reap the solid benefits. The nominal owner of the Seaforth estates would have been Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt, or Kenneth Mackenzie of Gruinard, but the real owner—and the recipient of the rents—would have been Earl William, the only possible head of the clan, according to Highland notions, had he been proscribed for his politics, and disinherited for his religion, a hundred times over. Frances, Countess of Seaforth (Kenneth Og's widow), being in doubt whether to oppose, or concur in, Assynt's claim, was advised by her lawyers that "it may be easier dealing with the Protestant heir than with the Crown." And so, in truth, it would have been, had the claim proved successful.

In 1726, Seaforth, who had returned to Scotland after a final rupture with the Chevalier, received a pardon, chiefly through the instrumentality of General Wade. Argyll was opposed to the pardon, but the bluff General threatened to throw up his commission, if his promise to the Mackenzies were not implemented. He added, as a further reason for the pardon of Seaforth, that it was good policy on the part of the Government to maintain the balance of power between the four men who ruled the Highlands, viz., Argyll, Atholl, Gordon, and Seaforth. His representations prevailed.*

In 1727, the Earl was in Edinburgh attending to business matters. The Trustees for the Forfeited Estates were about this time engaged in reducing the debt on the Seaforth property, by selling parcels of it, and applying the rents collected by them for the same purpose. Seaforth was now not in receipt of a farthing from the property, except a certain income derived from compounding with the creditors. The Countess Frances, his mother, was engaged in an unsuccessful lawsuit in respect of her jointure, which seems to have been in arrears for a considerable time. The Earl abstained from identifying himself with the interests

* *Lockhart Papers*, Vol. II., p. 300. In 1667, the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, and Seaforth were appointed to have the oversight of the Highlands, with the effects of all thieves and forfeiture of their associates, after restoring stolen goods to their owners. *Cal. of State Papers*, p. 356. See *supra*, p. 374.

of the Countess, which were inimical to those of the creditors, but he offered an allowance to his mother, which she declined. It is abundantly clear that he himself was in straitened circumstances. In 1730, he was compelled to solicit a Crown pension for his support, which the King, through Sir Robert Walpole, declined to sanction. Duncan Forbes, the Lord Advocate, used his good offices on his behalf, and urged Walpole to give the Earl a grant of the arrears of the Lewis feu-duty; the latter, as is elsewhere explained, not having been collected, owing to the difficulty of setting legal machinery in motion "in those remote parts." In 1731, the arrears amounted to £3,916 13s. 4d. sterling,* from which it appears that the duty had not been paid for twenty-three and a half years. We find that the Countess Frances received from her agent a sum of four thousand pounds Scots (£333 6s. 8d. sterling), as feu-duty of Lewis for two years from July, 1706, to July, 1708, and that seems to have been the last payment made to the Crown. In May, 1731, Seaforth presented a memorial to the Lords of Treasury, praying for a grant of the £3,916 13s. 4d., "that he may have something to live on," his estates having been sold for the use of the public. On 20th June, 1732, by a warrant to the Barons of the Exchequer, under Royal sign manual by the Queen, the Earl's request was granted.† An Act of Parliament, passed in the following year, removed the disability which, under his attainder, precluded him from taking or inheriting any real or personal property that might descend to him.

The complete history of the Seaforth forfeited estates will not be known until the papers in the Register House, Edinburgh, are published.

Shortly before the commission of the Trustees expired, a Bill was before Parliament for facilitating the collection of rents on the Seaforth estates, and making it an act of felony to oppose the proprietors. It was stated that no one had then appeared to bid for the property, except the

* *Treasury Board Papers* (275), No. 20 (Feb. 16, 1730-1).

† *Idem* (North Britain), Book X., p. 266.

friends of the Seaforth family, and that they being the highest (and only) bidders, must get possession of it, if no other purchasers appeared before the expiry of the commission. In view, therefore, of the fact that the Bill would probably have the effect of strengthening the hands of the Mackenzies, without benefiting the public, it was rejected.

The author of the *Highlands of Scotland in 1750* states, that when Seaforth obtained his pardon in 1726, a "creature of the Earl's" bought the property for less than three years' purchase, the remoteness of the estates and the disaffection of the tenantry deterring others from bidding. The debts on the property were more than twice the rental value, and the sale resulted in the ruin of a number of the creditors.

According to the recently published Report by the Crofters' Commission on Lewis, the Seaforth estates, including the island of Lewis, were sold by public auction to Mr. John Nairn of Greenyards for £16,909 8s. 3½d., under burden of an annuity of £1,000 (capitalised as £9,000) to Frances, Countess Dowager of Seaforth.* The transaction was understood to be in the interest of Seaforth's son, Kenneth, Lord Fortrose.

During the debate which took place in Parliament on the above-mentioned Bill, some hard things were said about the Seaforths. One speaker made a bitter attack upon them, declaring that they had been a "lawless family for several generations," and that if they had paid their debts, they would have been without an estate many years before. "I don't know," said he, "but it might have been the desperate circumstances of the family that pushed them on to the late rebellion." It is impossible to ignore the fact that the Seaforths, like others of the Highland chiefs, were playing for high stakes in taking up arms for the Stuarts. The odds were against them, but were fairly represented by the ratio which existed between the risks of failure and the rewards of success. The successors of George, the

* In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. II., p. 1126, the death is chronicled, on 15th December, 1732, at Paris, of the "Duchess Dowager of Seaforth." This would seem to imply that Kenneth Og was created a titular duke before his death.

second Earl, were not in legal possession of a foot of territory. The re-establishment of the Stuart dynasty would, doubtless, have enabled them to free the estates from the creditors, and extricate themselves from a hopelessly involved financial situation ; while the addition of further honours were not impossible. But it is hard to believe, and we do not believe, that they acted contrary to their convictions. They were loyalists to the core, and their attachment to the unfortunate Stuarts cannot be measured by the hopes of material advantages. At all events, their political sympathies brought them, in the result, nothing but suffering and an accumulation of trouble. Earl William, the last of the Jacobite Seaforths, was in some respects, the most unfortunate. He succeeded to the Earldom at a period when it required an older and a more level head than his, to manage his affairs judiciously. He was the prey of flatterers, and the tool of those who used him for ulterior purposes. Had there been only himself to consider, the results of his rashness would have been less serious. But his people were involved in the disastrous outcome of his Jacobitism ; and it says much for the spirit of Highland clanship, that they stood by him faithfully, although he was responsible for their troubles. It is difficult to discover in the clan feuds, or the various Stuart risings, the operation of the patriarchism which, we must believe, originally formed the basis of the clan system. It was present in theory, no doubt ; but the spirit of genuine patriarchism, the desire to act in the best interests of the clan, as the animating motive of its head, was conspicuous by its absence. Personal advantage or personal quarrels swayed the least worthy of the Highland chiefs ; altruistic loyalty to a dynasty governed the noblest of them. But a conception of duty, which implied the subordination equally of personal ambition for themselves, and unselfish loyalty to the Stuarts, to the happiness and prosperity of the clans whose welfare was a sacred trust committed to their charge, does not appear to have presented itself even to the best of them. Yet, in at least one instance—that of the gallant

Lochiel of the "'45"—the misery resulting to his clan from the rising, caused him the most poignant grief.

In the year 1732, an attempt was made to close the Custom House in Stornoway and transfer it to Glenelg. The moving spirit seems to have been Norman Macleod of Harris (grandson of Ian Breac) who, in a letter to John Forbes of Culloden—"toothless John Forbes" as he calls him—refers to a conversation which he had with Culloden on the subject.* The ostensible reason for the proposed transfer was the prevalence of smuggling on the coast of Skye and Glenelg; but, in a memorial presented a few months later by the Commissioners of Customs in Scotland to the Treasury, a different cause is assigned. The memorial in question gives a curious instance of boycotting, as practised in Stornoway in those days. The Comptroller who had recently been appointed to Stornoway, had received instructions to exercise special care, that no debentures (*i.e.* the certificates entitling exporters to a drawback on certain goods which had paid duty) should be issued for greater sums than the merchants were entitled to receive. Accordingly, he refused to grant a debenture for a parcel of fish, said to have been exported, because neither he nor any of his subordinates had seen the fish shipped. The people of the island "made him so uneasy and intimidated him so far, as forced him to leave the place after a short stay there."

The memorial goes on to say that Stornoway was not entitled to the privileges of a "port," or a "creek"—which was inferior to a "port"—having never been set out as such by a commission from the Court of Exchequer. Officers were stationed there only for the convenience of fish exporters during the fishing season. It was pointed out that this object would be better met if the officers resided at Bernera, in Glenelg, opposite Skye, "and adjacent to the several lakes and creeks where the greatest resort is for fishing," and where a constant garrison was kept, "which

* *Culloden Papers*, pp. 128-9.

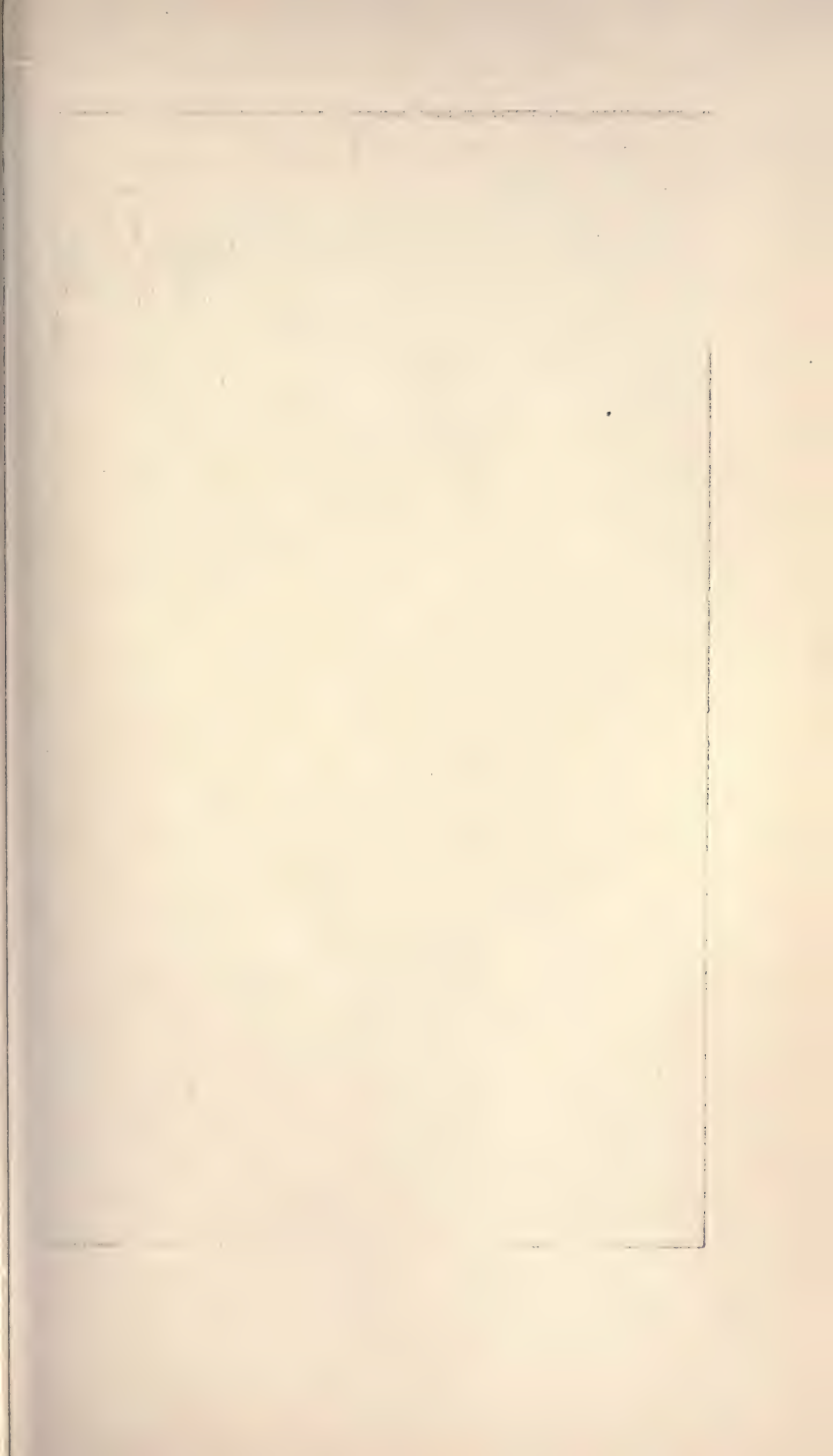
may be a help to the officers." Authority was therefore requested for the proposed change of residence.*

In 1737, the question was revived by the Commissioners of Customs, who again laid stress upon the frequent loss of revenue, by reason of the debentures issued at Stornoway. They drew a picture of commercial immorality which is not over-flattering to the Stornoway traders. A certain William Smith, land surveyor at Prestonpans, had been sent to Lewis during the previous fishing season, to inquire into the truth of the charges of fraud made against the merchants. His report was that, in point of fact, greater quantities of fish were certified than some of the ships could possibly carry. He adds : " Besides the inconveniency and detriment to the service, the fair traders are much injured, for the fishing being in the lakes upon the mainland, they are first obliged to ship their fish and then proceed to Stornoway, where there is no quay to land them on, but on the contrary, a stony beach which cuts the barrels and damnifies the fish ; under pretence whereof, it appears the officers have sometimes taken the shipmaster's oath for the quantity on board, without landing, viewing, examining, and branding the casks . . . that the ships being thus detained in proceeding to the Island of Lewis, is often the occasion of the loss of markets."

The Commissioners conceived that these inconveniences could only be remedied by removing the Custom House to the " entry of Loch Broom," as being more central for the most important fishing lochs, and more suitable than Bernera, which had formerly been proposed. They therefore prayed the Treasury for a commission, whereby the residence of the officers might be fixed at some convenient place near Loch Broom. The Treasury, in reply, stated that they had no objection to the Commissioners applying for a commission.† The rest of the story is missing, but Stornoway does not appear to have ever been deprived of its Custom House. Incidentally, the information given in

* *Treasury Board Papers* (281), No. 40 (Feb. 27, 1732-3).

† *Idem* (294), No. 36 (March 25, 1737).





WILLIAM MACKENZIE, FIFTH EARL OF SEAFORTH, WHO DIED
IN LEWIS IN 1740.

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respect of the fishing grounds a hundred and seventy years ago, is not without interest at the present day.*

William, Earl of Seaforth, died in Lewis in 1740, and is said to have been buried in the Church of Ui, the ancient burial-ground of the Macleods.† He was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who bore, during his lifetime, the courtesy title of Lord Fortrose, one of the subordinate titles of his father. The Act of Attainder of Earl William omits all mention of the original title of "Lord Kintail"; and it appears to be doubtful whether the Act affected the barony of Kintail. The question was not raised by Earl William's son. By his intimates, he was called "Lord Fortrose," and occasionally, even "Seafort," but he, himself, signed his name, plain "Kenneth Mackenzie." There is ample evidence that he was a level-headed, prudent man, who entertained no false notions either about himself, or about the "Divine Right" of kings or chiefs to misgovern their people. No sooner had he succeeded to the estates than he entered upon public life. In 1741, he was elected Member of Parliament for the Burgh of Inverness; and in 1747, he sat for the County of Ross, being re-elected seven years later. In the interval between his first appearance as a Member of Parliament, and his election for Ross-shire, events of supreme importance had taken place in the Highlands, which now call for notice.

* It may be observed that in 1737, the salary of the Collector of Customs at Stornoway was £30 per annum. The officers who were stationed there seem to have been dismissed from the service pretty frequently.

† His wife died in France, in August, 1739, when on her way to Scotland. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. IX.)

CHAPTER XIV.

THE romantic enterprise upon which Prince Charles Edward Stuart embarked in 1745, has formed the theme alike of song and story. It is not proposed to re-tell in these pages, the history of the most splendid failure with which the Highlands are associated. But the inception of the rising, and, especially, the adventures of the Prince after Culloden, are so intimately connected with the Long Island that they call for detailed mention in a work of this kind.

The failure of the French expedition of 1744—the elements once more proving adverse—and the fickleness of France as an ally, decided Charles Edward to throw himself upon the generosity of the Highland Jacobites. It was an undertaking from which the boldest heart might well shrink. The Highlanders were at peace with the Government. Some of the most powerful of the chiefs were members of the British Parliament. The lessons of the “’15” and “’19” had not been forgotten. The most ardent of the Jacobites were unwilling to rise unless there were reasonable prospects of success. And their view was, that success was only attainable with the help of French troops. But Fortune favours the brave; and an enterprise from which even the most courageous of the Prince’s adherents endeavoured in vain to dissuade him, came, as events proved, within a measurable distance of fulfilling the wildest hopes of its promoter.

Accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine—whose younger brother, a Whig, had ousted him from the Dukedom of Atholl—Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald—an officer in the French army—Colonel Strickland, Captain

Sullivan or O'Sullivan, George Kelly, a clergyman, Æneas Macdonald—brother of Kinlochmoidart, and a banker in Paris—and a Mr. Buchanan,* Charles Edward sailed from Belleisle for Scotland upon his hazardous mission. He had engaged two ships, *La Doutelle*, or *Du Tellier*—a frigate of sixteen guns, whose owner Walsh was on board—and the *Elizabeth*; and the Prince and his companions embarked on *La Doutelle* in July, 1745. His destination was the Long Island, its remote situation offering the means of initiating his plans with the greatest degree of secrecy. A retainer of Lochiel's named Duncan Cameron, who was brought up in Barra, was chosen to act as pilot in the Outer Hebrides. A disaster occurred before the Long Island was reached. Off the Lizard, an English warship named the *Lion* attacked the *Elizabeth*. Both vessels were well battered during an engagement which lasted nearly five hours, the *Elizabeth* being so severely mauled that she had to return to France. By this stroke of ill-luck, Charles Edward was deprived of the assistance of a hundred able officers, besides a large quantity of arms. From the deck of *La Doutelle*, the Prince was an anxious spectator of the fight, in which the small frigate took no part, her owner deeming it imprudent to engage the *Lion*. *La Doutelle* was afterwards chased by another warship, which she outsailed; and on 22nd July, the coast of Bernera, off Barra, was sighted. Duncan Cameron's services were now requisitioned. The appearance of a large ship cruising off the island created a scare, and the course of *La Doutelle* was altered. Cameron piloted the vessel along the east coast of Barra, and on 23rd July brought her to anchor in the strait between South Uist and the little Island of Eriskay.

Duncan Cameron, who was the only one on board who had the slightest acquaintance with the country, rowed ashore to Eriskay to spy the land. Meeting an old acquaintance, the piper of Macneill of Barra, Cameron

* The first seven of these were afterwards known as the "Seven Men of Moidart."

took him on board, where he was closely questioned. It was decided to land at Eriskay. An eagle was observed hovering over the vessel. "An excellent omen," said Tullibardine.

The landing place of Charles Edward in Scotland is known to this day as "Coilleag a' Phrionnsa," or the Prince's Strand, on the west side of Eriskay. A pink convolvulus with fleshy leaves is found there, and nowhere else in the Hebrides—thus giving rise to the tradition that the flower has sprung from seeds which the Prince planted, to commemorate the occasion. The convolvulus is commonly known as "the Prince's flower." Charles and his party had to feel their way cautiously. His followers told the people of Eriskay that he was a young Irish priest, and he was taken to the house of the tacksman of the island, Angus Macdonald, who held his tack from Clanranald. The latter—an elderly man—and his brother, Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, were, the party learned, in South Uist, Boisdale having a house at Kilbride. A message was sent by the Prince to Boisdale, requesting him to come and see him, for it was known that his influence with his brother was considerable. A visit was paid, probably by the Macdonalds of the party, to Barra; but Macneill was not at home. An enemy, whom Duncan Cameron calls "a devill of a minister who did us a' the mischief that lay in his power" (doubtless the Rev. John Macaulay of South Uist), was, however, in Barra, and seems to have suspected the identity of the strangers at Eriskay. He conveyed his suspicions to the proper quarter, but his story was received with incredulity. A debate which subsequently took place in the House of Commons on the rebellion, makes it abundantly clear that the Intelligence Department of the Government was sadly at fault.

Charles passed the night at the tacksman's house,* where his host did everything possible for the comfort of

* It is stated that this house has recently been demolished; an unfortunate piece of Vandalism.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART.

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his guests. In the morning, he returned to his ship. It was an anxious time for the Prince when Boisdale arrived. Old Clanranald was incapacitated by age and infirmities from taking any active part in the rising, so that the adhesion of his clan depended largely upon Boisdale's decision. The Prince entreated Boisdale to accompany him to the mainland, and induce young Clanranald, who was then in Moidart, to take up arms. Boisdale refused point-blank. He spoke strongly about the folly of attempting an insurrection without foreign assistance, and declared his intention of doing all in his power to prevent his brother, or his nephew, from having anything to do with the enterprise. This was not a very promising beginning, but Charles persevered in his attempt to win over the blunt Highlander. Could he depend upon the support of Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Harris? Here, again, he got cold comfort. Both chiefs had been looking for the arrival of Charles in the Long Island, and had charged Boisdale, if he had opportunity, to tell the Prince that unless he came supported by a force of regular troops, they would hold aloof from the rising.

While Charles and Boisdale were engaged in this discussion, two ships made their appearance, which caused Walsh to weigh his anchor and make for Moidart. The discussion continued, but when Boisdale, obdurate to the last, stepped into his boat, the Prince had abated no jot of his determination to persevere in his attempt.

On the following morning, *La Doutelle* anchored in the bay of Loch nan Uamh, between Moidart and Arisaig. The Prince sent a boat ashore with a letter to young Clanranald. On coming on board with some of his kinsmen, Clanranald discussed the situation with Charles, who poured upon him the blandishments which had proved so fruitless in the case of his uncle, Boisdale. Accounts vary in their statement of Clanranald's attitude. Maxwell of Kirkconnel says that the young chief frankly offered his services, while Home's version is that he refused to take up arms in such inauspicious circumstances,

and was only won over by the passionate declaration of young Ranald Macdonald, brother of Kinlochmoidart, who offered to draw his sword in the cause of the Prince, if he were the only man in the Highlands to do so.

Having thus engaged the interest of Clanranald, Charles sent him to Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Harris, to secure, if possible, the adhesion of those powerful chiefs. During his absence, Dr. Archibald Cameron, Lochiel's brother, was among his visitors to the *Doutelle*, bringing with him the cheerless intelligence that the assistance of the Camerons was not to be counted upon, for Lochiel had decided not to take part in the rising. Dr. Cameron and Hugh Macdonald, brother of the laird of Morar, concurred in regarding the proposed insurrection as hopeless, and in urging the Prince to return to France and wait for a more opportune time. To these representations Charles turned a deaf ear; nothing, he declared, would divert him from his purpose. So long as he could get six trusty men to skulk with him in the mountains, he proposed to remain in Scotland instead of going back to France. When Clanranald returned to the *Doutelle*, with the tidings that Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Harris absolutely refused to join, the Prince found himself in a minority of one; for all his friends, without exception, were now in favour of the abandonment of the enterprise. Charles remained obstinate. And his obstinacy prevailed; for the chivalry of Clanranald, at least, was not proof against it. That gallant, if imprudent, young Highlander determined to throw in his lot with the Prince, the very hopelessness of the cause appealing to his generous nature. When Charles reached Borradale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, the crucial point was reached. For it was at Borradale that the interview with Lochiel occurred, the result of which decided more than one chief who was wavering. There is reason, indeed, to believe that if Lochiel had remained neutral, the rising would never have taken place.

Donald Cameron of Lochiel, whose aged father was

attainted and in exile for the share he had taken in the risings of 1715 and 1719, was a grandson of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron—Macaulay's "Ulysses of the Highlands"—whose prowess against the forces of the Commonwealth has already been noticed. "The gentle Lochiel" was the finest specimen of a Highland chief who was "out" in the "forty-five." His name sheds a lustre over it which brightens its darkest phases. Brave in the field, prudent in the council-chamber, generous to his friends, and magnanimous to his foes, he was a leader who well deserved to inspire the respect and the whole-hearted confidence of his fellow-Highlanders. In his chivalrous character there was not a trace of duplicity or self-seeking. Loyalty to his friends was with him a passion; and the Highlanders well knew that once Lochiel espoused a cause, his high sense of honour would impel him to remain true to the end. Such was the man whose invaluable support Prince Charles secured at Borradale. No one was more alive to the foolhardiness of the insurrection than Donald Cameron. When he left his home to meet Charles Edward, he was fully resolved to have nothing to do with it. But the magnetic personality of "bonnie Prince Charlie" weakened his resolution; and his unanswerable arguments were as naught when weighed in the balance with an appeal to his feelings. The romantic figure of the young Prince, who had come to the Highlands with eight men to overthrow a dynasty, touched his imagination; and he exemplified the Celtic nature by permitting sentiment to conquer prudence. When Lochiel agreed to draw the sword for the young Chevalier, the die was cast.

Meanwhile, the famous Duncan Forbes of Culloden, now Lord President of the Court of Session, was actively employed on behalf of the Government. Forbes was a man of ripe judgment, sound commonsense, and sterling integrity. It is not too much to say that he was the chief saviour of George II., and the chief obstacle in the path of Charles Edward. His services to the Government were

never requited ; his sole reward was a good conscience. The resentment of the Jacobites against him was intense. It was felt—and with a good deal of reason—that the accession of the Macleods, the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Mackenzies, and the Frasers would, in the depleted state of the country's defences, have rendered the Prince's army irresistible ; and it was afterwards declared by the Jacobites that with the addition of those clans, they might have made themselves masters of London.* The attitude assumed by the chiefs of the clans in question was mainly due to the influence of Duncan Forbes. This is plain from contemporary correspondence, and it was admitted by the Prince himself. Sir Alexander Macdonald, in a letter to Forbes dated 11th August, 1745, was very emphatic in his opinion of the rising. "That we will have no connection with these madmen is certain," he declares. "Young Clanranald," he adds, "is deluded" . . . "and what is more astonishing, Lochiel's prudence has quite forsaken him." Norman Macleod stigmatised the insurrection as a "mad rebellious attempt." And yet, if Murray of Broughton is to be believed—his own record is far from blameless—Macleod played a double-dealing game, promising his support to the Prince, while assuring Forbes of his unswerving loyalty to the Government. The sympathies both of Macleod and of Sir Alexander Macdonald were undoubtedly on the side of the Jacobites, but Macdonald, at least, never promised to take up arms for the Prince. As for Lord Fortrose, Forbes himself declared that "he was extremely zealous for his Majesty's Government."† Simon Fraser of Lovat temporised as long as he dared, and when at length, after a series of unparalleled acts of duplicity, he decided to assist the Prince, the time had passed for his help to be of any real service. The shifty conduct of this chief—whose complex character is still a puzzle—met its reward. In his efforts to keep on good terms with both sides, he overreached himself, and finally

* *Culloden Papers*, p. 272.

† *Idem*, p. 246.

brought his aged head to the block. He lived as a trickster, but he died like a philosopher. He was a curious blend of the fox and the lion, but his vulpine qualities predominated.*

The chiefs of the Mackenzies, Macleods, and Macdonalds of Sleat did not maintain their neutral attitude long; they soon ranged themselves openly on the side of the Government. The statement has been made that Lord Fortrose was a Jacobite at heart, although he declared for the reigning dynasty. But his actions were opposed to this hypothesis; and we have not only his own declarations, but the testimony of Duncan Forbes, to support the contrary view. There is nothing, on the other hand, to suggest that his attitude was inconsistent with his sympathies. And it must be remembered that he had good cause to be grateful to the existing Government. A curious episode is related which has a bearing on this matter. According to this account, the Rev. Colin Mackenzie of Glack, minister of Fodderty, was the first in his district to receive the news of the landing of the Prince. He immediately went to Brahan Castle to acquaint his chief with the all-important tidings. It was the dead of night when he reached the castle, and Lord Fortrose, like all respectable men, was in bed. The Rev. Colin, it is said, prevailed upon his chief to keep out of the way and thus avoid trouble. The two men went west, and remained in retirement at Poolewe. One day, when Lord Fortrose was dining off a sheep's jawbone, two boats full of Lewis-men were observed sailing into Loch Ewe. His lordship at once signalled to them to return to Stornoway, waving them back with the jawbone which he was in the act of picking. And thus, according to the story, was fulfilled the prophecy of Kenneth Mackenzie (Coinneach Odhar) the famous Brahan Seer—who was himself a native of Lewis—"that next time the men of Lewis should go forth to battle, they would be turned back by a weapon smaller than the jawbone of an ass." This story, if not embellished

* Lovat promised Seaforth to assist the insurgents in the rising of 1719, but failed to implement his promise (Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.).

to give point to the accuracy of the seer's predictions, is at least wanting in circumstance. There is no information vouchsafed, from which we may gather for what purpose, or by whose directions, the Lewismen crossed to the mainland. If it was their intention to join the Prince, it is obvious that Lord Fortrose was opposed to the step. But there is reason to believe that the incident occurred, not at the commencement of the rising, but early in 1746, when it was in progress. The Lewismen who crossed the Minch were probably those who composed one of the eighteen Independent Companies, raised for the service of the Government. This view is supported by the fact that the Lewis company took no part in the operations on the mainland. It was the last company raised, and it appears to have been immediately disbanded by Lord Fortrose, its services being found unnecessary. About the time that the standard was unfurled at Glenfinnan, Lord Fortrose summoned all his retainers on the mainland to meet him, for the purpose of acting in defence of the Government. Writing to President Forbes on 13th October, he tells him that some "young fellow" of his name had attempted to raise men for the Prince, but that he had charged his tenants not to stir without his leave, under pain of death. His attitude was so much appreciated by his people that they "blessed" him for protecting them, and assured him that they would do nothing without his orders. So determined was Lord Fortrose to keep his tenantry from rising, that he went among them, threatening to burn the corn-yards of any whom he found away from home; and he actually turned one house into the river on finding its owner absent.* To some Mackenzies in Argyllshire, who asked him for his advice how they should act, his reply was curt but sensible. "Stay at home and mind

* A booklet called *The Wanderer*, by an unknown author, which was published in 1747, declares that Lord Fortrose had great difficulty in keeping the Mackenzies out of the rising. The same authority states that Lord Cromartie was seduced from his allegiance by Lord Lovat and Macdonald of Barisdale. Lady Fortrose was a Jacobite, if her husband was not: she raised a few Mackenzies for the Prince.

your own business," was his counsel. When the army of the Prince, flushed with success, was marching through the West of England, Lord John Drummond urged him to change sides and thus "retrieve" his character. It was all in vain: Mackenzie had definitely chosen to go his own way; and that way was the path of prudence and consistency. The Prince himself, who was not prepared for a Seaforth acting in opposition to a Stuart, was much chagrined at Lord Fortrose's opposition. "*Hé! Mon Dieu!*" he exclaimed, "*et Seaforth est aussi contre moi.*"*

Lord Fortrose had got together a body of men from Kintail and Lochcarron for duty at Brahan Castle, and Culloden suggested that he might add to the number. "It will tend," he said, "to make Caberfoy† respectable and to discourage folly among your neighbours." Norman Macleod and Sir Alexander Macdonald were no less active in their antagonism to the Jacobites. But in Macleod's case, also, there was a minority in opposition to him. A lawyer named Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside had been specially selected by Prince Charles, for the purpose of attempting to detach the clan from the Government interest; an attempt which met "with very bad success." Donald Macleod of Bernera, in answer to his chief's summons, sent him twenty men, but he himself joined the Prince. Malcolm Macleod of Raasay, with one hundred men, likewise donned the white cockade. We have here an assertion of the independence which the chiefs of Raasay, as representing the Siol Torquil of Lewis, consistently showed in their dealings with the Macleods of Harris. The Macleods of Glendale and Brea also joined the ranks of the Jacobites. Sir Alexander Macdonald, acting in concert with Norman Macleod, summoned his retainers, among whom were men from North Uist, to rally round him for the cause of King George. Macneill of Barra seems to have remained neutral, being dominated by his Superior, Sir Alexander Macdonald. Clanranald was

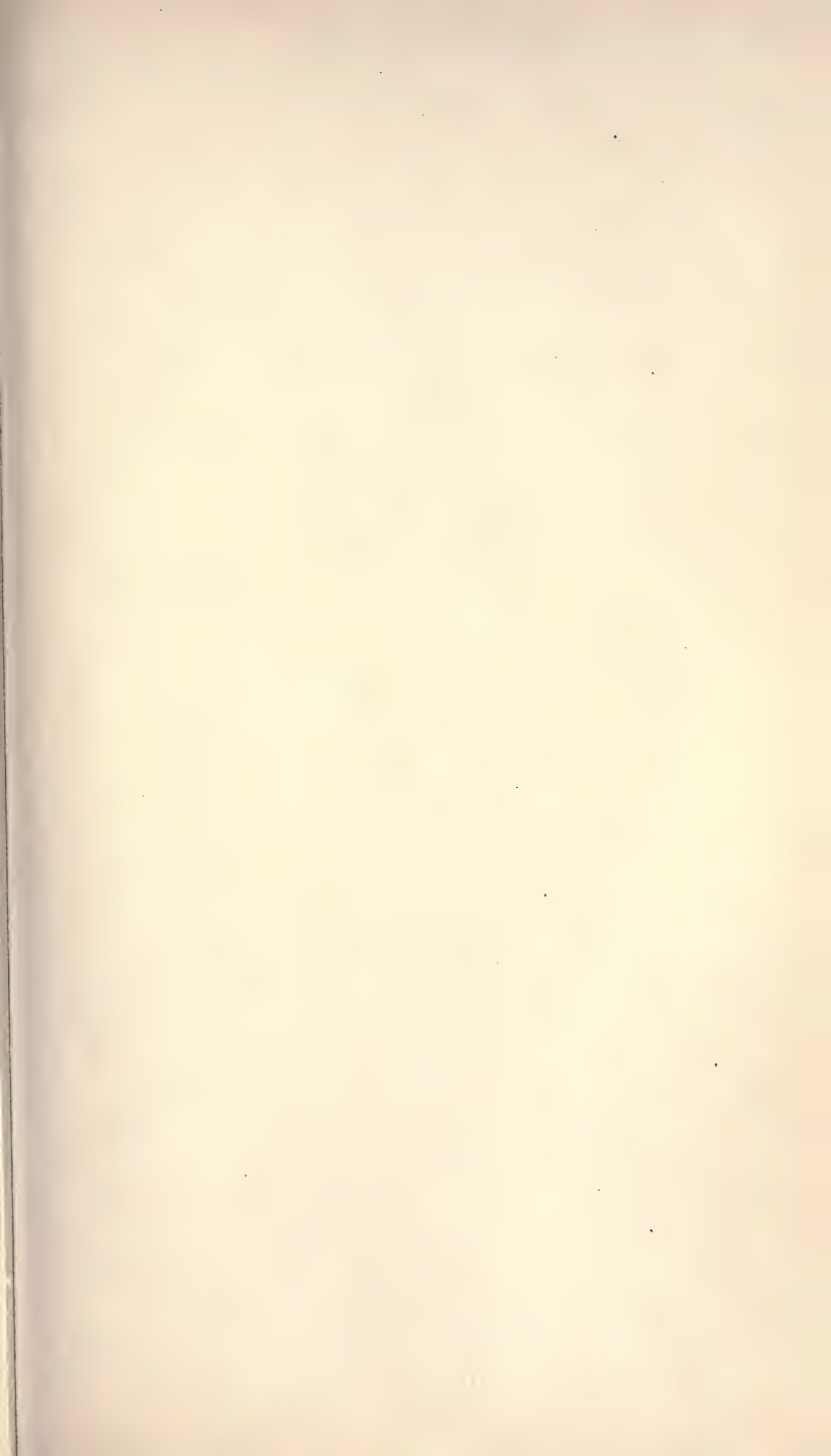
* Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*, Vol. II., p. 338.

† i.e., *Caberfeidh*, or stag's head, the Mackenzie coat of arms.

thus the only chief of the Long Island with the young Chevalier. On 26th August—seven days after the standard was raised at Glenfinnan—Norman Macleod informed President Forbes that Clanranald's Uist men were unwilling to “risque,” and had not sailed from the island by the 22nd; but we know that some of them fought at Prestonpans.*

In the month of September, President Forbes received from London twenty commissions, for raising a like number of Independent Companies in the Highlands, for the service of the Crown. This suggestion emanated from the Earl of Stair, who had complete confidence in the President's discretion, as well he might. Forbes distributed the commissions among the well-disposed clans, leaving the nomination of the officers in the hands of the chiefs. He sent letters to the Earls of Sutherland and Cromartie, Lords Fortrose and Reay, Sir Alexander Macdonald, Norman Macleod, the chiefs of the Grants and other clans, desiring each of them to raise a company. Want of funds and of arms created much delay in enrolling these companies, and it was not until several months afterwards, that the whole eighteen companies—two of the commissions not being used—were completed. The officers of the Lewis company were Captain Colin Mackenzie, Lieutenant Donald Macaulay and Ensign Kenneth Mackenzie. The Earl of Cromartie refused the commission which was offered him. His sympathies were with the Jacobites, but for some time he temporised. Finally, he joined the Prince, and with 400 or 500 Mackenzies, fought at the battle of Falkirk. His son, John Mackenzie (Lord Macleod), a youth of eighteen, was less cautious. He declared himself early in the rising, and endeavoured to enlist the support of some of the Mackenzie chieftains on the side of the Prince. With the exception of Coul and Redcastle (both of whom refused commissions in the independent companies) and John Mackenzie of Torridon, “one of the prettiest men in

* See Appendix I.





PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD ENTERING EDINBURGH AFTER PRESTONPANS.

[To face page 437.]

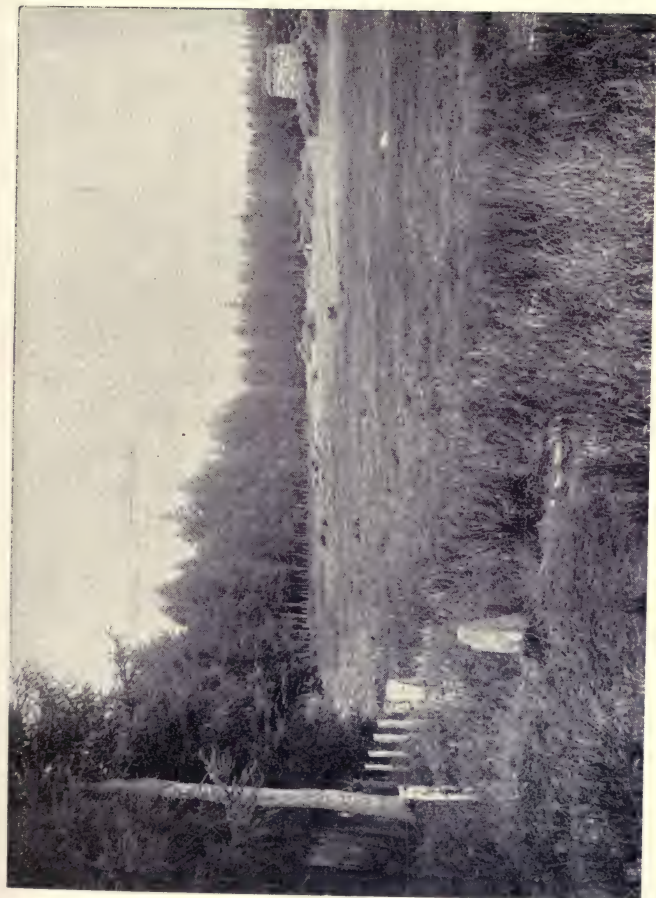
Scotland,"* who raised a few men, he failed to find open sympathisers among the Mackenzies. He was not more successful with the Macleods of Assynt and Loch Broom. He may have thought that his title, as signifying his descent from the Macleods of Lewis, their common ancestors, would have had some weight with them, but he did not succeed in raising a single man. The Earl of Cromartie, his father, had a narrow escape from the block after Culloden, being saved from execution only by the devotion of his wife. Lord Macleod had a distinguished career after the '45. He entered the Swedish service, rising to the rank of Major, and he subsequently served as a volunteer in the Prussian army. He was a *protégé* of Field-Marshal Keith, and acted as his aide-de-camp at the battle of Prague, and at all the operations in Bohemia during the campaign of 1759. When he returned to England, he requested permission to enrol a corps of 200 or 300 Highlanders to serve in Germany. He was destined to perform a more important service: for he raised that fine regiment, originally named Macleod's Highlanders, and numbered the 73rd, and now known as the 71st Highlanders. In acknowledgment of his usefulness, the Government restored to him his father's forfeited estate, on payment of £19,000, to relieve the property from existing burdens.

While President Forbes was quietly and successfully working in the North for the Government, Charles Edward was making a triumphant progress in the South. The total rout of Sir John Cope—the "Johnny Cope" of satirical Jacobite ballads—at Preston; the junketings at Edinburgh; the march into England; the capture of Carlisle; the submission of the North-West of England; and, finally, the unopposed occupation of Derby; these were the main incidents which marked the flowing tide of success. The tide turned at Derby, and the ebb set in when the retreat to Scotland commenced. The successful skirmish at Clifton;

* He led the few Mackenzies who fought at Culloden, and was afterwards saved by Sir Alexander Macdonald from the vengeance of the Government.

the capture of Stirling ; the defeat of General Hawley at Falkirk ; and the surrender of Inverness and its castle : these were as pebbles of little value which were carried off the shore of fortune by the ebbing tide. Charles Edward was fated never again to be carried on the crest of the wave of success. When his army faced the English troops on Culloden Moor, the crisis in his affairs was reached ; and the dispersal of the clans on the fateful 16th April, 1746, sounded the knell alike of his personal hopes, and of the chances of the House of Stuart ever regaining the British throne. At the decisive battle of Culloden, the Highlanders saved their honour though they lost the day. By the barbarities which succeeded the battle, the Duke of Cumberland lost his honour though he had saved the Crown. The English soldiers had learned that the so-called savage Highlanders were not only superb fighters, but generous victors. When they, themselves, tasted the sweets of unaccustomed success, their moderation was that of the hyæna. In the Highlands of Scotland, the name of "Butcher" Cumberland is still remembered with a degree of abhorrence equalling, if not surpassing, that in which the name of Cromwell is held in the South of Ireland. The specious excuses which have been made for him are altogether unconvincing. His subordinates, with some honourable exceptions, displayed a spirit of ferocity in carrying out his instructions, which suggests that they were brutalised by the lust of revenge. They had heavy scores to pay off against the Highlanders, who had disgracefully beaten in fair fight some of their best troops. They discharged their debt by the barbarous murder of the wounded ; by the massacre of defenceless men in cold blood ; by abominable outrages on women and infants ; and by remorseless and wholesale destruction of property. This was the devil's work by means of which William, Duke of Cumberland, hoped to plant firmly on the brows of his Royal father, the Crown which, a few months previously, appeared to be toppling from his head.

The operations of the Independent Companies of High-



CULLODEN CAIRN AT MACGILLIVRAY'S WELL.

[To face page 438.]

landers, which had been raised for the service of the Government, were barren of result, although they performed some useful police work. The Earl of Loudoun was in supreme command of these companies, but his experience of them was heartbreaking. According to the Duke of Cumberland, he did everything in his power for the good of the service, but "he was put at the head of a raw militia, of the greatest part of which he dared trust neither the courage or affections." Certainly their affections were not engaged in the service of King George; but their courage would have proved equal to that of their Jacobite neighbours, had their chiefs donned the white, instead of the black cockade. If, as in some instances was true, they had in the past been unwilling to rise for the Stuarts, they were now doubly disinclined to fight for the House of Hanover. In both cases, they were simply the puppets of their chiefs and the tacksmen.

Macleod of Harris, with a considerable body of his clansmen; two companies of Macdonalds under Captain James Macdonald of Airds and Trotternish; and Captain John Macdonald of Kirkibost, North Uist, formed the insular contingent of the 2,000 men under Lord Loudoun, who were posted at Inverness when Prince Charles arrived in the North. Macleod had already met a rebuff at the hands of Lord Lewis Gordon, who routed his men at Inverurie; and another humiliation was in store for him. He commanded the advance guard of the 1,500 men, whom Loudoun led from Inverness for the purpose of surprising and capturing the Prince at Moy Hall. The incidents of that ludicrous scare known as the Rout of Moy—when a blacksmith with five or six men put an army to flight*—furnish an illustration of the unwillingness of Loudoun's Highlanders to fight against their fellow-countrymen. A further illustration is provided by the hasty evacuation of Inverness by Loudoun, on the approach of the Jacobites; for he was afraid to trust

* Macleod's famous piper, Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, was the only man killed. His well known lament "*Cha till mi tuilleadh*" (we return no more) was composed when the Macleods were setting out from Dunvegan Castle.

his men. His subsequent operations were no less inglorious, his fugitive army being closely pursued by Lord George Murray, and afterwards by the Duke of Perth. The final dispersal of his followers forced Lord Loudoun, with the Lord President and Norman Macleod, to seek refuge in Skye, where they hoped to get further assistance from Sir Alexander Macdonald.

Of the three Mackenzie companies which were raised, only two—commanded, respectively, by Alexander Mackenzie of Davochmaluag, and Colin Mackenzie of Hilton—appear on record in connexion with Lord Loudoun's campaign; the third—the Lewis company—being, as already suggested, probably disbanded soon after enrolment. At Beaully, the two mainland companies left the army and returned home, but Lord Fortrose re-embodied them, and with 200 additional men, promised to join Loudoun, with whom he held tryst at Loch Carron. When Loudoun next appeared upon the scene, after Culloden, he was no longer a fugitive general, but an instrument of vengeance, dealing Hanoverian punishment to the unfortunate Jacobites.

We must now follow the fortunes of Prince Charles after his flight from Culloden. He was led off the field of battle by Captain Sullivan, the faithful Irishman who subsequently accompanied him to the Long Island. Crossing the Nairn with a few attendants, he visited, in succession, Lord Lovat—who already anticipated the insecurity of his head—and the castle of Glengarry. At Invergarry, Charles parted from his comrades, with the exception of Sullivan and Edward Burke, an Uist man of Irish origin. Guided by Burke, the party set out for Loch Arkaig in Lochaber, and passed the night at the house of Donald Campbell of Glenpean. The following night was spent at Mewboll, whence they started for Glenboisdale, where they arrived on 20th April. There Charles was joined by Clanranald, Lockhart younger of Carnwath, and Æneas Macdonald.

At the beginning of April, Æneas Macdonald had occasion to go to Barra to receive a sum of about £380, to be used in the cause of the Prince. He wanted a skilful pilot

and a reliable guide. He found both in the person of Donald Macleod, a native of Gualtergill in Skye; a man to whom Prince Charlie afterwards owed a deep debt of gratitude. Donald, who was a staunch Jacobite, readily agreed to do anything in his power to further the interests of the Prince. He piloted Macdonald to Barra, and the money was secured. While the two were at the house of Macdonald of Boisdale, Captain Ferguson of the sloop-of-war *Furnace Bomb* sent a boat ashore, manned by Macleods, with a message to Boisdale, desiring to speak to him. The Macleods recognised Pilot Donald, and on returning to the *Furnace*, told the Captain that it would be well to keep an eye on their Jacobite clansman, whose presence in the island boded no good to the Government. Æneas Macdonald and his companions made a timely escape with the money, reaching Canna after dodging the sloops which were cruising around the coast of the Long Island. From Canna, they made their way to Eigg, whence they reached in safety the house of Kinlochmoidart, on the mainland. A few days afterwards, they were on the point of setting out for Inverness, when the banker received a letter from Prince Charles giving an account of the battle of Culloden, and asking Macdonald to meet him at Borradale.

The conference between Charles and his friends at Borradale resulted in a decision being taken, that the Prince should cross to the Long Island, and make his way to Stornoway, where, it was hoped, he would succeed in chartering a vessel to convey him to France. Those who knew the Outer Hebrides most intimately were opposed to this plan, considering that in view of the risk of capture by the cruisers which were patrolling the coasts of the islands, Charles would be safer on the mainland. Sullivan, whose influence over Charles was considerable, supported the contrary view, and the Prince, wavering between the conflicting counsels of his friends, finally decided to take Sullivan's advice, which accorded with his original determination. The next thing was to find a reliable pilot. Æneas Macdonald's recommendation of Donald Macleod

quickly solved that difficulty. Donald was accordingly ordered to Borradaile, and a proud moment it must have been for that staunch Jacobite when he was asked to take charge of his Prince. They met in a wood at Borradaile. "Are you Donald Macleod of Gualtergill?" asked Charles. "I am the same man, may it please your Majesty, at your service," was the reply. "What is your pleasure with me?" "You see, Donald," said Charles, "I am in distress. I therefore throw myself into your bosom and let you do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man and fit to be trusted." In these words, we see some explanation of the hold which Prince Charlie possessed over the affections of the Highlanders with whom he came in contact. A prince who threw himself unreservedly on their protection had no reason to fear the result. Donald Macleod, from that moment, would have died a hundred deaths rather than betray his trust.

Charles seems to have clung to the belief that Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat were still his friends, notwithstanding all that had passed. He asked Donald Macleod to take letters from him to the two chiefs. Donald's astonishment was profound. "Anything but that," was his reply. "Is your Majesty not aware that these very chiefs are at this moment searching for you, in order to deliver you up to the Government?" The Prince was with difficulty dissuaded from his purpose. He was sure that had it not been for President Forbes, both chiefs would have drawn the sword for him.

Meanwhile, ships of war were scouring the west coast in search of the fugitive. It was suspected that the Prince would make for the Outer Hebrides. What more likely place of refuge than the remote Island of St. Kilda? Off posted Major-General Campbell* with a large body of men to St. Kilda, feeling sure he was on the right track. But disappointment awaited him. The poor natives of the island, appalled by the sight of such a formidable force,

* John Campbell of Mamore, afterwards fourth Duke of Argyll

fled in terror, and hid themselves in the clefts of the rocks. When their confidence was restored, they willingly supplied all the information they possessed—which amounted to nothing at all. So completely isolated were they from the outside world, that they had not even a reasonably clear conception of the events which had recently convulsed the kingdom. They heard a rumour, they said, that Macleod, their laird, had been at war with some great king,* and had got the better of him!

Preparations were at once set on foot by Donald Macleod for conveying Charles to the Long Island. He got a strongly-built, eight-oared boat from John, son of Angus Macdonald of Borradaile; and well was it for all concerned that her timbers were staunch and sound, for she was destined to face heavy seas. On the night of 26th April, the Prince embarked, accompanied by Sullivan, Captain O'Neil, who had joined him at Borradaile, a priest named Allan Macdonald (a relative of Clanranald), and Pilot Donald Macleod. The eight boatmen were Alexander, John, and Roderick Macdonald, Lachlan MacVurich, Roderick Macaskill, Duncan Roy, Edward Burke, and Murdoch Macleod, a boy of fifteen, who was a son of the pilot. This Murdoch was at the Grammar School at Inverness, where he imbibed the love of fighting, if not the love of learning. In his Jacobite sympathies he was a chip of the old block. Just before the battle of Culloden, he procured a claymore, dirk, and pistol, ran away from school to Culloden Moor, and fought for the Prince. After the battle, he found means of tracing the way Charles had gone, and followed him from place to place until he met his father at Borradaile.

As the boat was leaving Loch nan Uamh, the skilled eye of the pilot detected the signs of a coming storm. Donald begged the Prince to postpone his departure, but Charles, eager to reach his destination, persisted in leaving. Before they had proceeded very far, he regretted his decision.

* Other accounts say with a "woman."

The wind grew in strength, and soon a storm was raging, as a storm *can* rage in those parts, even in the month of April. Donald Macleod was at the helm, and the Prince sat in the bottom of the boat at his feet. The storm increasing, Charles wanted to turn back. "Impossible," said the pilot, "we shall run the risk of being dashed to pieces against the rocks ; we must go on now." And on they went into the inky blackness of the night, lit up occasionally by vivid flashes of lightning. The howling of the wind and the crashing of peal after peal of thunder were appalling. Accustomed as he was to the vagaries of the Minch, even Donald Macleod had never experienced such a terrible storm. To add to their misfortunes, a deluge of rain which persisted throughout the night, soaked the occupants of the boat to the skin. The darkness was such that the pilot, who knew every inch of the coast, was for most of the time quite unable to make out his bearings and had to trust to luck. Fortune favoured them, for at dawn they found themselves off the Long Island. The boat was at once headed for the nearest land, which proved to be Rossinish, on the north-west coast of Benbecula, where they landed, glad to find themselves on *terra firma* after such a trying experience. They hauled the boat up and entered an uninhabited hut, where they made a fire and dried their clothes. An old sail was spread on the floor to make a bed for the Prince, on which he slept soundly. A herd boy of Clanranald's observed with startled eyes the arrival of the party. He immediately went off at top speed to inform his master at Nunton.* The latter was at dinner, one of his guests being the Rev. John Macaulay, Presbyterian minister of South Uist, Lord Macaulay's grandfather, and a descendant of Donald Cam Macaulay. Clanranald sent one Donald Macdonald to find all about the strangers at Rossinish. Macaulay, who, it will be remembered, suspected the identity of

* Ormaclett in South Uist, the former residence of the Clanranald chiefs, was burnt down on the day Clanranald fell at Sheriffmuir, and has never been rebuilt. The chiefs afterwards lived at Nunton in Benbecula.

Charles when he arrived from France at Eriskay, sent a member of his congregation on a similar errand. Both messengers returned, brimful of the news that it was the Prince himself who was at Rossinish. Clanranald at once set out to pay his respects to the leader under whom his son had fought so gallantly; and made the party welcome to one of his cows, which they killed.

The Rev. John Macaulay, on ascertaining that Charles was really at Rossinish, sent word to his father, the Rev. Aulay Macaulay, minister of Harris. Father and son were alike strong anti-Jacobites, as, indeed, were all the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland. The fear of the Presbyterians was that the restoration of the Stuarts would involve the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism; while the fear of the Lowland democracy lay in the danger of a resurrection of the bogey called "Divine Right."* Such being their sentiments, the two Macaulays had no scruples about taking steps to have the Prince seized. The minister of Harris sent a message to the Rev. Colin Mackenzie, Presbyterian minister of Lochs, in Lewis, telling him that the Prince intended making for that island, and suggesting that arrangements should be made with Lord Fortrose's factor at Stornoway to seize him on his arrival. We shall see later the result of this communication.

Charles and his party resumed their journey to Stornoway on the evening of the 29th April, and in the early morning, reached Scalpa, off the coast of Harris, where they landed to take refuge from the severe weather. The tacksman of Scalpa was Donald Campbell, a brother-in-law of Hugh Macdonald of Baleshare, North Uist, who subsequently figures in the narrative of the Prince's adventures. Campbell proved a friend in need. Caution being at first essential, a plausible story was got up for his delectation. Sullivan was an Orkney merchant named

* That the Presbyterian and democratic fears were groundless it would require some hardihood to assert, although it is certain that Charles Edward was no bigot. He temporarily embraced Protestantism at a later stage of his career, when too late to be of any practical service to him.

Sinclair, and the Prince was his son. Their ship, when homeward bound from Ireland, was wrecked off the Mull of Kintyre. Their present boat and crew were hired at Mull to take them to Lewis, where they hoped to find a vessel to convey them home. The pseudo-merchant's son made himself very agreeable. He took an interest in the household arrangements of Mrs. Campbell; went cod fishing with her son; and on his way home from the fishing, helped to lug a cow out of a bog. But before he left, his identity became known. A party of armed men, headed by the Rev. Aulay Macaulay, landed on the island, and, meeting Donald Campbell, disclosed to him the rank of his guest. The story is, that they were bent on securing the reward of £30,000 offered by the Government, and that an effort was made to induce Campbell to co-operate with them. Campbell indignantly rejected the bribe, and told them he would defend the Prince, if necessary. He sent his son to his house to warn Charles and his followers, who immediately armed themselves and prepared to fight. Seeing how their scheme had failed, Macaulay and his friends sneaked away.*

On 1st May, Donald Macleod was sent to Stornoway† in a boat lent by Campbell, to endeavour to charter a vessel, ostensibly for the Orkneys, but really, of course, to take the Prince to France. He went to work very cautiously, and ultimately found a suitable ship in a brig of 40 tons, owned and commanded by a Captain Macaulay. Donald was well known in Stornoway, and his story that he wanted the vessel to go to the Orkneys, to take a cargo of meal for Skye, occasioned no surprise; for he had on former occasions effected similar charters. The bargain was struck, the freight being £100. Macleod

* This story, which is given in Buchanan's *Hebrides* (pp. 66-7), has every appearance of truth. For the credit of the Macaulays of Lewis, it may be hoped that the reverend leader of the party was influenced by his political and religious convictions, rather than by considerations of self.

In his *Journal*, which is rather an incoherent document, O'Neil says that he went to Stornoway with Macleod, but in his declaration made to the Government authorities soon after his capture, the correct version is given. (See Appendix H.)

at once wrote the Prince telling him of his success, and asking him to come to Stornoway as quickly as possible. The same evening, whether over-elated with the result of his mission, or having cracked a bottle too many with Captain Macaulay, he appears to have been over-communicative, and the shrewd skipper became suspicious. Next morning, he told Donald that he wished to withdraw from the bargain. And here Macleod's caution forsook him. Instead of professing indifference, he violated all the canons which regulate Hebridean chaffering, by appearing over-anxious. He offered to buy the vessel for £300. The owner said he would take £500. Macleod jumped at the offer. The skipper's suspicions were now fully confirmed, and he determined to back out of his offer. "You can have my mate and my crew," he said, "but I cannot go myself." The mate and the crew promptly refused to stir out of Stornoway harbour unless their captain went with them. And so the bargain fell through.

In the meantime, the Prince, under the impression that everything had been satisfactorily settled, prepared to go to Stornoway without delay. The boatmen were ordered to return to Borradale and hand the boat back to its owner. "Captain" Allan Macdonald, the priest, remained in Scalpa, and afterwards made his way to South Uist. On 4th May, Charles, attended by Sullivan and O'Neil, left Scalpa in a boat with four men provided by Campbell; a guide was also engaged to conduct them to Stornoway. Instead of crossing the ferry between Scalpa and Harris, the guide directed the boatmen to make for Loch Seaforth. They sailed up the loch nearly to the top, and there landed. The rest of the journey was performed on foot, and a trying experience it proved. It was a miserable night, dark, wet, and stormy. There was neither road nor track of any description. The guide lost his way in the Lochs district, and under the circumstances, there was some excuse for him. Footsore, his shoes worn out, and tied on his feet with packthread,

cold, hungry, soaked to the skin, and half dead with fatigue ; such was the condition of the Prince when the moor of Arnish, opposite Stornoway, was reached at eleven in the morning. And worse was to follow.

The guide was sent across to Stornoway to tell Donald Macleod of the arrival of the party, and to bring them some refreshments. Donald accordingly went to Arnish with some provisions, and took the Prince and his attendants to the house of Mrs. Mackenzie of Kildun,* a trusty Jacobite, like most of the wives of the Highlanders who were on the Government side. Charles was glad to have the opportunity of drying his shirt, which was wringing-wet.

When Donald Macleod went back to Stornoway to resume negotiations for a ship, he found the town in an uproar. The minister of Lochs had published the news that the Prince intended to come to Stornoway. Captain Macaulay had gone about the town telling people about Donald Macleod's mysterious negotiations.† The guide appears to have given a hint of the arrival of Charles at Arnish. The story passed from mouth to mouth, and the details were embellished in the telling. Finally, the accepted version was, that the Prince had actually landed in Lewis with five hundred men, bent on burning Stornoway, carrying off the cattle, and seizing a ship by force. A drum was beat, and two hundred men flew to arms for the defence of the town. At the time of Donald Macleod's arrival in Stornoway, a number of self-elected officers were engaged in holding a Council of War. Donald immediately went to them and demanded what all the pother was about. "Here comes the cause of all our trouble," said the indignant Stornowegians. And they all, with one consent, abused him heartily. Donald, according to his own account, met them with a bold

* The site of the house at Arnish is still to be seen.

† Ned Burke says that Captain Macaulay went off to the Duke of Cumberland to lodge information. This is not confirmed by any of the other narrators, and was probably only a surmise.

front. He pooh-poohed their story and ridiculed their fears. "Five hundred men!" he exclaimed. "Has the devil possessed you altogether? Where, I pray you, could the Prince in his present condition get a hundred, much less five hundred, men together?" He cursed the ministers of Harris and South Uist for a couple of mischief-making rascals. And then he opened his heart to the Stornoway men. "I acknowledge," he said, "that the Prince is at this moment in Lewis, not with five hundred men, but with two attendants. And yet, let me tell you, gentlemen, that if Seaforth himself were here, by G—! he durst not put a hand to the Prince's breast."

The Stornowegians were not anti-Jacobites. Their sympathies were obviously with Charles. But their proprietor was working for the Government; and an English warship was at that moment not far from the town.* If they helped the Prince, they exposed themselves to the vengeance of the Government and the displeasure of Lord Fortrose, who had given strict orders not to harbour any of the Jacobites. Here, on the one hand, was an opportunity of doing signal service to the Government, and of earning £30,000. They had only to send a dozen men across to Arnish to seize the hunted scion of the Stuarts, and the thing was done. But, on the other hand, Donald Macleod was right. Lord Fortrose himself would not have dared to lay a finger on "bonnie Prince Charlie" had he been present. And there was not a man in Stornoway who would soil his hands with the dirty work of earning the blood-money. The person who did so would have been regarded as a pariah throughout the Highlands.

How, under the circumstances, were the townsmen of Stornoway to act? They solved the difficulty by taking a middle course. They protested to Donald Macleod that they had not the slightest desire to harm the Prince, nor to meddle with him in any way. But they would not permit

* Maxwell of Kirkconnel says she was actually in the harbour. This seems hardly likely, as the uproar in Stornoway would have attracted her attention, and nothing, in that case, could have saved the Prince.

him to enter the town; nor would they give him a ship; nor would they provide him with a pilot to take him to Poolewe, where there was some chance of his finding a vessel. They did not wish to be mixed up with his affairs in any shape or form. All they wanted was that he should depart out of their coasts. That was their last word.

Macleod returned to Arnish and told Charles what had happened. It was obviously unsafe for them to remain at Arnish, and preparations were made to depart. It was proposed to attempt to reach the Orkneys. The boat and crew lent to Macleod by Donald Campbell were at their disposal, but two of the sailors, terrified at the commotion in Stornoway, had fled. The six who were left, refused to venture to the Orkneys or to Poolewe in their small boat, in such bad weather. It was decided to spend the night at Arnish and start early next morning, with the tacit understanding that they should return to Scalpa. While they were at Mrs. Mackenzie's house, a cow was killed for their consumption, for which their hostess was reluctantly obliged to accept payment. They put the head and other parts of the animal in their boat, with a supply of meal, brandy, and sugar, which Mrs. Mackenzie provided. They had a wooden plate for making their dough, and could use stones for making their bannocks. They slept on the moor that night; according to tradition, close to a loch which is known as "Prince Charlie's Lake."* They made a start at eight o'clock next morning (6th May).

They had not gone far before they saw two frigates off Kebbuck Head, which they took to be English; although Maxwell of Kirkconnel thinks they were the French warships which had landed money, arms, and ammunition, at Loch nan Uamh, a few days after the Prince had left. The boatmen were asked to go out to reconnoitre, but they declined to take the risk. To escape the frigates, they made for the Islet of Iubhard at the entrance to Loch

* Neil MacEachain, who was not present, says that they spent the night at Mrs. Mackenzie's house. O'Neil, who was present, says they slept on the moor. MacEachain asserts that a "mob" from Stornoway "made a dreadful noise about the house" during a great part of the night.



PRINCE CHARLIE'S LAKE, ARNISH, STORNOWAY.



Shell. Iubhard was frequently used by the Lewis fishermen for drying their white fish on the rocks. There were some fishermen on the islet as the boat approached, but they made off on seeing the strangers, whom they took to be a pressgang. After having a good look at the warships from a hill, the hungry visitors made a hearty meal off the dried fish left by the fishermen, which was rendered more palatable by some bread and butter given by Mrs. Mackenzie to Ned Burke, who acted as cook to the party. The Prince wished to leave money for the fish, but was dissuaded from the idea: it was safer to appear to have been really a pressgang. They had some hot punch, which they drank out of an earthen pitcher left by the fishermen. Two large stones served as tables, one for the Prince and his attendants, and the other for the boatmen; the bare ground had to serve for seats. The brains of the cow, mixed with meal and baked before the fire by Burke, formed a welcome addition to their bill of fare. They stayed four days and nights on Iubhard, their sleeping place being a "low pityful hut" built by the fishermen, over which they had to spread the sail of the boat to keep out the rain. Their fuel consisted of heath and turf. While at Iubhard, they saw a Stornoway vessel pass, bound, they suspected, for Poolewe, which was understood to be the Prince's destination.

On 10th May, they sailed for Scalpa, but here a disappointment awaited them. The hospitality shown to them by Donald Campbell had become known, and he was obliged to go into hiding. They left Scalpa bound south, but had not gone far before a man-of-war saw them and gave chase. To escape her, they rowed into shallow water near Rodil Point, where they remained three hours until the ship had gone. They then resumed their voyage, keeping inshore towards Benbecula. At Lochmaddy, another warship was sighted, which they successfully evaded. They spent the night at sea, cold and hungry. Their supply of bread ran out, and the Prince tasted *drammach*—i.e., meal mixed with salt water—for the first

time. He ate it heartily and professed to enjoy it; but hunger is an excellent sauce, and a dram of brandy qualified the flavour. Next day (12th May), they reached Loch Uskavagh in Benbecula. A gale had sprung up during the night, and it was raining heavily; but the boisterous weather proved a blessing in disguise, for it kept the pursuing warships out at sea. They landed at Rossinish and made a meal off a pailful of crabs. From Rossinish they walked three miles to Bareness, where they found a grass-keeper's bothy, and received a hospitable welcome. The hut was a miserable hovel for a Prince. The entrance was so low that the party could only gain admittance by crawling on their hands and knees. Burke dug away part of the ground, and put heather underneath the Prince's knees, to enable him to make a more seemly entrance. To Clanranald, who visited him in the hut, Charles declared that "the devil had left because he had not room enough in it." Clanranald brought the Prince a supply of wines, provisions, shoes and stockings. His wife thoughtfully sent six good shirts, of which he stood much in need, for his shirt was "as dingy as a dish clout."

Donald Macleod and James Macdonald, a cadet of the Clanranald family, were sent across to the mainland to get some money from Secretary Murray. They also carried a letter from Charles to Lochiel, requesting him to endeavour to find a vessel to take him to France. On 3rd May, two French ships landed 40,000 louis d'ors at Borradale, after beating off three English men-of-war. The treasure was conveyed to Loch Arkaig, to the care of Murray of Broughton; and it is a mystery to this day what became of it. When Charles left Borradale, he had 1,000 guineas in his possession, and O'Neil seems to have acted as his treasurer, for he had 450 guineas hidden away when he was captured. After Murray had seen the Prince's messengers, he determined, with Lochiel's concurrence, to go to the Long Island and bring the Prince over to the mainland. But it was represented to him that it would be indiscreet for him, a stranger who could not speak a word of Gaelic,

to make the attempt. Besides, said the messengers, Macdonald of Boisdale was, at the time they left, trying to hire a meal vessel for the same purpose (this they must have learned from Clanranald), and she might have sailed before Murray could reach the Long Island. Murray's proposal was thus overruled. Nothing appears to have been said about money when Donald Macleod and his companion met Murray at Loch Arkaig. When they mentioned the subject later on, Murray told them he had no money with him except sixty louis, which he required for his personal expenses. The messengers, after an absence of eighteen days, were thus obliged to return to the Prince empty-handed, with the exception of two ankers of brandy.

In the meantime, on Clanranald's suggestion, Charles had removed, on 14th May, to Coradale in South Uist, where he was welcomed to the house of Neil MacEachain Macdonald; a palace, he declared, in comparison with the hovel which he had just left. Neil MacEachain—a descendant of the Macdonalds of Howbeg—was educated in France for the priesthood, but had not taken orders. Returning to South Uist, he became parish schoolmaster and tutor to Clanranald's family. His proficiency as a linguist rendered him a useful companion for the Prince at Coradale. His journal is full of Boswellian touches which do not detract from its interest. Like "Johnson's Boswell," he chronicles the foibles, as well as the virtues, of his hero. He frankly states that the Prince always drank "a vast deal of brandy." And both he and Hugh Macdonald of Baleshare give particulars of a carouse, lasting for three days, in which Charles and his visitors indulged. Hugh Macdonald was the emissary of Lady Margaret, the Jacobite wife of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, the Government supporter. She sent him to Charles with newspapers, and with the intelligence that arrangements were being made to send regulars and militia to the Long Island, to search for the Prince. He met Boisdale at Coradale, who brought the disquieting news that two parties of Macdonalds and Macleods had arrived at Barra to look

for the fugitive. When the Prince heard that his would-be captors were Highlanders, he professed indifference. It was the regulars he feared; no Highlander, he was convinced, would harm him. Charles pressed Boisdale and Baleshare to stay the night. Being in such good company—which included some officers of Clanranald's regiment—they were not slow to accept the invitation; and Boisdale proceeded to get shaved and don a clean shirt in honour of the occasion. When Neil MacEachain, who had gone to Loch Boisdale for a boat, returned to Coradale, he found the Prince heaping plaids on his far-from-sober companions, and merrily singing *De profundis* for the rest of their souls! An incident like this throws an unpleasant light on the drinking habits, which formed so painful a feature of the subsequent career of Charles Edward. It is undoubted that these habits were first formed during his adventures in the Outer Hebrides.

A more pleasant side to the picture is the Prince's joyous temperament, occasionally clouded though it was by fits of melancholy. He would dance a Highland fling for a whole hour, whistling the tune to keep him in step. His appetite was always hearty, and he ate what was placed before him without grumbling. He was a keen sportsman and a skilful shot; and Coradale was provided both with good shooting and fishing. He showed his ignorance of certain phases of the Highland character one day, by ordering Neil MacEachain to swim out to sea for a young whale, which he thought he had shot from the shore. He did not consider, says Neil, that "the office was fitter for dogs than men." But the whale was not hit, and Neil was saved from the ignominy of retrieving. The Prince was in the habit of sitting at the door on fine days, with his face to the sun. It did him good, he said, and he was not afraid of a headache. Was he not thinking of that land of sunshine which now formed the goal of his hopes, and did he not feel that the kiss of the sun was as the embrace of an old friend whom he longed to meet again? The leaden skies and the tempestuous seas of the Hebrides accorded with

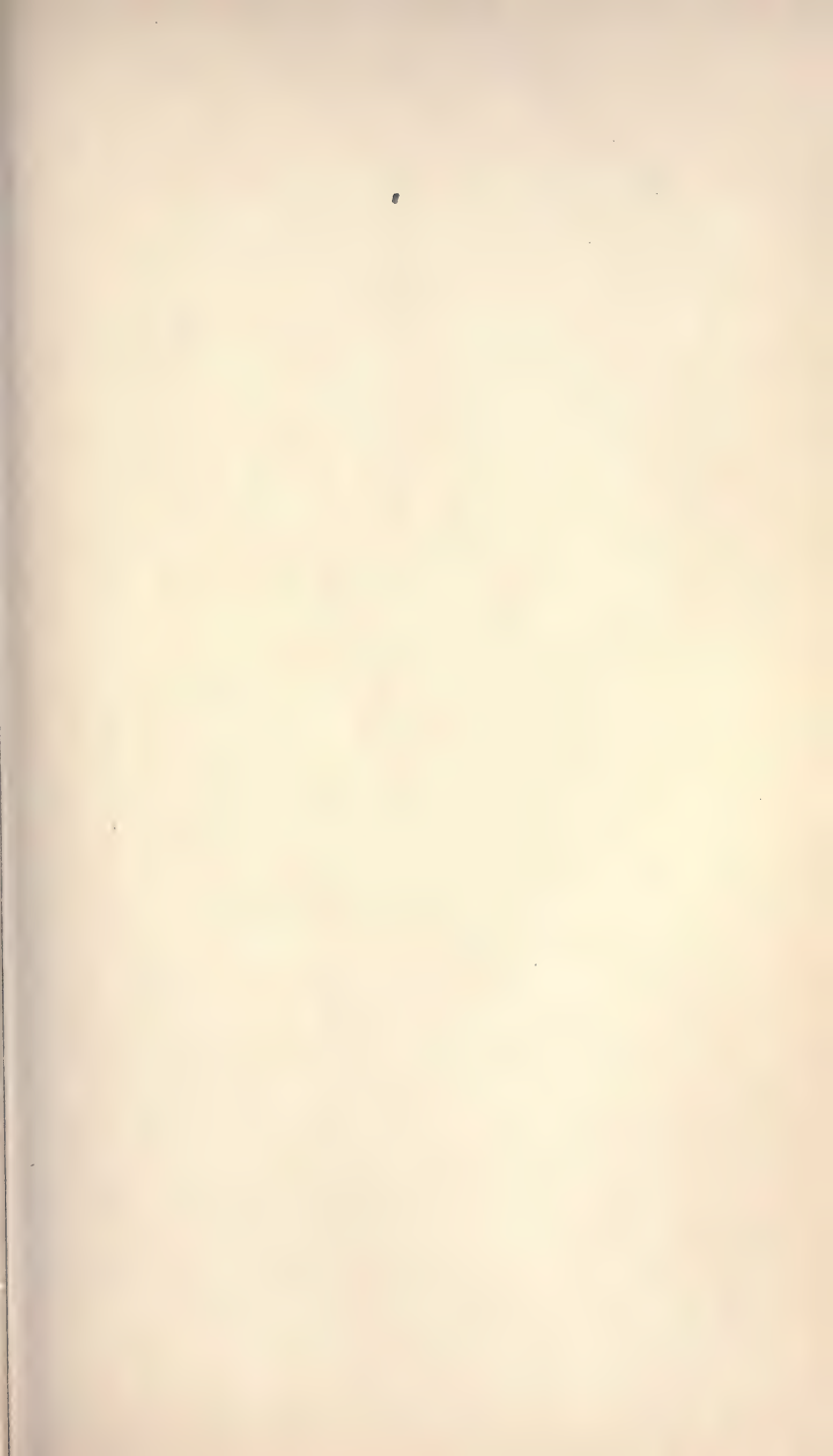
the desperate state of his fortunes. They stood out in strong contrast to the sunny France and the gay life which, less than a year ago, he had quitted with a heart full of high hopes and daring resolve. Small wonder is it that he had occasional fits of melancholy. And quite intelligible is it that he took a peculiar pleasure in watching the English warships pass along the Uist coast, hugging to his breast the wild hope that they might be French vessels in search of him. Clanranald and his friends were kindness itself; but never for one moment did Charles forget that he was a hunted fugitive, nor did he relax his efforts to find the precious ship which was to bear him away from the clutches of his enemies.

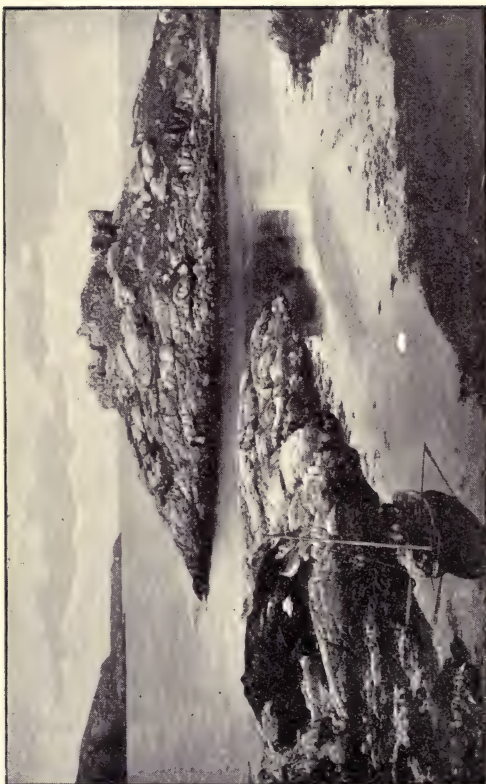
He had not yet given up all hope of Stornoway. Provided with fifty guineas each, to defray expenses, O'Neil and Captain Donald Macdonald, Clanranald's second son, set out together for Lewis to try to charter a ship. If it was found impossible to bring the Prince off, O'Neil was to go to France without him. He had a letter to the King of France, to whom he was to give an account of all that had happened since the arrival of Charles in Scotland. When they reached Harris, O'Neil, who had a decidedly foreign appearance, was recognised, and had to flee to Benbecula. Captain Macdonald went on to Stornoway, where he met his uncle, Alexander Macleod. But his mission was equally fruitless, and, with his uncle, he was compelled to return home without doing anything. It is evident that his object in going to Stornoway was discovered, for he had to remain in hiding for a long time afterwards.

The position of the Prince was now becoming critical. Nine warships were scouring the coast in search of him. Macleod of Harris had received certain information from the Rev. Aulay Macaulay, that Charles was in the Long Island, and he had strictly charged his tenantry not to harbour him or any of his followers. He sent Alexander Macleod of Ulinish, with a body of militia, to search the Outer Hebrides. Sir Alexander Macdonald sent Hugh Macdonald of Armadale—a man famous for his physical

strength—with a force of Macdonalds, on the same errand. Their plan was to search Barra thoroughly, and then go to South Uist, where they were to stay guarding the fords until reinforcements arrived. Captain Ferguson of the *Furnace*, who was desperately anxious to get the Prince into his cruel clutches, was ordered to Lewis to keep an eye upon that island. Captain Mackenzie was sent to Harris, and the *Baltimore* was ordered to cruise on the coast of Uist. Every avenue of escape seemed likely to be closed, and the Prince was dejected by the outlook. Boisdale tried to re-assure him, and promised to find him a hiding-place where he would be safe until he found a ship; but soon afterwards, he, himself, was captured by the *Baltimore*. Coradale was now getting obviously unsafe; the danger of the Prince being hemmed in was daily becoming more imminent. On 6th June, he left Coradale at night, and sailed to Wiay, an island off the south-east coast of Benbecula. To guard against a surprise, Charles deemed it prudent to select a suitable cave on the sea-shore in which to hide, should his enemies land. His fears proved to be only too well-grounded. A party of Macleods came to Wiay, and Charles and his attendants were once more forced to move. During their stay at Wiay, Lady Clanranald came from Rossinish with provisions; and to Rossinish, Charles, attended only by O'Neil, who rejoined him at Wiay, fled for refuge on the 10th. But the militia had now arrived at Benbecula, and their boats were patrolling the coast. Hearing of this, Donald Macleod and Sullivan got a boat and took the Prince and O'Neil off Rossinish; and they sailed for Coradale on the 12th. A storm arose, which compelled them to put in for shelter at Usinish Point, on the east coast of South Uist; and they spent the night in a cleft of the rock at Acarseid Falaich* (between Loch Skiport and Usinish), reaching Coradale on the afternoon of the 13th. From Coradale, they sailed the same night to the mouth of Loch Eynort, where they arrived at

* *i.e.*, the anchorage of concealment.





CALVAY ISLAND AND CASTLE, LOCH BOISDALE (SOUTH UIST).

[To face page 457.]

sunrise. They had had nothing to eat all night, and were thoroughly worn out. A tent was rigged up for the Prince, with the oars and sail of the boat, and on a couch of heather, he enjoyed a well-earned sleep. Neil MacEachain, who had joined the party at Coradale, acted as sentry before the entrance to the tent, and two of the boatmen kept watch a mile off. The same night, or early next morning, finding the enemy within two miles of them, they rowed to Stuley Island, whence they crossed to Loch Boisdale in the hope of getting assistance from Macdonald. To their dismay, they discovered that he was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. His wife, however, sent them a much-needed supply of provisions. At first, they took refuge in an old tower on an island (tradition says Calvay Island), hiding in the hills until night. They saw at one time no fewer than fifteen warships cruising off South Uist, and narrowly escaped capture by two of them which entered the loch. They skulked up and down Loch Boisdale for some days, sleeping in the open fields at night, with only the boat's sails as covering. What was the hunted Prince to do ; where was he to go ? While he was discussing the situation with his friends, a messenger arrived from Mrs. Macdonald, with news which threw them into a state of consternation. Captain Carolina Scott—a notorious ruffian—had landed in Barra with a force of regulars from Fort William, and had sent word to Mrs. Macdonald that he would arrive at her house next day. That night, they crossed to the other side of Loch Boisdale. On the following morning, Lieutenant Ruari Macdonald, who had joined them, was sent to ascertain whether Scott had arrived. He brought back word that the military were at that moment in Boisdale's house ; that Mrs. Macdonald, her step-daughter, and all her servants were "tied neck and heel," to extort a confession of the Prince's whereabouts ; and that the soldiers were busy ransacking the place and carrying the plunder to their boats. A conference was hurriedly held, and it was decided that each man should shift for himself, O'Neil and Neil MacEachain alone remaining with the Prince.

Donald Macleod was much affected on parting with the Prince, whom he never saw again.

At this juncture, when things looked at their blackest, a ray of light appeared. Captain Hugh Macdonald of Armadale was in Benbecula in charge of a company of militia. Although serving the Government, he was a Jacobite at heart. When Captain Scott landed in Uist, Hugh Macdonald sent a secret message to the Prince, "from an enemy in appearance yet a sure friend in heart," advising him to try to reach Skye, where Lady Margaret Macdonald might be relied upon to protect him. His proposal was that his step-daughter, Flora Macdonald, who was then in South Uist, should go to her mother in Skye, accompanied by the Prince, who was to dress in female clothing and pass himself off as her maid.* Charles was greatly pleased with the suggestion, and was impatient to put it into execution.

On 21st June, the Prince and his companions crossed the mountains and arrived at midnight at a sheiling near Ormaclett, belonging to Angus Macdonald of Milton (about three miles from Milton), where they met Flora Macdonald and proposed the plan to her. At first, she hesitated for obvious reasons, but she finally agreed to risk everything for the sake of the Prince. She lost no time in leaving for Benbecula to consult with her step-father about making the necessary preparations; while Charles and his companions went to a hill three miles from Coradale, there to await events.

Flora Macdonald, the heroine whose gallant enterprise and unselfish devotion have won her an abiding place in the gallery of the world's famous women, was a native of South Uist, though she is sometimes claimed for Skye. Her father, Ronald Macdonald of Milton—a cadet of the Clanranald family—died when she was a year old, leaving,

* This is not the commonly accepted version, but Neil MacEachain's narrative, in which it appears, is worthy of credence; and it seems to be confirmed by the fact that Hugh Macdonald was subsequently arrested. O'Neil, in his *Journal*, takes credit for proposing the plan, but in his declaration to the Earl of Albemarle, he naturally enough makes no such claim.

besides his daughter, a son who succeeded to the Milton property. Her mother married, as her second husband, Hugh Macdonald of Ormadale, in Skye, which then became the daughter's home. Luckily for Charles Edward, she was on a visit to her brother, Angus, in South Uist, when he crossed her path. She is described in 1749 as being "about twenty-four years of age ; of a middle stature ; well shaped ; a very pretty, agreeable person ; of great sprightliness in her looks ; and abounds with good sense, modesty, good nature, and humanity." We shall now see how this devoted girl played her part in rescuing the unfortunate Prince from the clutches of his enemies.

We left Charles and his two companions on the lonely hill near Coradale. Neil MacEachain scoured the country for food, and having succeeded in finding a supply of provisions, was sent after Miss Macdonald to ascertain how the plan of escape was progressing. When he reached the fords between Benbecula and South Uist, he was stopped by a guard of Skye militia (Macleods), who sent him to their captain, on the other side of the ford, to be examined. He was agreeably surprised to find Hugh Macdonald of Ormadale in the person of the captain, and with him his step-daughter, who had been similarly stopped by a party of Macleods, and sent to the very man whom she wished to meet. It was arranged that Neil should return to the Prince and take him to Rossinish, where Miss Macdonald was to meet them. During MacEachain's absence, Charles was in an agony of despair, fearing, from her silence, that Flora Macdonald had deceived him. He was just on the point of sending O'Neil to General Campbell to arrange to give himself up, when MacEachain returned. Had Neil been detained for an hour longer, there might have been two "Charles the Martyrs," instead of one.

MacEachain, having on 23rd June made his way back to the Prince and O'Neil, guided them at night to Loch Skipton, where he hired a boat to take them to Wiay. On the following morning, they rowed to Benbecula, forded an arm of the sea, and came upon two sheilings, where they

met two of Clanranald's tenants, who supplied them with milk and other food. MacEachain told the men that the Prince and O'Neil were poor Irish gentlemen who had fled from Culloden, and were making their way to Rossinish; and one of the men consented to act as their guide. They arrived within three miles of Rossinish on the afternoon of the 24th. The weather was miserable: it was raining heavily, and a strong wind was blowing. The Prince, shivering with cold, lay down in the long heather waiting until nightfall. When darkness set in, they resumed their weary tramp to Rossinish, Charles stumbling at every other step into a bog. He repeatedly lost his shoes in the bogs, and kept MacEachain busy, fishing them up again. When they approached the house where they were to meet Flora Macdonald, MacEachain went ahead of the others to ascertain whether she had arrived. He found the house occupied only by the caretaker and his wife, who told him that twenty men of the Skye militia had landed two days before, and were encamped only a quarter of a mile off. The Prince, whose temper had been sorely tried by the incidents of the journey, flew into a passion when he heard the news. Was he never to throw the bloodhounds off his scent? The guide having mentioned that the house of one of Clanranald's "boomen" (chief tenants) was not far off, they went there and were hospitably received. At the break of day, the booman's wife told MacEachain that it was dangerous to stay in the house any longer, as the militia came every morning for a supply of milk. O'Neil was at once sent off to Nunton to inform Miss Macdonald of their arrival. Charles and MacEachain left the house with all speed, and hid behind a rock near the shore, where the Prince had a trying experience of midges, those pests of the Hebrides. A dairy-maid from the farm kept them posted in all that was going on at the house, where they returned after the militia had departed. Charles, who was dripping, hung up his clothes to dry, and sat in his shirt before the fire, "merry and hearty." He was offered a dish of hot curds, and plunged his hand into it, thinking the

curds were solid! His astonished hostess then saw, for once in her life, a prince in a passion, and it required the tact of Neil MacEachain to smooth matters over. That humorist offered to take a stick, and beat the unlucky woman within an inch of her life. Charles, thinking he was in earnest, begged him to do no such thing—for fear she would run off and betray them! Towards evening, the guide, who had gone to Clanranald's house, returned, bringing with him a letter from O'Neil and a supply of food. A good meal and a sound sleep on a bed of heather, prepared by MacEachain, restored the Prince to his accustomed good humour.

On the following morning, he sent a letter to O'Neil, desiring him to return that night, but O'Neil replied that he was waiting for Flora Macdonald and Lady Clanranald, who were to arrive at Nunton on the following day. The fact was that they were busy getting his dress ready, and making the other necessary arrangements; matters upon which, the impatient Prince, man-like, had vague notions. Flora Macdonald had in the interval been in communication with Hugh Macdonald of Baleshare, on the subject of harbouring Charles in North Uist; but Baleshare, fearing to give offence to his chief, Sir Alexander Macdonald, had declined to agree to the proposal. The Prince spent the next day with his attendant in the booman's house, and on a hill in the vicinity, from which a good view of the coast was obtainable. At last, on the morning of the 27th, Lieutenant Ruari Macdonald and one John Macdonald arrived to say that the boat and crew were ready. The four then went to the above mentioned hill, where MacEachain left the Prince in charge of the Macdonalds, and set out for Nunton to hurry the ladies. When he arrived there, he found them ready to leave. O'Neil went by land to join the Prince, and Flora Macdonald, Lady Clanranald, her daughter, Angus Macdonald of Milton, and Neil MacEachain set out by boat to Rossinish. The Prince was waiting to receive them, and it was a merry party that sat down to supper that evening. They had hardly begun

supper when one of Clanranald's herds came to say that General Campbell was landing men, three miles away. This news broke up the supper party, and they hurriedly crossed Loch Uskavagh, reaching the other side at five in the morning, when they finished their interrupted meal at their leisure. Two or three hours later, a servant arrived with a message from General Campbell to Lady Clanranald, intimating that he and some of his men were at her house, and desiring her to be there before noon, or her property would suffer. She hastened to obey the summons, and on arriving home was subjected to a strict cross-examination. She was asked where she had been. "To visit a sick child," was her reply. It is scarcely necessary to say that General Campbell failed to extract a syllable of information from this staunch Jacobite.* Soon afterwards, she and her husband were both made prisoners, and strenuous efforts were made by the Government to obtain local evidence against them. They were, however, with Boisdale, Clanranald's brother, discharged in June, 1747, and returned from London to the Long Island, with a stronger hold on the affections of their people than would ever have been the case had they rendered only passive help to the bonnie young Prince. Macneill of Barra was also taken prisoner, and Donald Macleod, after his arrest, was to have been one of the witnesses against him. But from what we know of Macleod, we may be sure that the old pilot was not the man to give his friends away; and the laird of Barra seems to have escaped scot-free. The precise charge against Macneill is not stated. He was a Jacobite and was thus liable to arrest on suspicion; but there is nothing to show that he rendered active help to the Prince during his adventures on the Long Island.

The final preparations for the voyage to Skye were quickly made by the party at Rossinish. The Prince was to adopt the *rôle* of an Irish maid, Betty Burke by name, whom Hugh Macdonald recommended to his wife as an

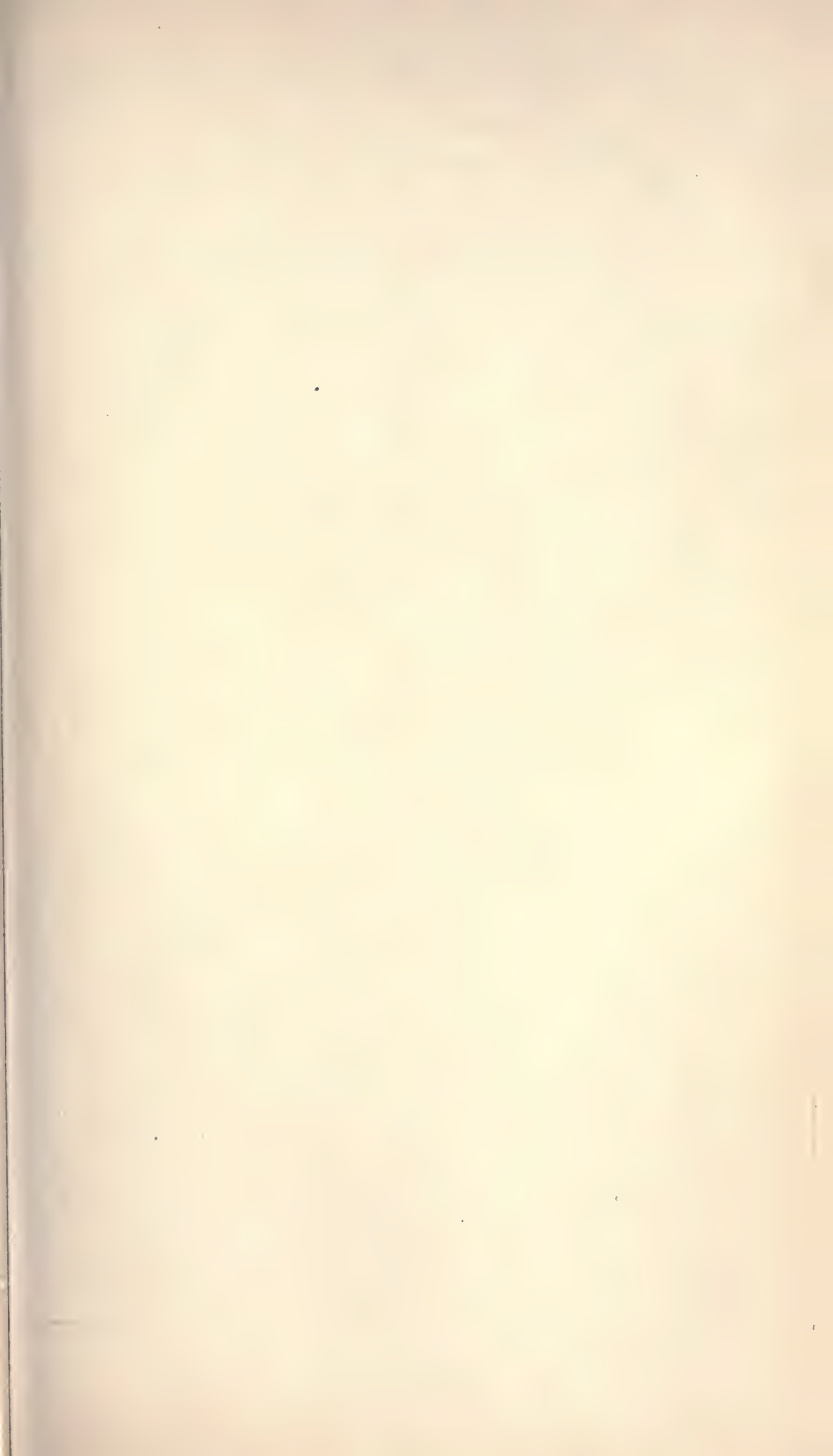
* One account states that Captain Ferguson was in charge of the Campbells.

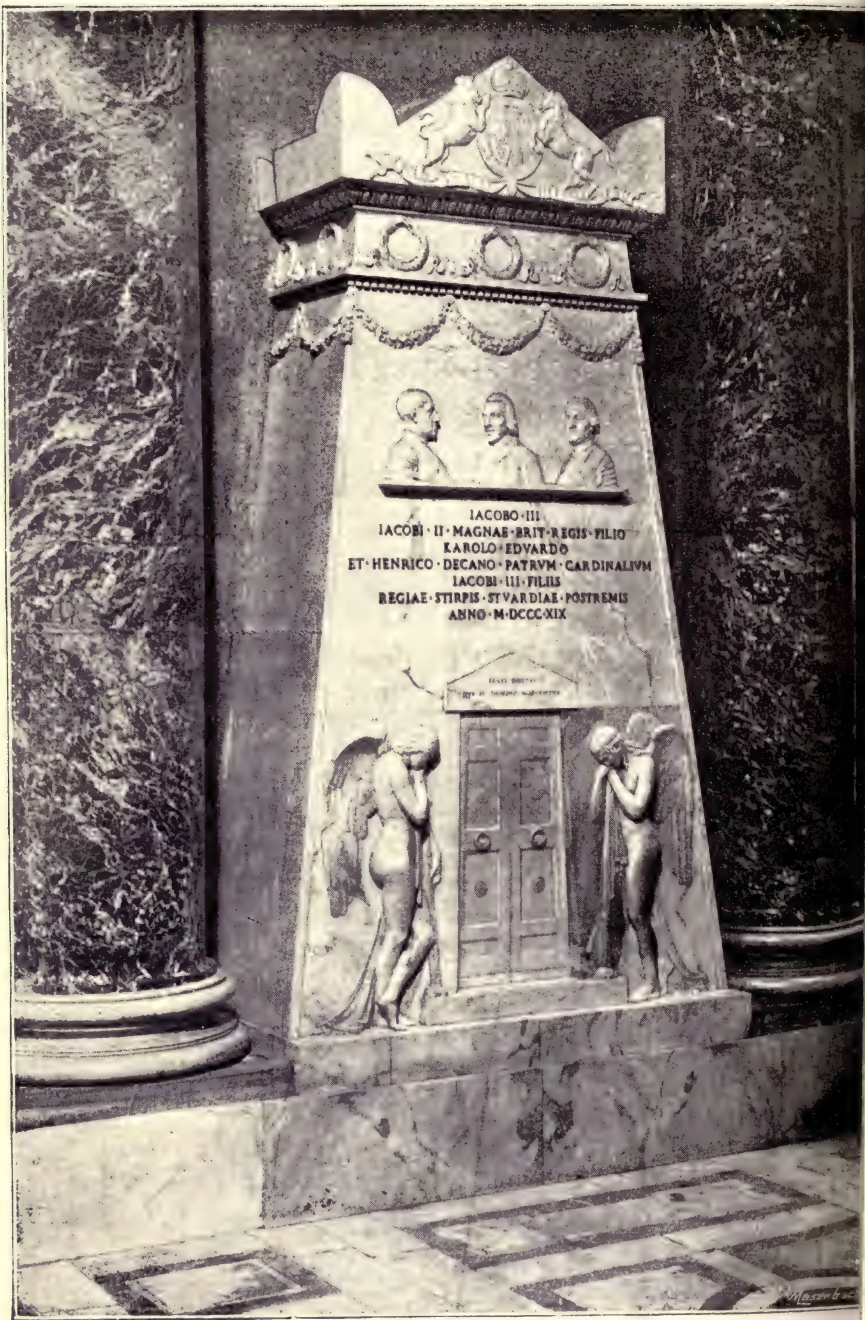
excellent spinner of flax. The dress selected for "Betty Burke" was coarse and homely, suited to the station of the wearer. It consisted of a "callico gown with a light coulered quilted pettycoat, a mantle of dun camelot made after the Irish fashion with a hood joined to it." The gown was thickly stamped with purple sprigs; and it is significant of the hold which the Prince's romantic escape had upon the public mind, that a Leith tradesman afterwards copied the pattern and found it a paying inspiration. Neil MacEachain tells us that Charles found the hood specially troublesome; he could not keep his hands from adjusting it, and he "cursed it a thousand times." The transformation of the Prince into a tall Irish girl having been satisfactorily accomplished, all was ready for the journey. O'Neil was left behind, much against his own will and probably that of the Prince. But Flora Macdonald was inflexible on this point: O'Neil's foreign air and ignorance of Gaelic were dangerous factors which could not be ignored. Possibly, too, she was not sorry to get rid of an admirer who appears to have pestered her with his attentions. The Irish officer returned to Milton with Angus Macdonald.

While Charles and his companions were waiting on the shore for the friendly shades of evening, they were alarmed at seeing five wherries making towards them. They supposed they were the boats which had landed the Campbells in Benbecula the night before. The fire which they had kindled on the beach was at once put out, and they hid behind the rocks, awaiting further developments. Luckily for them, the wherries did not stop, but proceeded on their way southwards. That was the last glimpse the Prince caught of his enemies in the Long Island. At eight o'clock on the evening of 28th June, the hazardous voyage "over the sea to Skye" was commenced. The boat's crew consisted of Ruari and John Macdonald, John MacVurich, Duncan Campbell, and Ruari Macdonald of the Glengarry family. Neil MacEachain was to appear in the capacity of servant to Flora Macdonald.

When they started, the sea was calm and they rowed away at a great rate. About midnight, a gale of westerly wind sprang up, and to add to their troubles, they entered a bank of thick mist which fogged the crew. To keep up their spirits, Charles told them amusing stories and sang several spirited songs. In the early morning, the weather being clear, they sighted the coast of Skye. The wind, which had shifted to the north, now blew so strong in their teeth that for an hour and a half they appeared to make no headway. The boatmen were getting exhausted, but the Prince encouraged them to stick to their work, offering to take an oar himself as a relief. At length they reached Waternish Point, where they landed under the shelter of a cliff to rest, and eat their frugal breakfast of bread and butter and water. The journey was then resumed, the boat keeping close inshore. They had hardly rounded the Point when they saw two Macleods on sentry duty, and in order to avoid suspicion, they rowed quietly out to sea. One of the sentries, however, ordered them to stop, and as they took no notice of the order, levelled his musket and fired at them, but without effect. The other Macleod rushed off to report the occurrence to his commanding officer. The boatmen now bent to their oars with a will, and the Prince stimulated their efforts by his intrepid bearing. "Don't be afraid of the villains," he said. On the boatmen assuring him that they were not concerned for their own safety but for his, he replied cheerily, "No fear of me." By this time, a body of fifteen armed men had rushed from the village to the Point, where the sentry was posted. They had two boats at their disposal, but the oars were locked in the guardroom, and before they could get them down to the beach and their boats launched, the fugitives would be safe from pursuit. The militia, therefore, contented themselves by firing at the receding boat until she was out of range.

Having escaped this peril, the fugitives had no further risks to encounter before arriving at their destination, viz., Kilbride in Trotternish. They landed near Monkstadt





THE STUART MONUMENT IN ROME.

House, the residence of Sir Alexander Macdonald, and it was then that the pluck and diplomacy of Flora Macdonald were subjected to a severe strain. How she proved equal to the task which she was called upon to perform, is matter of history, and need not be repeated here. Nor is it necessary to follow the Prince in his further adventures, which are equally well-known. After a series of exciting episodes in Skye, Raasay, and the mainland, Charles sailed from Loch nan Uamh in a French privateer, the *Happy* (an appropriate name), on 19th September, and his enemies were finally baulked in their efforts to secure him. Well would it have been for his reputation had his career ended, as it virtually commenced, at Loch nan Uamh. Over the later years of his life, it could be wished that it were possible to draw the veil of silence ; for the picture which they disclose of a prince no longer either "bonnie" or brave, is one of the saddest in history.

To the dispassionate critic, who judges men as he would judge prize bullocks, and professes to be proof against the influence of illusions, the devotion of the Jacobite Highlanders towards Charles Edward is perhaps incomprehensible. It is plain that the attachment centred, not so much on the dynasty which Charles represented, as on the person of the Prince himself. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand the different emotions which the presence of the Old Chevalier aroused when he arrived at Perth in 1716. The father was received with an entire absence of enthusiasm, if not with positive disapproval, and his personal bearing depressed, instead of inspiring, his adherents. Thirty years later, the son, who had less solid, if more showy, qualities than the father, carried the hearts of the Highlanders by storm. Had James, instead of Charles, come to Scotland in *La Doutelle*, it is probably not too much to say that there would have been no "forty-five" to chronicle. Yet, apart from his handsome appearance, his charming manners, his sunny disposition, his undoubted bravery, and his conspicuous moderation in the hour of victory, Charles Edward showed none of those out-

standing qualities, the possession of which distinguishes the leaders of men from the men who are led. Many a man in the ordinary walks of life is equally as charming, good natured, and brave as the Young Chevalier, and yet by no conceivable stretch of the imagination, can be considered a great man, or an inspiration to his fellows. How then did Charles secure his ascendancy in the hearts of his Highlanders ; a race peculiarly susceptible, perhaps, to the influences of a good appearance and fine manners, but not to the point of the devotion displayed in the "forty-five" ?

The fascination which the personality of Prince Charles Edward exerts at the present day, is perfectly intelligible. There is still in our midst a small band of stalwart Jacobites, who cherish his memory as the last militant representative of the principles they avow. But for the great majority of the British race, who neither see visions nor dream dreams of restoring impossible conditions, the sustained interest in the Prince is due to the romantic character of the group of incidents, of which he forms the central figure. The charming ballads which have perpetuated the Jacobite sentiment, and the impressionist portraits of Sir Walter Scott, have, in no small measure, contributed to the same result. The Highlanders who formed the subsidiary figures in the group of incidents, were clearly fascinated by that inscrutable power of personal magnetism, which Charles possessed in an extraordinary degree. It was an easy gradation for the impressionable Celts to idealise their Bayard ; not only to exaggerate the virtues which he actually possessed, but to endow him with imaginary qualities in which he was really deficient. The chiefs who rallied round him can hardly be supposed to have lost their power of discrimination ; and those of them who primarily succumbed to his charm, gradually threw some of their illusions overboard. But with the rank and file of the Highlanders, it was otherwise. Originally indifferent to the personality of the Prince, or the House which he represented ; concerned only with the behests of their chief, whose will was their law ; they gradually became

hero-worshippers at the shrine of him whom they venerated at that distance which saved their reverence from the fatal effects of familiarity. The impression of the Prince which they acquired was peculiarly permeable, and spread throughout the lower orders of the Highland population, affecting even those whose chiefs remained faithful to the Government.

When the Celt venerates a person or a principle, his fidelity towards both is unassailable. When he creates an ideal, he clings to it with the stubborn tenacity of the Saxon. With the common Highlanders, there was in this case no question of principle ; the doctrine of hereditary succession troubled them but little, and the heresy of Divine Right not at all ; it was at the feet of the man, Charles Stuart, that they laid their affections. Not £30,000, nor ten times that amount, would have tempted the poorest of them to desecrate their self-erected shrine. And thus it came to pass, that when the Prince was lurking in the Long Island, the poverty-stricken Hebrideans, to whom a sum like £30,000 was literally a fabulous fortune, wilfully permitted it to slip through their grasp, rather than prove unfaithful to him whom many of them revered and all respected. When he was at Arnish, the whole population of Stornoway were aware of the fact, and when he was at Coradale, more than a hundred people knew of his hiding-place. Yet, to their lasting honour be it said, not one of all those people attempted to earn the Government reward. With a few, the fear of social ostracism may have outweighed their love of money ; but there is no room for doubt that in the majority of cases, the predominant factor in their fidelity was hero-worship of the purest type. Their behaviour during the man-hunt in the Long Island is beyond all praise : it would be difficult to find a parallel for such chivalrous loyalty to a lost cause.

The fate of the devoted followers who shared the Prince's dangers and hardships in the Outer Hebrides, merits description. Donald Macleod, the trusty pilot, was taken prisoner on 5th July, in Benbecula, by Lieutenant Allan Macdonald of Knock (Sleat), and was sent on board

Captain Ferguson's ship in Applecross Bay. General Campbell, who was then with Ferguson, demanded from Donald whether he had been with Charles, and received a reply in the affirmative. Asked if he knew that a reward of £30,000 was on the head of the Prince, which would have made him and his family happy for ever, the old sailor protested that if he had got the whole of England and Scotland for his pains, he would not have permitted a hair of his head to be touched, if he could have helped it; his conscience, he said, would not have allowed him to enjoy the money for forty-eight hours. The General was fain to admit that he was right, but he warned Donald that if he did not tell everything he knew about the Prince, "Barisdale's machine" (to which he pointed) would wring a confession from him.* The threat was not put into execution, nor, we may be sure, did Donald tell more than he could help. He was sent to London, but was released on 10th June, 1747. In acknowledgment of his faithful services to the Prince, he was helped by Bishop Forbes; and in commemoration of the famous voyage from Borradale to Rossinish, Mr. John Walkinshaw of London presented him with a silver snuff-box suitably ornamented and engraved; a memento which the old pilot carefully cherished to his dying day.

Ned Burke, after parting from the Prince, skulked in North Uist for nearly seven weeks, during twenty days of which period, he had nothing to eat except dulse and shellfish. He latterly found refuge in a cave, where a friendly shoemaker's wife brought him food at night. Ultimately, he made his escape, and ended his days in Edinburgh as a sedan-carrier.

Captain O'Neil, whom we left in the company of Angus Macdonald of Milton, joined Sullivan, who had remained in South Uist. About two days after O'Neil had parted from Charles, a French vessel, with 120 men, arrived at the island for the Prince. Sullivan immediately went on

* This was a machine used by that disreputable blackmailer, Macdonald of Barisdale, for extorting confessions of theft. It was made of iron and stood upright. The culprit's head, neck, hands, and feet were put into it, and he was placed in a sloping position so that he could neither "sit, lie, nor stand." *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XVI., p. 429.

board, and O'Neil hastened to Rossinish on the bare chance of Charles not having left. When he returned from his fruitless errand, he found that the French ship had sailed three hours before his arrival. Three boats, each with thirty armed men, had been sent after the Frenchman, and the captain having a fair wind, and deeming it imprudent to wait longer, had left the Prince and O'Neil to their fate. O'Neil then tried to induce the Prince's boatmen—who had meanwhile returned from Skye—to go back with him, but they declined to accept the risk. They, themselves, were soon afterwards seized, and threatened with torture or death if they refused to disclose all they knew. Captain Ferguson, having obtained a description of the dress worn by Charles, followed him to Skye in hot pursuit.* O'Neil, finding it impossible to get away from South Uist, went to Rossinish, where he took refuge in a sheiling, waiting for an opportunity to cross to Skye. He was discovered by Captain Macneill of the Argyllshire militia, and was sent as a prisoner to Lord Albemarle, who was then at Fort Augustus. He states in his *Journal* that he was brought before Ferguson, and on refusing to give any information about the Prince, Ferguson had him stripped, and ordered him to be put into a rack and whipped by his hangman; but he was saved from this ignominy by the intervention of a lieutenant of the Scotch Fusiliers. He was less reticent when brought before Lord Albemarle, for his declaration on oath† gives a full account of the Prince's proceedings up to the period that he parted from him. O'Neil, being a foreign officer, was treated as a prisoner of war. He was taken to Berwick-on-Tweed, and after some time, set at liberty.‡

* The reputation of Ferguson is vividly illustrated by a remark of Mrs. Macdonald of Kingsburgh. "If Ferguson," she exclaimed, "is to be my judge, then God have mercy on my soul."

† See Appendix H.

‡ In Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, it is stated that O'Neil's *Journal* shews a somewhat confused intellect, but he certainly possessed "a generous heart." Adverting to O'Neil's possession of 500 (or 450) guineas at the time he was captured, Murray of Broughton caustically remarks: "How that gentleman (O'Neil) will answer for reserving so large a proportion of his master's purse for his own use, is more than I shall pretend to divine." The Government appropriated the money.

Neil MacEachain was one of those who embarked with the Prince on board the privateer *L'Heureux* at Borradale—the company consisting of twenty-three gentlemen, with a hundred and seven followers. On his arrival in France, Neil joined Ogilvy's Scots regiment. He died in 1788, and his son, the famous Marshal Macdonald, became one of the most trusted generals of Napoleon Bonaparte, who created him Duke of Tarentum. Marshal Macdonald visited, in 1826, his father's old home at Coradale, in South Uist.

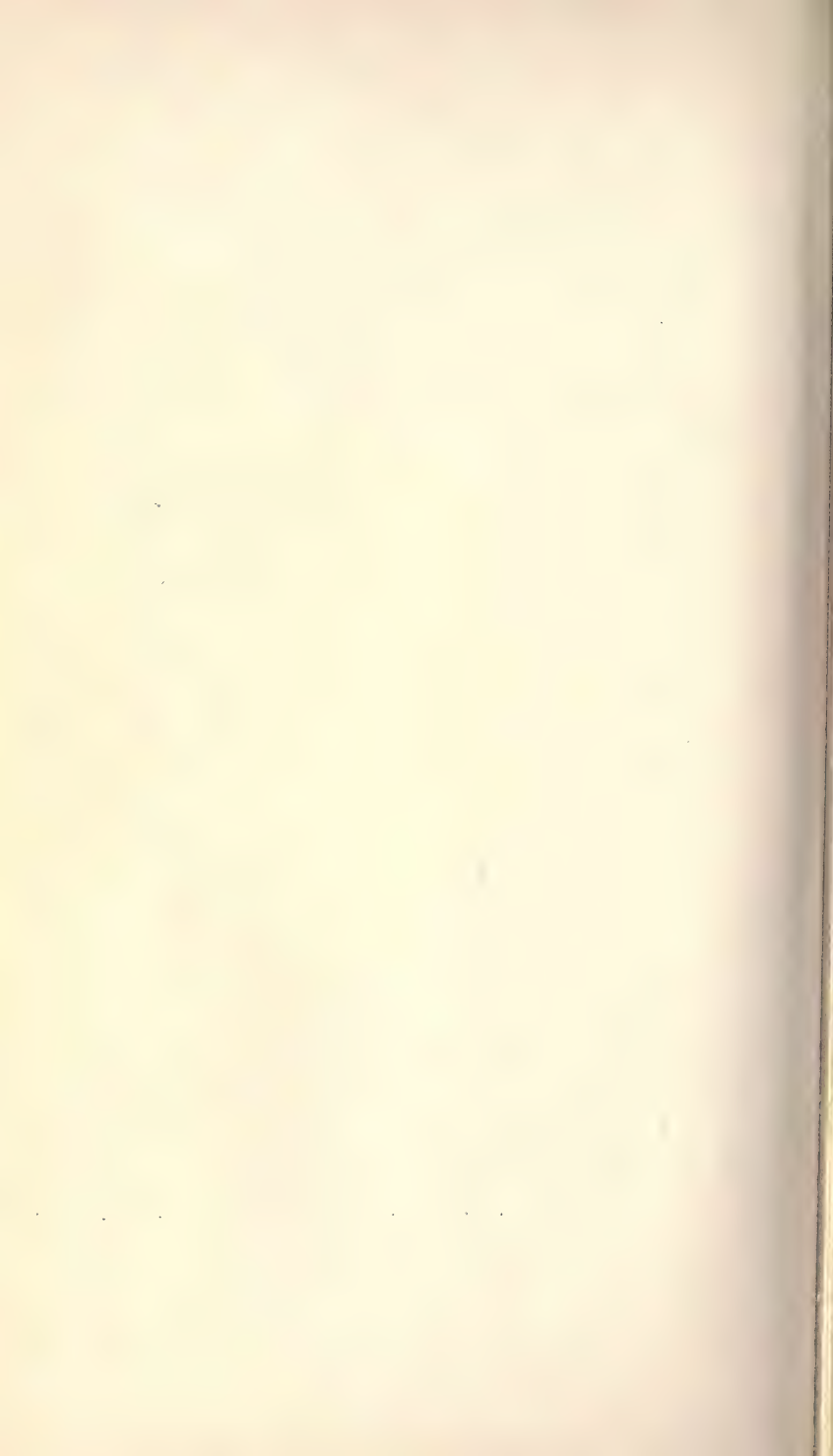
The later career of Flora Macdonald may be told in a few words. She was taken prisoner in Skye, and put on board Captain Ferguson's sloop, being afterwards transferred to the *Eltham*, whose commander, Commodore Smith, treated her with great courtesy. She was sent to London, where she remained in confinement until July, 1747, when she was released without a trial. She became a popular heroine, and the feeling of admiration for her conduct was not confined to the Jacobites. She married young Macdonald of Kingsburgh, and emigrated with him to North Carolina. At the close of the American War of Independence, in which her husband fought for the Mother Country, they both returned to Scotland. On the voyage home, their ship was attacked by a French privateer. During the fight, Flora remained on deck encouraging the sailors, and while so engaged, she was thrown down and her arm was broken. Kingsburgh and his wife settled down in Skye for the remainder of their lives. Previous to their emigration to America, they entertained Dr. Johnson and Boswell at their house during the memorable journey of the sage to the Hebrides in 1773, and the heroine of 1746 made a favourable impression upon both. She died in 1790, aged 68, and was buried in the churchyard of Kilmuir, where a monument marks her grave. In Inverness, also, a monument has been erected to her memory.

NOTE.—The foregoing account has been compiled from the narratives of the Prince's companions, and from other contemporary sources. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary* has been a valuable help.



FLORA MACDONALD.

[To face page 470.]



CHAPTER XV.

THE triple-headed weapon which the Government employed after Culloden, for rendering impossible the recurrence of rebellion, was designed to deal a crushing blow at the system of Celtic feudalism which prevailed in the Highlands. The Disarming Act enforced passive obedience to the laws; the Act against the Highland dress stifled the spirit of nationality; the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, although these formed no part of the clan system, struck, nevertheless, at its very roots. This is not the place to discuss the undoubted advantages which ultimately accrued to the Highland people from the decay of their feudal system, and to weigh them against the less obvious disadvantages which are claimed as an offset. The change was far-reaching. It stripped the chiefs of powers which had no parallel in Great Britain; and it put at the disposal of the people, liberties, immunities, and a form of justice, through regularly appointed sheriffs, to which they had previously been total strangers. On the other side of the account, may be fairly placed the mutual dependence and the mutual sympathy engendered by Celtic feudalism, and the intimate relations between chiefs and commoners which it fostered. But it is painfully clear that in most cases, the paternal care of the chiefs for their clansmen, and the community of interests which formerly existed, had been gradually superseded by an autocratic system of government, which divested the commoners of the last shred of control over the actions of their leaders. Yet, the fiction of patriarchy was maintained to the end: the cordiality of the chiefs to the meanest of their dependents covered a multitude of

oppressions. The ties of clanship were so strong, the pride of a common ancestry, or an adopted name, so unquenchable, that the yoke which was placed upon the shoulders of the peasantry was borne, not only without a murmur, but with a consciousness that in implicit obedience to their superiors, lay their own best security, their own clearest duty, and their own highest good. Their lord and master might, as he usually did, discourage the spread of education among them; they had no sense of ignorance from which they desired deliverance. Their lord and master, or his tacksman, might, as occasionally he did, banish them to the West Indies, or attempt to sell them as slaves to the American plantations; in their blind allegiance, they offered no resistance to his greed and cruelty.* Their lord and master might, as he frequently did, fine them, or even hang them, and confiscate their property at his pleasure; it was the chief's will, and his will was their law. From this pathetic state of submissiveness, they were rudely aroused by the vigorous hand of an alien civilisation, which was now knocking at their doors. They awakened from their long sleep: but they were as children groping in the dark, not knowing which way to turn. The clan system was gone for ever; and the finger of the future pointed to a path shrouded with mystery, strewn with perplexities, and leading to a goal beyond their ken.

While these were the conditions which applied generally to the Highlands before, and immediately after, the "forty-five," it can hardly be supposed that their application was universal. The great lords like the Argylls, the Huntlys, and the Seaforths, pursued a more enlightened policy than the less important chiefs. While retaining and exercising the powers which their hereditary jurisdictions conferred upon them, they encouraged a knowledge of peaceful arts

* See Burt on this subject. In 1739, Norman Macleod of Bernera (Harris) kidnapped a number of people from Skye and Harris, with the intention of selling them as slaves to the Southern States of America. The vessel was wrecked on the coast of the North of Ireland, where some of the islanders settled, the remainder finding their way back to their homes.

among their dependents. In Lewis, where a number of different clans owned allegiance to the Mackenzies, there must necessarily have been an absence of that cohesion which obtained when the dependents were all of the same blood. A community of interests, differing in kind from those which influenced the Seaforth tenantry on the mainland, was required to supply the deficiency. This fact must have been recognised by the proprietors of Lewis, and must have influenced their policy in the government of the island. The encouragement of trade and agriculture formed the best means of knitting together the different, and, in some respects, conflicting units, of which the population of Lewis was composed. But unfortunately for the island, it became soon after the suppression of the rising of 1745, the haunt of publicans and sinners. Lord Fortrose found it convenient to farm Lewis to his factor, Colin Mackenzie, for a payment of £1,000 annually; and this unwise delegation of authority resulted in a lucrative source of income for the factors, and a fruitful source of misery for the people. Captain Barlow, an English officer who, with a company of troops, arrived in the Long Island in 1753, on a hunt for arms, priests, and the Highland dress, describes how the factor ground the faces of the people. Barlow quarrelled with the Chamberlain (who was also Sheriff-Substitute) about three pieces of brass cannon which were found in, and removed from, Stornoway, and the value of his testimony may possibly be impaired by personal animus. (See Appendix I. for particulars.) But that his statements are substantially correct, is proved by the fact that a later writer (see *infra*) brings similar charges against the factor's immediate successors.

The Long Island was not exempt from the effects of the social upheaval which took place in the Highlands generally, after Culloden. How to fill the void created by the abolition of feudalism exercised the mind of the Government. One of the schemes proposed to them was to buy out those chiefs whose estates were not already

forfeited, send them about their business, and parcel out the Highlands on easy terms among Englishmen and Lowland Scots.* This drastic proposal was not adopted, and the chiefs—chiefs no longer now in the old sense—were left to work out their own salvation. Most of them faced the problem in the way which was the easiest and the simplest. Divested of their authority as dictators of their clans, they sought solace for their diminished power as chiefs, in increased emoluments as landlords. Rents were raised, and the old ties commenced to snap one after the other. The tacksmen were the first to feel the pressure of the new conditions, and they felt it so keenly that some of them left the country in disgust and emigrated to America, carrying with them a number of the peasantry. The sub-tenants took their place, only to undergo the same experience. Then came the Lowland sheep farmers, the glitter of whose gold was beyond the power of the lairds to resist. But the hardships suffered by the common people were the severest of all. They had escaped from one system of tyranny, only to find themselves in the grip of another. Their fetters lying at their feet seemed to mock their newly-acquired liberty ; they were free, but their freedom was a delusion, and their independence a snare. Bewildered at first by the new *régime*, which was a complete reversal of the old, they soon realised that, by the commercialism which now dominated the Highlands, the value of money had gone up, and the value of men had gone down. And then the great wave of emigration which desolated many a Highland glen swept over the country.

Lord Fortrose died in London in 1761 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was married to Mary, eldest daughter of Alexander Stewart, sixth Earl of Galloway, and was succeeded by his only son, Kenneth, who is known as the "little lord." In 1763, the latter obtained a Crown charter, dated 10th December, of the Seaforth pro-

* MS. in Public Record Office (proposals for civilising the Highlands of Scotland, &c.).

perties.* As a reward for his loyalty—or perhaps, more correctly, that of his father—he was in 1766 raised to the peerage, with the titles of Baron Ardelve and Viscount of Fortrose in the County of Wicklow. In 1774, he was created Earl of Seaforth, also in the Irish peerage.† While these honours were being showered upon him, his Lewis tenantry were in a state of ferment; and for the following reasons.

In 1772, there was a failure of the crop of oats in Lewis. The scarcity of oatmeal was such that the people were obliged to resort to unwholesome food, and an epidemic of putrid fever broke out, of which an alarming account reached the South, the current rumour being that the plague was raging in Stornoway.‡ In 1773 and 1774, the emigration fever was at its height. Glowing accounts of the wonderful riches of America were published throughout the Highlands. It was an auspicious moment for emigration on a large scale. The sudden rise in rents, a succession of bad crops, the high prices of provisions, and the backward state of manufactures, were all factors which impelled the people to listen greedily to the stories of the Eldorado on the other side of the Atlantic. Soldiers who returned to the Highlands from America,§ inflamed the imaginations of their compatriots by their accounts of its wealth. Some of them got tacks of land, but on the proprietors suddenly raising their rents, they declined to pay the advance, and threatened to return to America, hoping that the threat would induce the landlords to modify their terms. Being disappointed in that hope, they did their best to allure their friends across the sea, frequenting all

* Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*, Vol. I., p. XXI. Presumably this charter waived the rights of the Crown in the Burgh of Stornoway. In 1863, Sir James Matheson obtained a Crown charter of Stornoway Harbour, a grant which gave rise to the "foreshore" question.

† The Scottish titles were given in the Irish peerage because the Act of Union rendered it impossible to create a peerage of Scotland.

‡ Home Office Papers, 4th-14th November, 1772, p. 574.

§ The Long Island sent out between four and five hundred men to the war with France in North America, most of whom were killed in action, including Roderick Macneill of Barra, who fell at Quebec in 1759. Captain Donald Macdonald of Clanranald was also killed at Quebec.

public occasions, "with drinks, pipes, and fiddles, to rouse their spirits to the expedition." Enterprising shipowners reaped a golden harvest from the emigration craze. The bone and sinew of the Highlands were in demand in America, and those who could not pay their passage were assisted to reach the land of their desire.

The natives of Lewis, despairing of improved conditions at home, and allured by the glowing accounts from America, prepared, in 1773, to emigrate in large numbers. In April of that year, arrangements were commenced for crossing the Atlantic during the summer. Over 800 men, women, and children sailed from Stornoway to America, their probable destination being North Carolina, which was the favourite settlement of the Long Islanders before the American War of Independence broke out. Alarmed by this exodus, and desirous above all things of stemming the tide, Seaforth (then Lord Fortrose) hastened from London to Lewis and held a conference with his tenantry. What were their grievances; what did they want? Their requirements were stated in a few words. They wanted their land at the old rents; they desired a refund of the increased rental paid during the last three years; and they demanded the instant dismissal of the factor. The feeling in Lewis was so strong, that it was believed in well-informed quarters, that unless these requests were granted, the exodus from the island would become general, and Lord Fortrose would be left with a deserted property on his hands.* We are left in doubt as to the outcome of Seaforth's negotiations with his tenantry; but he appears, from subsequent events, to have succeeded in smoothing over the difficulty.

To appreciate the demand of the Lewismen for the dismissal of Seaforth's factor, it is necessary to explain the unique position of that official. He had secured a lease of the factorship, with its numerous emoluments, for a number of years; and the office proved a veritable gold mine to him. He had a complete monopoly of the trade in black cattle

* *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 29th September, 1773.

and of the white fisheries. No tenant was allowed to sell his cattle (until his rents were paid) to any one not empowered by the factor to buy ; and if any person attempted to purchase with ready money, the cattle were arrested and were not permitted to be sent out of the country, until every penny of the rents had been collected. " This on your peril I desire may be done immediately, and any person who dares to sell after these orders are made public, you are to acquaint me thereof." Such was the manner in which this autocrat was accustomed to issue his orders. The tenants of Lewis were bound to keep the factor in firing, and that official, after supplying his own requirements, was in the habit of selling the surplus to the inhabitants of Stornoway, which yielded him an annual revenue of £40 to £50. He is said to have left Lewis with a fortune of £20,000, a portion of which he laid out on an estate, where he developed into a full-blown Highland laird.* His son, Alexander Gillanders, succeeded him in the factorship and its emoluments. He paid the fishermen £13 per ton for their ling fish, and sold at a spot price of £18. His traffic in cattle, grain, meal, and other articles, brought him such large profits that he was better off than many Highland proprietors owning considerable estates. When the lease of his office expired, which occurred about 1793-4, it is probable that his reign came to an end ; for the last Lord Seaforth, who was then proprietor of Lewis, was hardly the man to perpetuate such an iniquitous system. But, unfortunately, the day of tyrannical factors in Lewis did not terminate with the end of the eighteenth century.

The climax to the emigration movement was reached, when the captains of emigrant ships commenced a systematic search for passengers in every remote island and creek on the west coast, where there was no possibility of supervision over their methods of filling their ships. Kidnapping became a common occurrence ; the ships were loaded to their maximum capacity ; and the accommodation and

* Knox's *Tour*, pp. 191-3.

food provided were of the worst description. The trade developed some of the bad features of the Kanaka labour traffic in the South Sea Islands, previous to its purification by the Queensland Government.

A vessel named the *Philadelphia* called in at Stornoway Harbour, and the master proceeded to kidnap boys off the beach, and lock them up on board his ship, without the consent of their parents or employers, who were debarred from access to them. Lord Seaforth's obnoxious factor was helpless to rescue them. There was neither judge nor magistrate in the island, the only person having legal authority being the factor himself. His jurisdiction, as then limited by law, extended only to levying the rents ; judging in small cases where the debt or damage did not exceed 40s., and in cases of assault, battery, and other minor offences ; and sentencing offenders to the stocks. Recently, he had been offered a seat in the Commission of the Peace ; but, as by the law of Scotland, one justice of the peace had no power to try an offence, he was debarred from dealing with a case of kidnapping, like that in which the captain of the *Philadelphia* was engaged. Nor, owing probably to his unpopularity, was he able to get anybody to assist the civil officers in seizing the offenders, the inhabitants of Stornoway, in the state of public feeling which existed, being indisposed to interfere. He had to content himself, therefore, with lodging a formal protest against the captain and his owners, and with reporting the circumstance to Seaforth, who petitioned the Home Office for a military detachment to be stationed at Stornoway, to prevent such irregularities in the future. Strong action was necessary, for no fewer than seven ships were cruising about Lewis, and the mainland coast, cajoling the people into emigration and employing, where necessary, means like those used by the *Philadelphia* for obtaining recruits.* But the Government hesitated to send a military force, fearing that this step would defeat its own object. Any measures appearing to operate as a forcible check to

* *Home Office Papers*, 2nd June, 1774, pp. 219-20.

emigration might, it was thought, only tend to give a fresh fillip to the movement. Besides this consideration, there was the further drawback, that no judge or magistrate "known in the law" resided in Lewis, who could give the necessary authority for acting in a military capacity. The only suggestion that could be made for remedying an admittedly unsatisfactory state of affairs, was for the Sheriff of Ross-shire, in whose jurisdiction the island lay, to grant a commission to some "person of character," appointing him Sheriff-Substitute of Lewis; from which it appears that Sheriff-Substitute Colin Mackenzie, "who never held a Court," was not permitted to bequeath that office to his successors in the factorship. In 1785 a recommendation was made to Parliament by a committee appointed to consider the economic conditions of the islands, that Skye, Lewis, and Shetland be erected into three new and separate sheriffdoms; but the recommendation never took effect.

Although the difficulty of the Government interfering with the flow of emigration was felt, it was nevertheless considered by the Home Office that some steps should be taken to regulate the trade. It was therefore proposed, ostensibly as a check on the abuses of recruiting, and in order to ensure the comfort of the emigrants on board ship, that the masters of vessels be compelled to clear at known ports of the kingdom under the inspection of Customs officers, who should have power to refuse clearances in cases where the accommodation and provisions for the passengers were insufficient. It was believed that this supervision would act indirectly as a check on emigration, inasmuch as it would reduce the profits of ship-owners, who would be compelled to raise the fares. By thus increasing the cost of emigrating—through the enhanced fares, and the expense of reaching the ports of embarkation—it was hoped that some discouragement would be given to the movement. But above all, the proposed supervision would "prevent violence and unfair seduction," and bring the trade more immediately under

the eye of the Government.* The custom was, for a few of the leading spirits to club together, and subscribe for the chartering of an emigrant ship. Those who desired to emigrate were then called together, and some person of influence in the community was usually appointed as their agent to transact the necessary business on their behalf, at a fixed charge (usually 10s. or 20s.) for each emigrant. It may well be imagined that if the agents were more concerned for their own gain than for the welfare of the emigrants, a door was left open for abuse of authority.

That the Government were seriously alarmed by the progress of the emigration movement is clear. Fears were openly expressed that the Highlands would become depopulated, as the mines of Peru and Mexico had depopulated Spain. The poverty of the people was the main cause of the outflow, but it was assumed that the removal of that factor would not necessarily imply the cessation of emigration. Those emigrants who had a little money of their own, were prospering in the new country, but the unfortunate people who had not the wherewithal even to pay their passage out, were worse off than they were at home, and would willingly return if they could.† When the war with America broke out, the Government were apprehensive of the attitude of the Highland emigrants. Would they become inoculated with what were called "American principles"? And would the operation of those principles prove an obstruction to the recruiting of soldiers in the Highlands for the King's service? Grave fears were felt that the Highlanders settled in America would be found "the best recruits for their (the colonists') rebellious armies," a view which Washington himself seems to have held. When left to themselves, the Highlanders, it was stated, were zealously attached to the Government, but when exposed to the "insidious wits and falsehoods" of American agents, they might be enticed from their duty. Once more, it was (in 1775) proposed to place the

* *Home Office Papers*, 4th July, 1774, p. 229.

† *Idem*, 25th April, 1774, and 14th August, 1775.

traffic under the direct control of the Government, in order to minimise the evil results which were anticipated.* The fears of the Government as to the attitude of the Highland emigrants, were not justified by events. In the American War of Independence, there were Highlanders on both sides, but the majority remained faithful to the Mother Country, among them the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment. The Long Islanders who settled at Cross Creek, North Carolina, were specially distinguished, alike for their loyalty and their misfortunes.

Lewis was not the only island of the Outer Hebrides to be affected by the emigration fever. From North Uist, a great rush to America occurred between 1769 and 1773. The old Statistical Account of North Uist says that in four years—between 1771 and 1775—several thousands emigrated from the Western Highlands and Isles alone. In a pamphlet published in 1784, the statement is made, that between the years 1763 and 1775, the number of Highlanders who left their homes to settle in America, reached a total of 20,000.

A body of emigrants left South Uist under 'peculiar circumstances. Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, who figured so prominently during Prince Charlie's wanderings in the Long Island, changed his religion and became a Protestant. He was essentially a "pre-forty-five" man, whose relations with his tenantry were little influenced by the economic changes which were going on around him. To him, his tenants were still his children, or his serfs, according to the point of view. With all the zeal of a new convert, he endeavoured to force them to follow his example by renouncing their religion. He summoned them to his presence, and bade them sign a form of renunciation which was read to them; the alternative being eviction from their homes. In the old days, the example of their chief would have been sufficient justification for the clansmen to comply with such a demand;

* *Home Office Papers*, 25th April, 1774, and 14th August, 1775.

but if Boisdale was still living in the atmosphere of the past, clearly his tenants were not. They refused to change their religion at his bidding, and elected to starve rather than yield. Thereupon, Boisdale, still posing as a belated relic of patriarchism, took his yellow staff and drove the people before him like a flock of sheep to the Protestant church. From this incident, the Protestant religion became known in South Uist as the "religion of the yellow stick."*

Hearing of the persecution of his co-religionists, John Macdonald of Glenaladale came to their relief. He sold his estate to his cousin, Alexander Macdonald of Borradale, and bought 40,000 acres of land in Prince Edward Island (then called St. John's Island). In 1772, he brought out about two hundred of Boisdale's tenantry to this property, where they settled. Glenaladale afterwards became a captain in the Royal Highland Emigrants, and seems, with his Uist men, to have played a useful part in the War of Independence.

The American War retarded the progress of emigration from the Long Island in two ways: it raised the price of kelp, thus giving more employment to the people, and it caused the intending emigrants to hesitate before committing their lives and fortunes to America during its unsettled state. Later in the century, emigration was again in favour. About 1794, 200 natives of Barra were induced by the specious promises of an unnamed person, to sail for Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, to which places, with Canada, the tide of emigration was now diverted. When they arrived, they were left entirely to their own resources, and would have died of starvation had they not been succoured by the colonists. The disastrous outcome of this venture induced others, who had sold their effects and were about to leave Barra for America, to remain at home; and the friendly attitude of the proprietor contributed towards the same result. The prosperous times which now set in, owing to the increasing

* The same story is told of one of the lairds of Coll, who endeavoured to coerce his tenants in a similar manner.

value of kelp, put an effective stop to emigration from the Long Island, both to America and Glasgow. Elsewhere, we shall notice the circumstances of its renewal in the nineteenth century.

When the American War broke out, the Government realised the force of Lord Chatham's eloquent eulogy on the Highland regiments, when he boasted, in 1766, of having found in the North, and drawn into the service of the Crown for service abroad, a race of men who had conquered for Britain in every quarter of the world. It was intolerable that the Mother Country should be denuded of such splendid fighting material, and that the rebellious colonies should, perhaps, absorb it. A counter-attraction was imperatively demanded, for diverting the flow of emigration into a channel which would be of service to the State, and contribute directly to, instead of impairing, its strength. How was this end to be attained? The obvious answer was, by raising additional Highland regiments. And to these regiments, the Long Island contributed its quota.

In 1777, Alexander, first Lord Macdonald of the Isles, the second son of Sir Alexander Macdonald of the "forty-five" (and the brother and successor of the celebrated Sir James Macdonald, "the Scottish Marcellus," who died in 1766), was granted letters of service to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles. He declined the command, but exerted his influence in the formation of the regiment which was known as Macdonald's Highlanders, or the Old 76th. The regiment was disbanded in 1784 after useful service in America. In 1778, Lord Seaforth embodied the 78th (afterwards the 72nd) Regiment, which now figures as the 1st battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders. The Earl raised 1,130 men, of whom about 900 were Highlanders, 500 being from the Seaforth estates, and the remainder from the estates of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle. Seaforth himself was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and in the month of August, the regiment marched to Leith under orders for the East

Indies. While at Leith, the men complained that their engagements had been infringed, and that part of their pay and bounty was in arrears. A mutiny broke out, and Seaforth was temporarily in bad odour with his men. Refusing to embark, they took up a position on Arthur's Seat, where they remained for several days, encouraged in their disaffection by some of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who supplied them with provisions. The difficulty was, after much negotiation, overcome, and the regiment having served for a time in two divisions in the Channel Islands, sailed for India from Portsmouth on 12th June, 1781. But Lord Seaforth was fated never to reach his destination; he died on the passage before the regiment reached St. Helena. The death of their colonel accentuated the depression caused by an attack of scurvy, to which a number of the soldiers had fallen victims; and when the regiment reached Madras, its strength had been reduced by no fewer than 247 men.

Lord Seaforth, who left no male issue, was succeeded by his cousin, Colonel Thomas Frederick Mackenzie-Humberston, grandson of Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Assynt and Cononsbay, fourth son of Kenneth Mòr. Colonel Alexander's only son, Major William Mackenzie, was married to a daughter of Matthew Humberston, Lincoln, whose name, in addition to his own, the Major's son assumed, on succeeding to his mother's property. In 1779—two years before his death—Lord Seaforth, who was heavily in debt, and whose estates were in the hands of trustees, conveyed the property to his heir and cousin, Colonel Mackenzie-Humberston, in consideration of a payment of £100,000.

The new laird of Lewis did not enjoy his possessions long. In 1783, when only twenty-eight years of age, he was mortally wounded in a naval engagement with the Mahrattas, after a short but distinguished military career in India. He was succeeded by his brother, Francis Humberston-Mackenzie, the last Seaforth in the male line who owned the Island of Lewis.

Meanwhile, a change had taken place in the proprietorship of Harris. Norman Macleod, who was chief of the Siol Tormod at the time of the "forty-five," had ruined his estates by his gambling propensities and his general extravagance. He followed the general example set by the Highland landlords in raising the rents of their tenantry, a course of action which, in his case, was necessitated by his debts. The added burdens placed upon their shoulders overweighed his impoverished people, and when the great wave of emigration spread over the Highlands, they felt its irresistible influence. A wholesale denudation of the estates was imminent in 1772, and it was only by the tactful influence of the chief's grandson and successor, that the situation was saved. By the death of Norman Macleod, in 1772, this grandson, afterwards the distinguished General Norman Macleod, inherited the chiefship and the property, with its debt of £50,000. For some years, the sale of a portion of the estates had been in contemplation, and while the General was abroad, his commissioners sold, in 1779, Harris and St. Kilda to Alexander Macleod,* late captain of the East Indiaman *Mansfield*, for the sum of £15,000; a good bargain for the buyer. In 1804, Captain Macleod's son sold St. Kilda and the adjoining islands to Colonel Donald Macleod of Achnagoyle for the sum of £1,350, whose son re-sold it, in 1871, to the present Macleod of Macleod for the sum of £3,000. But Harris, which had been in the possession of the chiefs of the Siol Tormod for 500 years, passed permanently out of their hands, and soon afterwards, its connexion with the Macleods was finally severed.

Captain Macleod pursued an enlightened policy in his relations with his Harris tenantry. He determined to do everything in his power to encourage the fishing industry. He effected important improvements in the harbour accommodation; built a storehouse for salt, casks, meal, &c.;

* Captain Macleod was the brother and successor of Norman Macleod of Bernera, the man who attempted the slave "deal" in 1739, and who lived to be heartily ashamed of his conduct.

established a factory for spinning woollen and cotton thread and twine for herring nets ; brought over some East Coast fishermen with Orkney yawls to teach the people ; erected a boathouse capable of containing nine boats with their tackle ; advanced money for boats ; furnished the fishermen with necessities at cost price ; provided them with cottages and potato ground rent-free ; and paid full market value for their fish. He also restored the church of St. Clements ; built a school-house and an inn ; constructed roads from his two quays to the village, and thence to the west side of the island ; introduced improved mills ; and in other ways, endeavoured to revolutionise the economic conditions of Harris. In the face of much ridicule, he successfully demonstrated the truth of his theory, that the development of the herring fishery was retarded by the custom of searching for fish in the lochs only. The high duty on salt and coal, and the vexatious regulations affecting their import, troubled him not a little. On one occasion, he bought a cargo of coals from Greenock, the duty on which he offered to pay to the Custom House at Greenock, but the offer was refused. The sloop sprang a leak during the voyage, and his factor, on her arrival, deemed it advisable to discharge the cargo, instead of sending her to Stornoway for Custom-house purposes. He accordingly notified the Collector of Customs in Stornoway of his intention, and desired him to send an officer to superintend the discharge. In the result, however, the cargo had to be re-shipped at Rodil, sent to Stornoway, where it was again unloaded, and then re-shipped back to Rodil, and discharged for the third time.*

This enterprising proprietor was no less energetic in the Metropolis. He was one of the founders of the Gaelic Society of London, and was a prominent member of the Highland Society. Harris was the poorer by his death, for his son and successor, Alexander Hume, does not appear to have had the consuming desire for the welfare of his tenantry which characterised the ex-captain.

* Knox's *Tour*, pp. 158-163.

In the opening years of the nineteenth century, a law case was fought between Lord Seaforth and Alexander Hume concerning the northern boundaries of Harris. The land in question comprised a tract of 6,000 acres, together with the Island of Mulaag or Seaforth. As far back as the seventeenth century, the delimitation of the bounds of Harris had formed a fruitful source of contention between the Lewismen and the Harrismen, until towards the end of that century, an agreement on the subject was entered into between Kenneth Og, fourth Earl of Seaforth, and Macleod of Harris. Notwithstanding this agreement, the controversy continued, the tenants on each side of the border stoutly maintaining the claims of their proprietors, and forcibly resisting the encroachments of their neighbours. When the dispute reached the Court of Session, the evidence of a number of the oldest inhabitants was taken on both sides to determine the marches. Lord Stair remarked that a custom once existed of whipping boys severely when boundaries were fixed, in order that the circumstances might leave a deep impression on their minds when they were old men.* A witness was found on Seaforth's side in the Harris dispute, whose testimony bore out the efficacy of this curious custom. He deponed that his father, who died twenty years previously at the age of eighty, told him that when he was a boy herding cattle, Donald Macaulay of Brenish—a descendant of Donald Cam—and Donald Campbell of Scalpa met for the purpose of fixing and renewing the march which he (the witness) had described. They whipped his father soundly, "in order that he might remember the circumstances and recite it to posterity"; and each gave him a 5s. piece to salve his wounded feelings and his sore body. The father of the witness also told him that at a former adjustment of the line of march, there were present, Coinneach Mòr (? Og), Earl of Seaforth, and the lairds of Macleod, Raasay, and Macdonald. The evidence of the other witnesses afforded

* This custom is mentioned in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*.

illustrations of the quaint methods adopted in fixing boundaries, one of which was to bury charcoal at a considerable depth in the line of march ; charcoal being employed on account of its imperishable properties. Incidentally, the evidence in this case bears out the fact, that kelp was manufactured in Harris at an earlier period than in Lewis.*

The lawsuit between the proprietors of Lewis and Harris dragged on for years, and it was not until the case went to the House of Lords, after interlocutors of the Court of Session which failed to satisfy Seaforth, that the dispute was finally settled.

The last Lord Seaforth was in some respects the most remarkable man of his race. In early life, he served in the navy, and during an engagement with the French, while he was suffering from a fever, the noise of the cannon totally deprived him of his hearing. In spite of this serious disability, from which he did not wholly recover during his lifetime, he was a man of varied activities. He represented the County of Ross in Parliament, and for six years was Governor of Barbadoes, where he distinguished himself by his efforts to put down the slave trade. In his dealings with his tenantry, he showed a spirit of patriarchism at its best, which formed a marked contrast to the commercialism of most of the Highland landlords. He had an offer for his Loch Carron property from some Lowland sheep farmers, who were ready to take the land on lease, at double the existing rental. Seaforth's reply was, that he would neither let his lands for sheep pasture, "nor turn out his people upon any consideration, or for any rent that could be offered." "A sentimentalist," sneers the political economist. A few more sentimentalist like this noble chief would have saved many parts of the Highlands from being the desolate tracts which they are to-day. In

* "Sixty-one" mentions in his *Reminiscences* that the question of boundaries between Lewis and Harris was being settled while he was in Lewis (about 1851).

Lewis, where he resided for two or three months of the year, Seaforth devoted himself to the welfare of his tenantry, and was ably seconded in his efforts by his wife. The last Earl of Seaforth had done much to improve the town of Stornoway by encouraging building operations, and by 1786, the importance of the town had so increased that "no place between the Mull of Cantire and Cape Wrath contained half its number of inhabitants." But Francis, Lord Seaforth, pursued a more comprehensive scheme of reform. He effected improvements in agriculture, the fisheries,* and kelp burning; constructed roads at great expense;† encouraged education; erected public buildings in Stornoway; and established a standard of comfort which had never before been reached.

But it was by his successful efforts to raise recruits for the army that Seaforth acquired a national reputation. In 1787, he offered to raise a regiment from his own estates for the service of the King, and in 1793, after various discouragements, and on the outbreak of the war with France, was empowered, as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, to embody a battalion in accordance with his wish. He issued a patriotic notice‡ which was posted through the Counties of Ross and Cromarty and the Island of Lewis, calling upon "all lads of true Highland blood" to enlist "for a stroke at the Monsieurs." Recruits were obtainable in most cases without difficulty, and in four months after the letter of service was granted, the battalion was inspected at Fort George, and passed by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. But this notable success did not satisfy the Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of the 78th. He offered, in October, 1793, to raise a

* He was a director of the British Society, formed in 1786 for extending the fisheries and improving the sea-coasts of the kingdom.

† He made roads from Stornoway to Barvas and to the Point district, as well as in the neighbourhood of the town, and pressed the Government to construct a road from Stornoway to Loch Roag, the cost of which was estimated at £5,000; half of this sum, and any surplus over the estimate, he offered to pay himself. He afterwards commenced this road, but did not live to finish it.

‡ A copy of this notice appears in Keltie's *History of the Highland Regiments*, Vol. II., p. 662.

second battalion, and in the following year, after another argument with a tape-bound Government, who wished to make a separate corps of the battalion, he again gained his point. The second battalion was raised with no less facility than the first, and the regiment was authorised to adopt the distinctive title of the Ross-shire Buffs. In 1796, the two battalions were amalgamated, and now form the second battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders. The history of the Buffs from that period is one of which the British nation is deservedly proud.

No fewer than 300 men of the first battalion were recruited in Lewis. General Stewart of Garth pays a high tribute to their character. "Several years," he says, "elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799, a man was tried and punished; this so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man who brought shame to their kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much that he became unhappy and desperate, and Colonel Mackenzie (of Fairburn) to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed, and it happened, as Colonel Mackenzie expected, that he quite recovered his character."

In 1804, while Lord Seaforth was in the East Indies, a second battalion of 850 men was raised for the Buffs, of which number, "240 men as good soldiers as ever left the Highlands enlisted in a few days from the Island of Lewis." It will thus be seen that of the total strength of the 78th Regiment, a large proportion consisted of Lewismen, and to this day, the islanders regard the Seaforths as being, in a special sense, the Lewis regiment.

Seaforth did not accompany the regiment abroad, the command devolving upon Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn; the originator of the scheme had already done his work, and had done it well. He was rewarded for his signal services to the country. In 1797, he was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom by the

titles of Lord Seaforth and Baron Mackenzie of Kintail. He was also appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Ross, and from 1800 to 1806, he administered the affairs of Barbadoes, subsequently serving in Demerara and Berbice. In 1808, he was made a Lieutenant-General.

The closing years of this distinguished man were shrouded in gloom. One after the other, his four sons were snatched away from him by the hand of Death. The West India plantations in which he had sunk a considerable sum were ruinously mismanaged; he unfortunately fell a victim to the gambling propensities of the times; and he was finally compelled to dispose, successively, of Lochalsh, Kintail, and the best portion of Glenshiel. The affectionate regard of his tenantry for Lord Seaforth was shown both in prosperity and adversity. While the Highlanders on other estates were holding sullenly aloof from the army, filled with suspicion of their chiefs, Seaforth's tenants flocked with alacrity to the standard of the man whom they trusted and loved. When the reverses of fortune overtook their proprietor, they besought him to "reside amongst us and we shall pay your debts." All too literally, the prophecies of Coinneach Odhar, the Lewis seer, were fulfilled.* Poetic license must be allowed to Sir Walter Scott when he asks, "And who in the land of the Saxon or Gael, could match with Mackenzie, High Chief of Kintail?" The reverse side of the picture is literally true: "Of the line of Mackenneth remains not a male, to bear the proud name of the Chief of Kintail."

Lord Seaforth died at Warriston, near Edinburgh, in 1815. Lady Seaforth, who was a daughter of Dr. Baptist Proby, Dean of Lichfield, survived him until 1829. The estates, in virtue of an entail executed by Lord Seaforth, devolved upon his eldest daughter, Mary, the young widow of Vice-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, M.P. for Westminster, who died at Madras, in 1814, without issue. In 1817, Lady

* In *The Prophecies of the Brahan Seer* by the late Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the Clan historian, will be found full particulars of this remarkable instance of second sight.

Hood married the Right Hon. James Alexander Stewart of Glasserton, nephew of the seventh Earl of Galloway, who assumed the name of Mackenzie, represented the County of Ross in Parliament, held office under Lord Grey, and was, in 1838, appointed High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, whence he was transferred to the Governorship of Ceylon. Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie proved an active and enterprising proprietor of Lewis, one of his most important acts being the abolition of the tacksmen as middlemen, and the letting of land to the crofters direct.

By a charter dated 30th September, 1825, "the Hon. Mary Frederica Elizabeth Stewart-Mackenzie, with the special advice and consent of James Alexander Stewart-Mackenzie, her husband, and the said James Alexander Stewart-Mackenzie for his own right and interest," empowered the feuars of Stornoway to elect nine of their number to be Magistrates and Councillors, two of whom were to be Bailies, one to be Treasurer, and the other six to be Councillors. The charter defined the powers and duties of the magistrates, and provided for the Baron-Bailie or Bailies in the Barony of Lewis to have cumulative jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Stornoway, with the bailies chosen by the feuars. And a special stipulation was made that the popular election should be without prejudice to the powers in respect of the town, which had been conferred by Royal charters.*

That this charter was held to be valid, is proved by the fact that in a letter dated 28th February, 1834, from Acting Chief Magistrate Roderick Morison to the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, it is stated that the Town Council was created in virtue of the grant. Immediately after the charter was signed, considerable sums were produced by the fees for the admission of freemen, but for some years prior to 1834, no entries had taken place. There were, in 1834, no guilds, corporations, or crafts,

* *Report from Commrs. on Municipal Corps.* (1836), Vol. XXIII., pp. 190-2.

enjoying exclusive privileges,* but to entitle a person to trade and manufacture within the burgh, he must become a burgess. The fees of admission payable to the funds of the town were £1 13s. 4d. The public quay, which was built by subscription, and was made over to the Town Council in 1831, produced a rent of £14.† The town customs yielded £3 3s. 0d. per annum. These amounts formed the whole revenue of the burgh; and the expenditure for the most urgent municipal and police purposes amounted to £15 17s. 6d. The debt due to the burgh, consisting of arrears, was £17 14s. 0d., and the debt due by the burgh was £8 3s. 2d. From these small beginnings has the civic importance of Stornoway grown to its present proportions.

The magistrates exercised a civil jurisdiction in small cases, chiefly actions of debt; they did not, in practice, exercise any criminal jurisdiction. During the ten years ending 1834, the number of cases which came before them was 104, or an average of a little over ten in each year; a fact which says a good deal for the commercial morality of the burgh. All cases outside the jurisdiction of the magistrates were dealt with by the Sheriff-Substitute for Lewis, who resided in Stornoway.

On 2nd March, 1825, the Island of Lewis, with the exception of the parish of Stornoway, was exposed for judicial sale in Edinburgh, to pay the entailor's debts, under an Act of Parliament passed during the reign of George III. The upset price was £137,384 12s. 4d., being the valuation of the property, but the sale realised £160,000, the purchaser being Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie.‡ Nineteen years later, the property finally passed out of the

* In 1772, the crafts of Stornoway applied for, and received, grants of arms, sharing with Aberdeen the distinction of being one of the two Scottish burghs that have the right to use trade emblems.

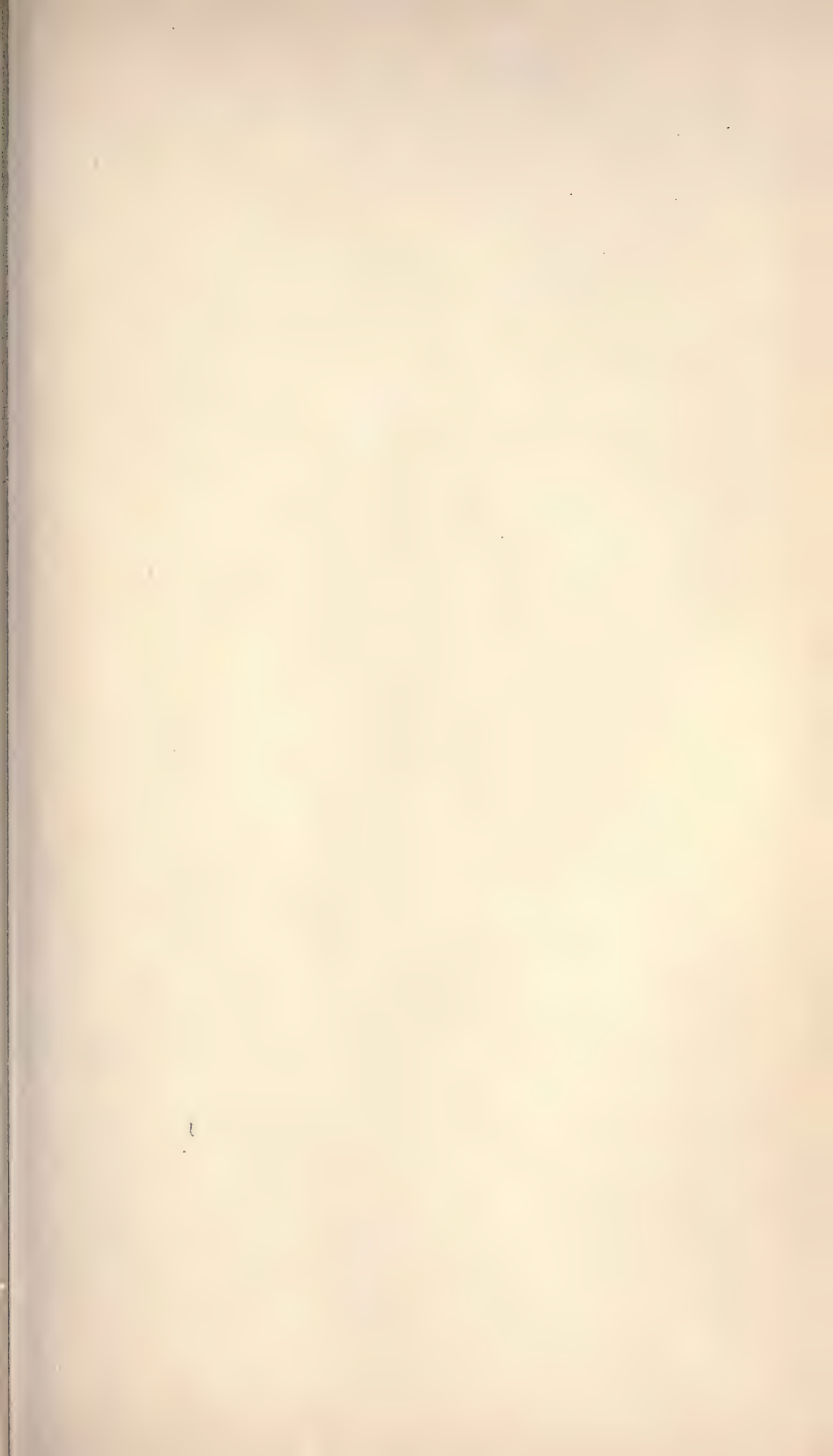
† Knox (1786) states that a sum of £1,200 or £1,500 had been granted some years before by the trustees in Edinburgh for building a quay, and for erecting fishermen's cottages, but that nothing worthy of the name of a quay had been constructed. In 1816, a pier was built by public subscription, the proprietrix contributing £105, and the inhabitants of Stornoway £311, as well as gratuitous labour. In 1863, the "foreshore question" arose, out of which the Harbour Trust Commission came into being.

‡ *Report on Lewis by the Crofters Commission*, p. LXIX.

hands of the illustrious family, whose connexion with Lewis had lasted for a period of two hundred and thirty-four years. During that period, they had exercised unquestioned influence in the island, and their sway, if despotic, was on the whole, beneficent. Their great mistake was the delegation of unlimited power to factors whose despotism was frequently unrelieved by benevolence. The name of Seaforth was for over two centuries synonymous in Lewis with the name of sovereignty. As a newspaper during the Commonwealth put it, they "played Rex" in the island, and the deference paid to them was certainly equal to that paid elsewhere to Royalty.*

In 1844, Lewis was sold to Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Sutherland Matheson, of the family of Achany and Shiness in Sutherlandshire, for the sum of £190,000. The trustees in Edinburgh exercised a large supervision over the administration of its affairs, and it may be readily believed that they were none too ready in sanctioning grants for improvements in the island, although there are instances to the contrary. Sir James Matheson had therefore a wide field for philanthropy. In May, 1844, Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie brought a Bill before Parliament for "investing in trustees certain parts of the entailed estates of Seaforth to be sold, and the price applied in payment of entailer's debts, and the surplus laid out in the purchase of other lands; for enabling the heiress in possession to borrow a sum of money on the credit of the said entailed estates; and for other purposes connected therewith." The Bill passed both Houses, and on 29th July, the Act received the Royal assent. And thus the Island of Lewis passed out of the hands of the Seaforths into those of the Mathesons, with whom it remains to the present day. Sir James Matheson, who for a number of years represented Ross

* About ten years ago a Lewis crofter, on being questioned as to the ownership of the island before it was acquired by the present proprietors, replied: "We called the old proprietor Seaforth, but I understand the Prince of Wales was his right name!" (*Crofters Commission Report*, p. XIV.) In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Lewis estate had its own paper currency, and a specimen of a pound note, signed by Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie, is in the possession of the present proprietor.





MAJOR DUNCAN MATHESON OF THE LEWS.

[To face page 495.]

and Cromarty in the House of Commons, transformed the face of the island in a variety of ways which are familiar to Lewismen. He died, beloved by many and esteemed by all, on the last day of the year 1878, without issue, and his widow, who had the life-rent of the heritable estate, survived him until 19th March, 1896. On her death, the estate devolved, in virtue of the entail, upon Sir James's nephew, Mr. Donald Matheson, who, in July, 1899, handed over the property to his son, Major Duncan Matheson, the present proprietor of the island. Mr. Donald Matheson died on 19th February, 1901.

In the other parts of the Long Island, changes of a similar character were taking place during the first half of the nineteenth century. Alexander Hume Macleod of Harris died in 1811, and was succeeded as proprietor of the estate by his eldest son, Alexander Norman. The value of the property, estimated at twenty-five years' purchase was, in 1830, exceeded by the debts secured upon it ; and the creditors were in possession of the bankrupt estate. Harris and its pertinents were ultimately sold in 1834 for the sum of £60,210, being, in round figures, less by £26,729 than the amount of preferable and heritable debts, exclusive of interest, and exclusive of the value of Mrs. Macleod's contingent annuity. The estate was bought by the Earl of Dunmore, who, about 1868, sold North Harris to the Scotts, the present proprietor of North Harris (including Scalpa and Scarp Islands, and the village of Tarbert) being Sir Samuel Scott. South Harris, including Tarransay, Bernera, and other islands, is owned by Viscount Fin-castle, V.C., the only son of the Earl of Dunmore, who recently handed over the property to his heir. The Islands of Ensay and Pabbay in the Sound of Harris are owned by Captain William Stewart.

Barra was the next estate to pass into the hands of strangers. The last Macneill of Barra was obliged to sell his estate in 1838—the purchaser being Lieut.-Colonel John Gordon of Cluny. General Macneill afterwards had a distinguished career as a soldier. He died in 1863, lamented

by the Barra people, both for his own sake and that of the ancient family whose name he worthily bore. It is believed that the family is now represented by Roderick Macneill, Prince Edward Island, great-grandson of Roderick Macneill of Brevaig, who emigrated in 1802. Brevaig was a son of Gilleonan, younger son of Roderick Macneill, who, according to the late Dr. Fraser Mackintosh, obtained a Crown charter of Barra in 1688. At the present day, Barra is owned by Lady Gordon-Cathcart, who, on the death of her first husband, Mr. John Gordon, son of Colonel Gordon, married Sir Reginald Cathcart.

South Uist and Benbecula followed Barra. One after the other, the estates of Clanranald were disposed of by Ranald George Macdonald, who succeeded to the property when a child. In 1839 and 1840, his properties in the Long Island were sold, and by 1845, the whole of South Uist and Benbecula had passed into the hands of Colonel Gordon, the purchase price, including that of Barra, being £163,799 on a rental of £8,223. The property bought by Colonel Gordon is now owned almost entirely by Lady Gordon-Cathcart.

North Uist was the last of the group to change hands. In 1856, Lord Macdonald sold the island to Sir John Powlett Orde, whose son, Sir John Campbell Orde, about 1886, sold Rona to Captain Alexander Macdonald of Waternish; and in 1894, sold Balranald, Paiblesgarry, and Peinmore, to Alexander Macdonald of Balranald, who died in 1901, and was succeeded by his son, Ranald Alexander. Sir John Campbell Orde died in 1899, and left the greater part of his North Uist property to his eldest son, Sir Arthur Campbell Orde, and a smaller part to his second son, Colin Ridley. The latter, in 1901, sold his portion, comprising Vallay, Griminish, Scolpaig, and Balelone, to Mr. Erskine Beveridge of Dunfermline. The Islands of Boreray, Heisker, and Grimisay are included in Sir Arthur Orde's possessions.

It was not by a mere coincidence that these islands passed away from the native heritors. The causes of the various sales had a common root, which will be specified in the concluding chapter of this history.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE early historians of Scotland obviously knew very little about the Outer Hebrides, and their information is consequently the reverse of illuminating. John of Fordun (*circa* 1380) merely mentions Lewis by name. Uist, he tells us, is thirty miles long, and is an island where "whales and other sea-monsters" abound. He mentions the castle of "Benwewyl" (Benbecula), and says that "Hirth" (St. Kilda) was the best stronghold of all the islands. He states that the Highlanders and Hebrideans were a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language (and, owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation), and exceeding cruel.

Andrew Wyntoun (1426) merely makes a passing reference to "the owt ylys in the se."

John Major (1521) has nothing to say about the Long Island, except that Lewis has a length of thirty leagues. One half of Scotland, he tells us, spoke Irish (Gaelic) in his day, and all these, as well as the Islanders, were reckoned to belong to the "wild Scots." He makes a distinction between those of them who followed agricultural and pastoral pursuits, and those who were addicted to the chase and war, whom he criticises severely for their indolence. War, he asserts, was their normal condition. Their weapons were bows and arrows, broadswords, and a small halbert, with a small dagger in their belts. Their ordinary dress consisted of a plaid and a saffron-dyed shirt; and in war, coats of mail made of iron rings were worn by all save the common people, who wore a linen

garment sewed together in patchwork, well daubed with wax or pitch, with an over-garment of deerskin. The musical instrument of the "wild Scots" was the harp, the strings of which were of brass. Major confirms the statement of Fordun as to their hatred of Lowland Scots and English alike.

Hector Boece (1527) states that Lewis is sixty miles in length and has one river. The latter is obviously meant for the Barvas River, for he mentions a superstition which Martin, writing *circa* 1700, repeats about that river. "It is said if any woman wades through this water at the spring of the year, no salmon will be seen that year in the river; otherwise it will abound in salmon." He names only two churches in Lewis, viz., St. Peter (Swainbost) and St. Clement (North Dell). He refers to the custom of keeping a fire constantly burning on the altar—a custom which the Norsemen followed in their churches—and affirms that according to current report, the fire, when it went out, was re-kindled miraculously. The person "haldin of maist clene and innocent life" laid a wisp of straw on the altar, and while the people were engaged in prayer, the wisp kindled in a blaze. In Hirtha, which he says is the "Irish" for "sheep," there were great numbers of those animals with wonderful horns and tails. In the month of July every year, a priest went from Lewis to St. Kilda to baptise all children born since his previous visit, receiving in return, the tithes of all the islanders' goods. Boece, with his talent for the fabulous, found a tit-bit in the sea-geese ("clakis") which were self-engendered in the worm-eaten holes of trees floating in the Hebridean waters. He quotes the well-worn fable of the fowl-producing barnacles, in support of the wonderful properties of generation possessed by those seas.

The first really valuable account of the Long Island which we have, is from the pen of Donald Monro (1549), High Dean of the Isles. He travelled through the Hebrides in his pastoral capacity, and has left a most interesting record of his visit, which would have been still

more valuable, had his knowledge of Gaelic been more extensive than it was. He makes an interesting statement about Raasay, viz., that it pertained to MacGillecolum by the sword, and to the Bishop of the Isles by heritage—a remark pregnant with meaning. The laird of Raasay owed allegiance to Macleod of Lewis.

He gives a list of the numerous islets of the Outer Hebrides, and mentions the main products of nearly all of them, consisting chiefly of corn, cattle, and fish. He is the first traveller to refer to the Pigmies Isle (Blaeu's *Eileanna Dunibeg*) at the Butt of Lewis, and his account is confirmed by all subsequent narrators. In the church on the islet, a number of small bones had been dug up, which were believed by the natives to have belonged to a race of pigmies, who lived at Ness in pre-historic times.* The Dean asserts that he himself had dug up some of these bones, and that "many men of different countries" had done the same. An English visitor (Captain Dymes) to Lewis in 1630 satisfied his curiosity in the same way, and tells us that the place was a favourite resort of Irishmen, who came to study archæology at Ness. The Englishman could hardly credit the statement that the bones were human, but gave his version of the phenomenon without ventilating any theory of his own. Of the two Berneras in Loch Roag, the Dean says that both were inhabited, the smaller island being well peopled, and capable of producing 200 bolls of barley with delving only. Bernera Mòr was "fertile and fruitful," had many cattle, and was good for fishing and fuel. Pabaidh Mòr was also a fertile island, full of corn and sheep, and contained a kirk where Macleod of Lewis used to dwell when he wished to be "quyeit," or was "fearit"—a suggestive statement. St. Kilda, always a favourite topic of travellers, was inhabited by poor, simple people, "scarce learnit in aney religion." Macleod (of

* Dr. McCulloch questions the Dean's veracity generally, owing to his account of the Pigmies Isle, which McCulloch ridicules. Yet, the islet exists notwithstanding. It is a small peninsula at Aird, Dell, now named Luchruban (Martin's *Lusbirdan*), which, according to tradition, received its name from its having been the burying-place of a race of pigmies.

Harris) sent his steward to the island once a year at Midsummer, with a chaplain to baptise the children ; in lieu of a priest, however, the people sometimes performed the ceremony themselves. When the steward paid his annual visit, he used to brew ale, and the people were accustomed to make themselves drunk by eating the refuse of the malt. The rents were paid in meal, dried mutton, dried wildfowl, and seals.

The Flannan Islands are also described. It was customary for Macleod of Lewis to send men at certain times of the year, to hunt the ownerless sheep on the islands. The mutton, according to the Dean, was too fat for the food of "honest men," with a "wyld" flavour. Rona, like St. Kilda, was inhabited by a race of simple people "scant of ony religione." The inhabitants had the right of keeping as many cows and sheep as the island could support, and grass was so abundant, that from the surplus stock, the people were enabled to feed themselves and pay the greater part of their rent. Sula Sgeir was the home of the eider-duck, which formed a useful source of revenue to the Ness men, who used to stay on the island seven or eight days at a time to collect the down.

The principal islands of the Outer Hebrides are not described by Dean Monro so fully as could be desired. Lewis is called a fertile island, the chief crop grown being barley. It had four parish kirks—at Ui, Uig, Ness, and Barvas—and "ane castell callit Steornaway." Its principal salt-water lochs, including Loch Stornoway, were noted for their herrings, and it had eight salmon streams. Whales abounded, twenty-six or twenty-seven of them having in former times been reserved for the teinds of the priests. Sheep were plentiful, but there is no special reference to cattle. At the coast, peats were cut one year, and in the following year, corn was sown in the same place and manured by seaweed. The Dean mentions a certain cove in the island, where it was customary for men, women, and boys, to fish whittings and haddocks with rods.

Harris is described as being fertile and fruitful for corn,

cattle, and fishing. It had many forests. Deer, otters, and martins were among its fauna, but no wolves, toads, nor adders. When the Dean was in Harris, there were sheep wandering about without owners. He states that the Church of St. Clement at Rodil, "ane monastery with ane steipill," was founded and built by Macleod of Harris. The system of agriculture in Harris was rude: twice as much delving as tilling was the practice.

North and South Uist, the former with two, and the latter with five, parish kirks, receive scant notice. South Uist is called a fertile country, with high hills and forests on the east or south-east, and well-stocked land on the north-west. The Dean states that Benbecula belonged to "Clandonald," and that Boisdale was possessed by Macneill of Barra.

Barra, like the others, is described as a fertile island, fruitful in "cornes" and abounding in codling, ling, and all other white fish. The parish church (Kilbar) and Macneill's castle (Kisimul) are mentioned. There were no better sands in the world for cockles than the Barra sands, says the Dean, who may have been a connoisseur of shellfish.

He is careful to specify those islands that had falcons' nests. In those days of falconry, the birds possessed a value of their own, which sometimes found a place in charters, and the nests were protected by law from robbery.

The Dean gives some interesting particulars about the state of society in the Hebrides generally. There were two distinct classes: the fighters and the labourers, the former being the "gentlemen" who did no work, the class against whom John Major inveighed. The tillers of the soil (*nativi*)* were never permitted to leave home: their sole business was to attend to the crops. The islands were capable of raising 6,000 men, one third of whom, according to the prevailing custom, were clad in "attounes"

* It is an interesting question who the *nativi* were. Were they the dregs of the Norse-Celtic population, or were they the descendants of the aboriginal thralls of the Norsemen

(haquetons), habershons (habergeons, *i.e.*, coats of mail worn over the haquetons), and iron helmets. Sometimes the warriors were absent from home for a whole year, especially when Ireland was their destination.

The descriptions of the Outer Hebrides by Buchanan the historian, and Monipennie are simply echoes of that "godly man" Dean Monro; they had no personal acquaintance with the islands.

Bishop Leslie (1578) has something to say about Lewis. The island grew plenty of barley and oats, and had good grazing and pleasant pastures; "it moreover abounds in people." It had one river "welthie in salmont," by which reference, the Barvas stream must again be understood. The proprietors of the island "in a manner ar litle kings heir"; they "ar called Makleud, that is, in their speich, the sones of Claudius." The Bishop makes an interesting statement about the manner of succession to the chiefship. Formerly, he affirms, the chiefs were elected by their clan, but that practice had been discontinued, and the Macleods in his time entered into possession simply "at thair awne hand"; a fact which clearly indicates that before the end of the sixteenth century, the original basis of the clan system had shifted. Bishop Leslie makes no further reference to the Long Island, except a casual mention of that "gret Ile whose name is Eusta."

An official account of Lewis was drawn up (*circa* 1580) by an unknown author, apparently for the information of James VI. The writer says that Macleod's principal place was called the Castle of Stornoway; that he could raise 700 men in Lewis and Rona, besides the labouring class. None of the labourers were permitted to serve in war, thus confirming Dean Monro's statement to that effect. Lewis was a profitable island for corn—especially barley—for all kinds of bestial, wildfowl, and fish; the minimum yield of barley is given as 16 bolls for each boll sown. The island was 40 poundsland of old extent, and the annual contribution of the tenantry for feasting their master when he came among them, consisted of 18 score

chalders of victual, 58 score of kine, 32 score of wethers and a great quantity of fish, poultry, and white plaiding. Thus were the people bled. The salmon were killed in the shallow burns by sticks, that being the sole method of salmon fishing known to the natives. References to the Pigmies Isle, and to the sport afforded by the large number of deer in Lewis, make up the remainder of this account of the island.

The next description of the Long Island is dated 1595, being included in a general account of the fighting strength of the Hebrides, which seems to have been prepared for the information of Queen Elizabeth; the document being in the handwriting of a clerk of Bowes, the English Ambassador in Scotland. The author of this statement apparently drew upon Dean Monro and the writer of (*circa*) 1580 for some of his facts. We learn from his account that Ruari Macleod, "an old man famous for the massacring of his own kinsmen," was alive in 1595. The document is valuable in some respects, but throws little light upon the social or economic conditions of the islands.

A most interesting and useful account of Lewis is given by an Englishman, Captain John Dymes, who was sent to the island in 1630 to make a report upon it, in connexion with the great fishery scheme of Charles I. He deals with the climate, the natural features, the agricultural methods, the language, religion, superstitions, system of land tenure, products, and particularly the fisheries, of the island; and the value of his account is enhanced by the fact that he was an observer who was unprejudiced by pre-conceived notions. A copy of his valuable report is appended to this history. (See Appendix F.)

During the Cromwellian period, various communications relative to Lewis were sent to the Protector, the gist of which is embodied in the text; the information which they convey in respect of the internal economy of the island is unimportant. The notes to Blaeu's well-known map of 1654* are simply extracts from Dean Monro's description.

* This map incorporates the surveys of Timothy Pont (1609).

In Richard Blome's *Britania*, published in 1673, Lewis is described as an island "full of steep, craggy and stony hills, not overthronged with inhabitants, but hath several small towns." Uist is mentioned as "an isle or rather isles of a long but narrow extent, in which are seated several small towns. And near unto the southern part of this isle lyeth several small ones, the chief amongst which is Barray."

The next important account of Lewis (*circa* 1680) after that of Captain Dymes, is from the pen of a native, John Morison, who wrote under the pseudonym of "An Indweller" (of Lewis). He appears to have been a son of John Morison of Bragar (grandson of the last Brieve), famous in his day as a wit and versifier. John Morison gives a list of the principal islands of the Outer Hebrides with their heritors, and then proceeds to enlarge upon Lewis, the Flannan Isles, and Rona. He mentions the four great lochs on the east coast of Lewis, viz., Loch Stornoway, with the "beasts" of Holm on one side, and the "roof" (sheltering rock?) of Arnish on the other; Loch Erisort, Loch Shell, and Loch Seaforth; and asserts that the fisheries of Lewis were the most important in Scotland. Barley and oats were the chief crops; cattle were plentiful; the forest between Loch Erisort and Seaforth was full of deer; and wildfowl abounded. He mentions the standing stones to be seen in several places, as well as the current traditions in respect of them; St. Cowstan's Well at Garrabost, with the extraordinary water which refused to boil over the hottest fire; and St. Andrew's Well at Shader, whose miraculous properties instantly killed or cured the sick. The various kinds of nuts cast up on the seashore were believed to possess valuable medicinal properties for different diseases, and one species, called St. Mary's Nut, was worn by women as an ornament and a charm. Morison also makes excursions into Lewis history and the genealogies of the Lewis clans, which are of decided interest. His statements on these subjects are noticed elsewhere in this work. The Earl of

Seaforth (Kenneth Og) is praised for his "industrious care and benevolence" towards the people, who, formerly inclined to "rudeness and barbarity," had been civilised and educated by means of the flourishing school opened in Stornoway by the ruling family. The Pigmies Isle claims the attention of John Morison, who scoffs at the tradition associated with it, and states that the bones must be those of the small fowls which abounded at Ness.

A contemporary of Morison, whose name is unknown, gives a short account of Lewis, the accuracy of which is, however, not very convincing. His statement that the deer in the great forest had two tails, makes one suspect him of Munchausen tendencies. He himself had two tales: a plain unvarnished one, which we may accept, and an ornamental one which we must reject. In the former category may be placed his brief account of historic events connected with the island, and his description of the island confirmed by other writers; in the latter, must be placed his list of the parishes (of which he names no less than eight), as well as his wonderful deer, and his fish with four feet like a lizard. His statement that in the year 1585, 3,000 large salmon were taken out of the Barvas River, may also possibly be classed with the exaggerated number of his parishes.

The well-known account of the Outer Hebrides (*circa* 1700) by Martin Martin, a native of Skye, is the next in chronological order, and in some respects it is the most valuable of all. He says that Lewis was reputed very fruitful for corn, until recent years of scarcity and bad seasons. Barley, oats, and rye, were the crops sown, and to these are now added, for the first time, flax and hemp. The ground manured by seaweed yielded the best results. Soot was also used as a fertiliser, but it was believed that the bread obtained from the corn so manured gave rise to jaundice. Five hundred people were employed daily for some months preparing the soil. Small harrows with wooden teeth were used, each harrow being drawn by a man having a strong rope of horse-hair across his breast.

From their oats, the natives distilled their strong drinks. Usquebaugh was the common liquor, but besides the ordinary *aqua-vitæ*, they made another kind three times distilled, which was called *trestarig*. This drink appealed to those who liked their liquor strong and hot. But the most fearsome kind of all was called *usquebaugh-baul*, which was usquebaugh four times distilled. Presumably this was the favourite drink of those toppers who scorned the meaner joys of common usquebaugh, and even of *trestarig*. Martin tells us that this drink was so strong, that a dose exceeding two spoonfuls was sufficient to stop the breath and endanger life itself; which we can well believe.

Whale hunts formed one of the excitements of the Lewismen in Martin's time. One large species was known as the Gallon whale, because it was never seen except off Gallon Head on the west coast of Lewis. The custom was to chase the whales into the bays, and there attack them. When one was wounded mortally, it made for the shore, whereupon the others, according to the natives, usually followed the track of its blood and ran themselves ashore likewise. Martin mentions that five years previously, fifty young whales had been so killed, and utilised as food by the common people, who found it very nourishing. They called it "sea-pork" and fattened upon it.

Martin notes the immense quantity of shellfish in the sands of the Broad Bay. He states that coral was to be found in the lochs, especially in Loch Seaforth, and that pearls had often been discovered in black mussels. Trout and eels abounded in the fresh water lakes. In connexion with the Barvas River, so famous for salmon, he mentions the custom of sending a man very early on the first day of May to cross the stream, in order to prevent a female having the "first-footing"; for, in the latter event, no fish would come into the river all the year round. This ungallant superstition is first related by Hector Boece; it is impossible to trace its origin, which appears to have gone pretty far back.

The brochs, the Callernish and other stones with the traditions attached to them, are all mentioned—and it is here interesting to observe that even in those days, certain Lewismen held the theory that some of the standing stones, like the Thrushel at Barvas, were merely monuments erected to persons of note who had been killed in battle. The caves of the island—the home of the seals and otters—receive attention, especially the large cave at Gress. Seal-steaks, as well as whale-steaks, were relished by the people.

Cows, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs, formed the stock of the islanders. The beef was small but tender ; the horses were small but hardy. The horses had to feed on seaware in spring, and in a hard winter, the deer had to do likewise. There were no trees in the island, except about a hundred young birches and hazels on the south-west side of Stornoway.

Martin waxes almost enthusiastic over the physical perfection of the Lewismen ; but he has nothing to say about the beauty of the women. “ Well proportioned ; free from any bodily imperfections ; of a good stature ; healthful, strong-bodied, and long-living ” ; such is his certificate. He mentions that Mr. Daniel Morison—father of John Morison of Bragar—had died lately in his 86th year, not a superlatively great age from a Lewisman's point of view. There were no epidemics, except a rare visit of smallpox which swept away many children. Other diseases of common occurrence are named, with their respective cures, the whole forming a pathological study of some interest. The mental, as well as the physical qualities of the Lewismen are favourably commented upon. They were ingenious and quick, excellent mechanics, and still more excellent poets, their improvisations having the merit of being composed “ without the assistance of any stronger liquor than water to raise their fancy ” ; a remark which suggests that other bards with whom Martin had come in contact, owed their inspiration to usquebaugh rather than to natural gifts. They were also great lovers of music :

he had heard of eighteen men who could play the violin very well without being taught. They still retained their character for hospitality, although recent years of famine had brought some of them to the verge of destitution, while many had actually died of starvation. They were excellent swimmers and archers, and were expert at vaulting and leaping; their proficiency in these sports was inherited from their Norse ancestors. They were also stout and able seamen, and would tug at an oar all day long on bread and water and a "snush" of tobacco.

Martin specifies the famous wells mentioned by John Morison—from whom, indeed, he appears to have derived a good deal of his information—and states, also, that the water of Loch Carloway was incapable of making linen white, as proved by many experiments. He describes various semi-heathen superstitions and rites still practised, some of which will be referred to later on. The curious customs which prevailed in the Flannan Isles and Rona form interesting reading. And the tradition associated with the inevitable Isle of Pigmies (*Lusbirdan*) is faithfully recorded.

In Rona, there were five families who formed a primitive community, knowing no vices, and not deficient in positive virtues. When the minister of Barvas, who owned the island, visited them, he was hospitably entertained, each family presenting him with a sheep, which, after being flayed, was filled with barley meal. When any of these simple people visited Lewis, they were astonished to see so many people, and marvelled greatly at the greyhounds and the horses. One of them hearing a horse neigh, gravely asked whether it was laughing at him! The minister of Barvas was sometimes employed as their matrimonial agent. On one occasion, he was handed a shilling by a native of Rona, who had received it from a sailor. "Buy me a wife in Lewis with this," was the naive request of the Rona man, whose ideas regarding the value of the coin, and the marriage market in Lewis, were equally vague. It is gratifying to observe that in the

following year, a wife was found for him. Martin mentions that fourteen years previously, a plague of rats had eaten up all the corn of the Rona people, and a few months afterwards, their bull was stolen by some sailors. Before the annual supplies from Lewis arrived, the poor islanders had all died, and the minister of Barvas sent a new colony with supplies.

The list of Lewis churches given by Martin is very complete, no less than twenty-five being named. The parishes were two in number, Barvas and Ui, both being parsonages with resident ministers. The festivals observed throughout the year were Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Michaelmas. At Michaelmas, it was customary to form a cavalcade, and horse-racing, indulged in by both sexes, took place on the sands. All the inhabitants of Lewis were Protestants, except one Roman Catholic family.

Stornoway is described as follows:—"There is a village called Storn-Bay at the head of the bay of that name. It consists of about sixty families. There are some houses of entertainment in it, as also a church, and a school in which Latin and English are taught."

The accounts of the other principal islands of the Outer Hebrides are less circumstantial, but are nevertheless full of interest. A description is given of Harris, which includes such widely divergent subjects as its fauna, its brochs, and its superstitions, to which may be added a learned dissertation on tides. The Harris people observed the same festivals as their neighbours in Lewis, and indulged in similar equestrian performances at Martinmas. All the inhabitants were Protestants. The pertinents of Harris are also described.

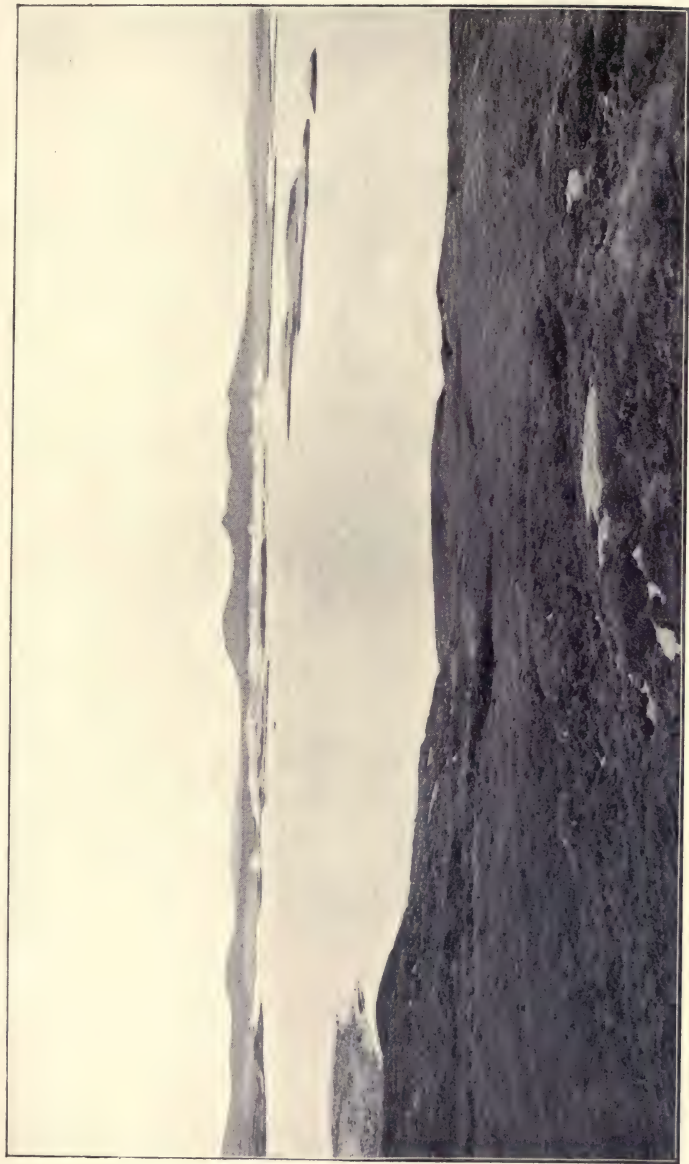
The methods of agriculture in North Uist receive some attention, special reference being made to the use of a small plough drawn by one or two horses. The function of this plough was to prepare the soil for the ordinary plough, which was drawn by four horses. The manure employed was seaweed, and the ashes of burnt ware were

used as salt in preserving mackerel. Lochmaddy, where in the memory of living man four hundred sail had been loaded with herrings, was now deserted by fishing boats ; and there was not a herring net in the whole of North Uist. White fish, however, abounded, and herrings were occasionally caught by handlines. Cloth-waulking was practised on the Island of Borera, and Martin mentions that an Englishman, who chanced upon a number of women so engaged, to the accompaniment of their weird waulking-songs, thought he had entered a lunatic asylum. Seals were killed in large numbers, their flesh being used as food, and their skins, cut into long pieces, for plough traces. A girdle of sealskin round the waist was believed to be a cure for sciatica. Shipments of beef were sent to Glasgow, whence it was exported to India in barrels. The birds of North Uist, its damp climate, the prevalent diseases and their cures, the hospitality of the natives, their horse-races at Michaelmas,* with some curious attendant circumstances ; these are all touched upon with more or less detail. The inhabitants, with a solitary exception, were all Protestants.

The accounts of Benbecula and South Uist are less comprehensive. The natives of South Uist were noted for the purity of their Gaelic. The old people of the island, especially the women, still wore the ancient dress, a description of which, unfortunately, is not given. Seven churches in South Uist are named. The inhabitants of Benbecula and South Uist were all Roman Catholics, with the exception of sixty Protestants in the latter island. They were a hospitable people, but apparently a certain amount of religious bitterness disturbed the harmony of the community.

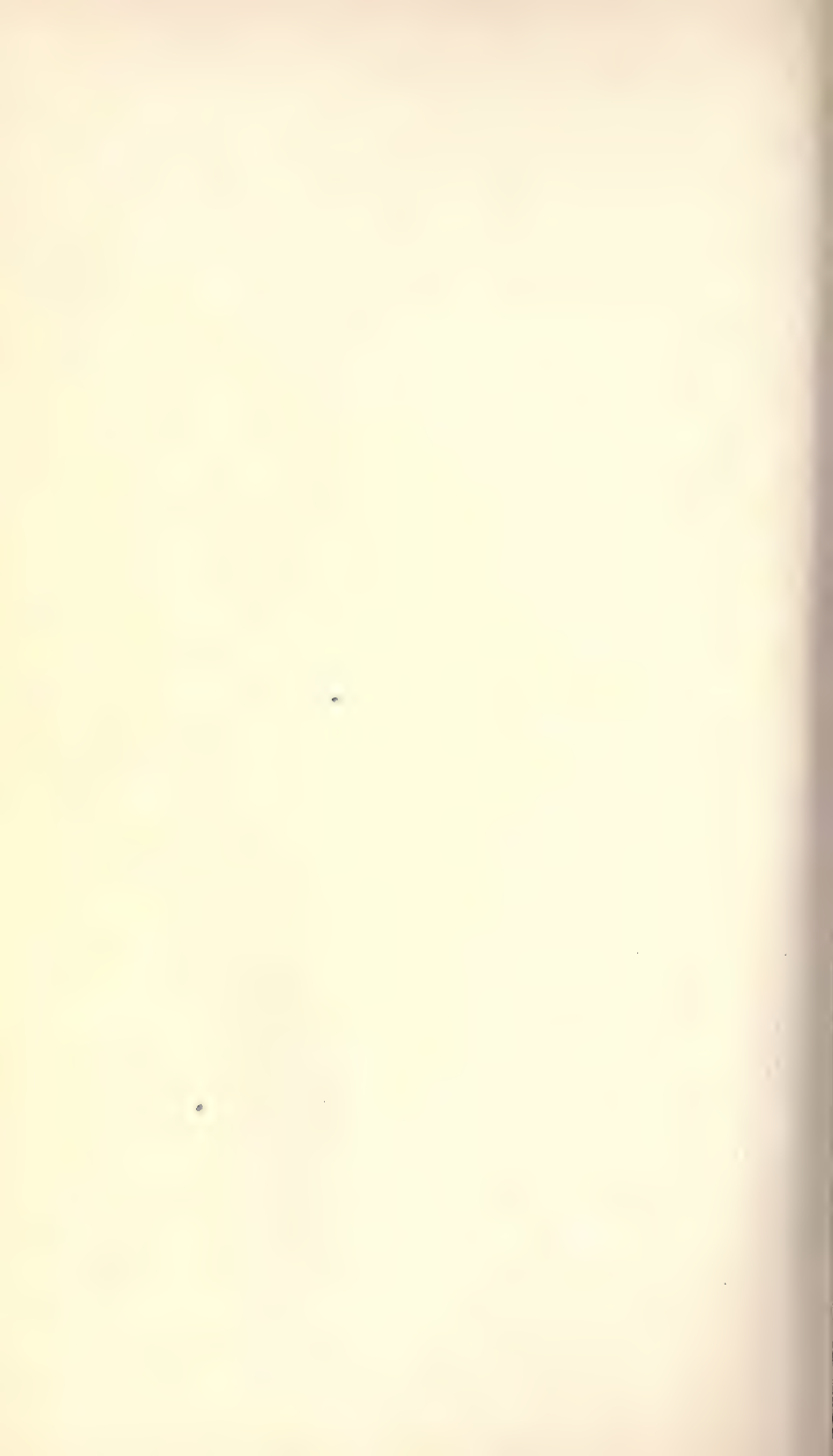
Some interesting particulars are given about Barra. The Macneill of Martin's day seems to have retained some of the best customs of the patriarchal system, for he was in the habit of making good to his tenantry, milch cows

* Possibly the horse-racing had its origin in the legend which asserts that Saint Barr swam across the Irish Channel on horseback.



LOCHMADDY, NORTH UIST.

[To see page 510.



lost through bad seasons ; and he took old and incapacitated tenants into his own family. And yet, we are told that when he or his steward was in the island, the natives never went fishing, being afraid of having their rents raised. The steward of the lesser islands had perquisites of all produce, fish, &c. In Macneill's castle (Kisimul), a relic of ancient times survived in the person of the cockman, or sentinel. The anniversary of the patron saint of the island was celebrated on the 27th September of each year, and in the church (Kilbar), a wooden image of the saint, covered with a linen shirt, stood on the altar. There were no doctors in the island, and the only medicine used by the natives was "a sort of stone" with which they rubbed their breasts ; this, they said, kept them in good health. The Barra people were famed for their hospitality. When any strangers landed from the other islands of the Outer Hebrides, they were bound willy-nilly to take refreshment, the "ocean-meal" being the appropriate title given to the repast. An ancient custom provided that only one person could lodge with a family, and this custom was followed even in the case of a married couple. Widowers and widows alike in Barra were accustomed to apply to Macneill for suitable partners to share their joys and their sorrows, and the chief was nothing loth to act in the capacity of match-maker. No time was wasted in such preliminaries as courtship : the partners were found, and the wedding ceremony was forthwith performed, Macneill providing a bottle of "strong waters" as his contribution to the festivities ; a system of Arcadian simplicity which apparently worked well in practice. All the Barra people were Roman Catholics, with the exception of one Murdoch Macneill. It is of interest to find that tobacco was grown in Barra, some time prior to Martin's visit ; but its success seems to have been doubtful, otherwise its cultivation would hardly have been discontinued.

Travellers in the Long Island were scarce during the first half of the eighteenth century ; or, at any rate, they

have left few records of their visits behind them. John Adair published in 1703, an unimportant description of the Outer Isles; and in 1738, Matthew Symson wrote *The Present State of Scotland*, in which interesting particulars are given of Lewis. He states that coral and coralline were employed as blood-purifiers, as well as being worn as ornaments. The author of *The Highlands of Scotland* in 1750 (the instructive MS. published by Mr. Andrew Lang) visited the Long Island, of which his impressions were by no means unfavourable. The inhabitants, he asserts, were more industrious than the mainlanders, and "more tractable and honest than one would expect!" In *A Voyage to Shetland, the Orkney Islands and the Western Isles of Scotland*, published in 1751 by an unknown traveller, the industry of the natives of Lewis is praised, particularly in their agricultural pursuits. The light harrow described by Martin was still in use. The fisheries were good, although much interrupted by the presence of whales. The inhabitants were assiduous in killing the whales, which were still used as food by the poorer classes. An important account of the Long Island is given by one Captain Barlow in 1753 (see Appendix I.), which is, on the whole, entertaining reading. In the year 1764, Dr. John Walker was commissioned by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to visit the islands, and the result is given in his well-known *Economical History of the Hebrides*. This work is of great scientific interest, but the introduction to the book—a lengthy description of the Isles in manuscript, which, curiously enough, is only now about to be published—is more useful from the historian's point of view.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was no lack of travellers in the Outer Hebrides. A report dated 1774, by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, gives some useful statistics of the state of education in the Long Island. We find Dr. James Anderson, in his *Account of the Hebrides* (published 1785) criticising alike absentee landlordism, the rapacity of tacks-

men-merchants, and the heavy duties on salt in the Outer Isles. The arbitrary powers of factors are also advertised upon. In 1786, John Knox visited the Outer Hebrides on a commission from the Highland Society of London, and has left a faithful record of his impressions. The Rev. John Lane Buchanan in his *Travels in the Hebrides*, which took place from 1782-90, gives a doleful picture of the oppression of the tacksmen, and the misery of the sub-tenants, more particularly in Harris, and the immorality of the elders of the Kirk. The *General View of the Agriculture of the Central Highlands and Islands* (published in 1794), comments favourably on the policy of Lord Macdonald in North Uist and Macneill in Barra, which had as its object a reduction of the size of the tacksmen's holdings, and the introduction of a general system of tenure direct from the proprietors. But the most important record of all is that of the *Old Statistical Account* (1796), which describes in detail the conditions of each parish as they existed at the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1800, Mr. Headrick, a mineralogist, wrote a report on Lewis, which embodies various suggestions for developing the resources of the island. He remarks on the great number of deer and hogs (the latter in Stornoway) and considers them equally a nuisance. About the same time, John Leyden wrote his account of the Highlands and Islands, only recently published by Mr James Sinton. In 1811, *A General View of Agriculture in the Hebrides* was published by James Macdonald, and his remarks about the Long Island are full of information. Stornoway made a favourable impression upon him, with its neat houses and its shipping. The fishing was prosecuted with energy, but towards education, the attitude of the inhabitants was deplorably apathetic, and even antagonistic. As for the rest of the island, he says, "so vile indeed are the dwellings in general that we cannot enter upon a description of them." Illicit distilling was largely practised in Lewis, the people clubbing together [to pay the fines levied by the

Excise. Successful efforts to reclaim waste land had been made by Mr. Chapman—Seaforth's factor—near Stornoway, as well as by Campbell of Ensay in Harris, Lord Macdonald's factor in North Uist, Macdonald of Balranald, and Maclean of Boreray. Land which had been practically worthless was by these efforts let, on an average, at 15s. an acre. The two chief causes of the backward condition of the Uists and Barra, were the non-residence of the proprietors and the neglect of fishing and agriculture, consequent upon the manufacture of kelp. The fishermen of Barra, notwithstanding, are described as the most active and prosperous in the Hebrides, which is attributed to the system in vogue of apportioning by lot the fishing banks, at an annual general meeting of the islanders. The portion allotted to each man's family was carefully respected by his neighbours, and an "admiral" was annually elected to arbitrate upon all matters of dispute. This system of marine runrig long survived, lots being cast for the fishing banks on St. Bride's Day. The natives of Barra are described by Macdonald as being "among the very best seamen in the British Empire."

In *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland* by Nicholas Carlisle, published in 1813, there are some useful particulars about the Outer Hebrides. The absence of roads in Lewis is commented upon, and Lord Seaforth's exertions to remove that drawback are described. Information of economic and antiquarian interest is given about the other islands of the group. Roderick Macneill of Barra, whom James Macdonald called "an active improver and a man of sound sense and great benevolence," is also praised by Carlisle for his encouragement of agriculture. Kelp-making did not, after all, monopolise attention.

Dr. John Macculloch's *Western Islands* is perhaps the best work on the conditions which prevailed in the Outer Hebrides, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It comprises a thoughtful, if necessarily hurried, study of the questions which lay at the root of the poverty of the people; and if the writer's attitude towards them is

seemingly unsympathetic, his reasoning is, from his point of view, sound and scientific. He recognised the cold logic of facts, and sought to apply the remedies suggested by political economy; overlooking, as so many of like views at the present day overlook, that the academic formulæ and shibboleths of the old school of economists are, in certain cases, incompatible with their practical application. His geological survey of the islands is the most complete yet undertaken. His general criticisms are acute, and on the whole, not unfair.

Lord Teignmouth's account of his visit to the Long Island in 1827, is alike entertaining and instructive.

Professor William Macgillivray's description of the Outer Hebrides, published in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science* for 1830, contains an eloquent tribute to the wild beauty of their rocky shores.

The New Statistical Account, (1834-6) embodies reports from each parish, on the same lines as the Account of 1796, and a useful comparison may be made between the two. In 1851, Sir John Macneill, Chairman of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor, submitted his well-known report, which throws many side-lights upon the underlying causes of the destitution which prevailed in the Long Island. And in 1866, Sheriff Nicolson prepared his report on the state of education in the Hebrides, containing a wealth of statistics, eloquent of the pressing needs of the community. Besides these, there are on record various impressions of casual visitors to the Long Island during the nineteenth century; but as they are of no historical importance, it is not necessary to mention them more specifically.* The reports of the Crofters Commission are the most reliable sources of information, in respect of the prevailing conditions in the Outer Hebrides at the

* Among these may be named the *Reminiscences* of "Sixty One"; Anderson Smith's *Lewsiana*; Robert Buchanan's *Hebrid Isles*; Miss Gordon Cumming's *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas*; and John Bickerdyke's *With Rod and Gun in Lewis*. The most widely known book about Lewis is the late William Black's *Princess of Thule*, that brilliant novel which won fame for its author. The most recent work on the Long Island is Miss Goodrich-Freer's *Outer Isles*, a sympathetic study displaying much insight.

present day. Their report on the social conditions in Lewis during the past twenty years, which has recently been issued as a Parliamentary Bluebook, forms an economic treatise of surpassing value.

The most illustrious travellers who have ever landed on Lewis soil, honoured Stornoway with a visit on 2nd September, 1902. King Edward and the Queen were welcomed by the proprietor, Major Duncan Matheson, and, on behalf of the community, by Provost Anderson. After driving through the principal streets of the town, where they received a loyal and enthusiastic greeting, the Royal visitors were entertained at Lewis Castle by Major and Mrs. Matheson.



LEWIS CASTLE.

Valentine & Sons, Ltd., Dundee.

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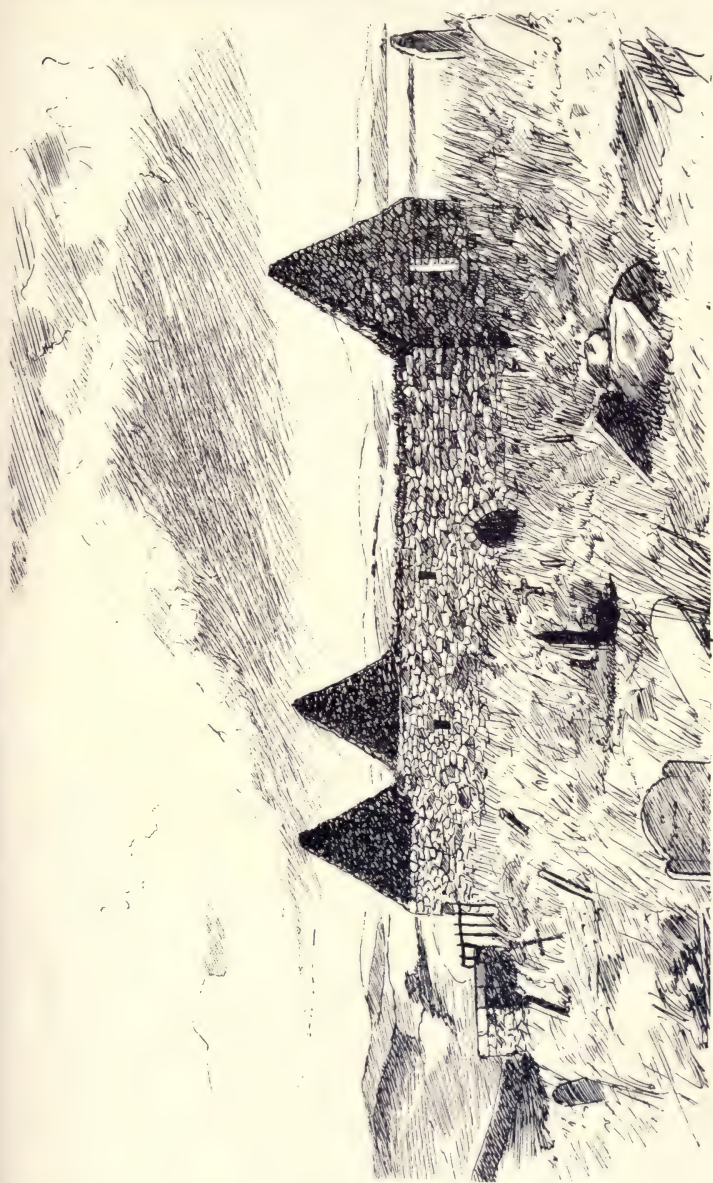
CHAPTER XVII.

IT is difficult to assign an exact date to the foundation of the Bishopric of Sodor, *i.e.*, the Sudreys (*Sudr-ey-jar*) or Hebrides. The generally-accepted account is that it was founded about 838, and was, in 1098, united to Man by King Magnus, when he descended on the Isles like a wolf on the fold. Whether this statement is correct or not, it may at least be asserted, that if such a bishopric existed in 838, it is not likely to have exercised any practical authority over the Outer Hebrides. There is no reasonable doubt, that many years before 838, the Long Island was in the hands of the Norsemen ; and, as we know, it was not until the beginning of the eleventh century that they embraced Christianity. When, in 1154, the metropolitan See of Drontheim, in Norway, was erected, Man and the Western Islands were annexed to it as a suffragan diocese. When the Hebrides were incorporated with the Kingdom of Scotland, the rights of the metropolitan see were retained in all respects, except that of patronage, which was withdrawn ; and it was not until 1380 that the remaining privileges were abolished. In 1377, the Sees of Sodor and Man were disjoined. Thenceforward, Scottish Bishops of the Isles were appointed, who had a seat in Parliament, and who apparently used Iona Abbey as their cathedral, until the see was formally united to that abbey by James IV. When the severance between the Sees of Man and the Hebrides took place, the Bishops of Man named the island on which the Cathedral of St. German's stood, "Sodor," in order to keep up the memory of the old association between the two sees. Hence the title of "Bishop of Sodor and Man," which is retained to the present day by the rulers of the Manx diocese.

There is nothing certain known of the early history of the pre-Reformation churches in the Outer Hebrides. It is inferentially clear, from the existence of the different islets named Pabbay, or Priests' Isle, that prior to, or during, the Norse occupation, they were chosen by Christian anchorites as fit places for meditation and prayer; and it is not unlikely that, in the conversion of the rough Northmen to Christianity, these lonely hermits, who were held in high esteem, may have played a part of some importance. There is good authority for stating, that at the Reformation, there were two priories in the Long Island, viz., at Ui in Lewis, and Rodil in Harris. "Skairinche," in the Island of Lewis (*cella Insulæ Missarum*), is included in a list of religious houses given in 1650 by John Adamson, Principal of Edinburgh College, and, according to his statement, transcribed from an original manuscript in the College. These two priories were included in the twenty-eight monasteries of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, who established themselves at Scone in 1114, at the desire of Alexander I.

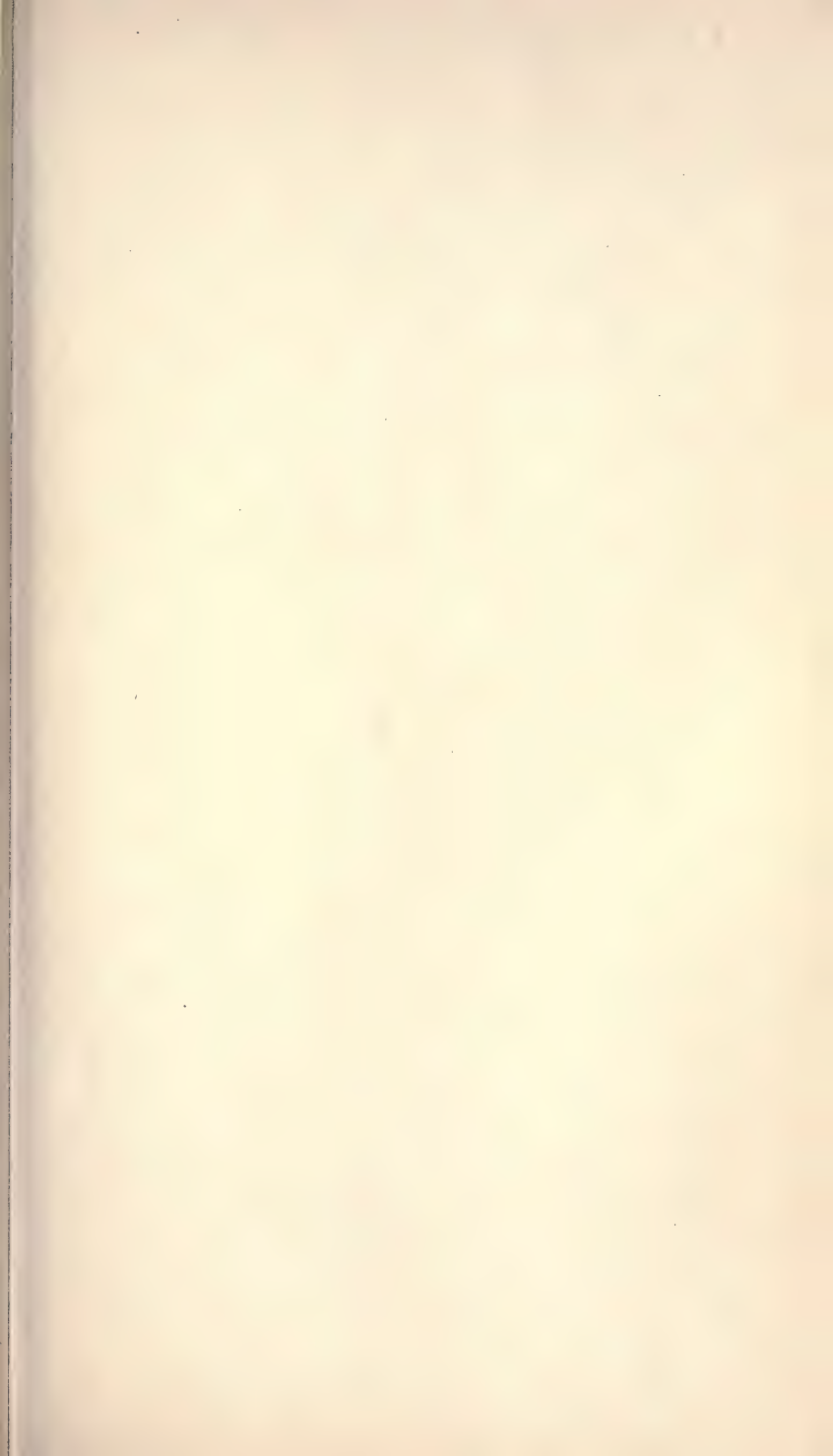
The Lewis priory was at, or near, Stornoway; it is said to have been founded by one of the Macleods, in honour of St. Catan; and it depended on Inchaffray, from which it had its first prior. It is stated to have originally been the cell of St. Catan himself, who is supposed to have lived between the sixth and seventh centuries. At Maelista, Uig, there was a shrine of St. Catan, near which have been found the remains of a nunnery, locally known as the "house of the black old women." The Lewis priory was believed to contain the remains of its founder and other "illustrious men"; it acquired a notoriety for miracles; and it was so wealthy that it was twice rebuilt after being burnt.* The evidence points to this priory having been attached to the Church of St. Columba at Ui, near Stornoway, the ruins of which are more entire than those of any other pre-Reformation church in Lewis. The word "Skairinche" is

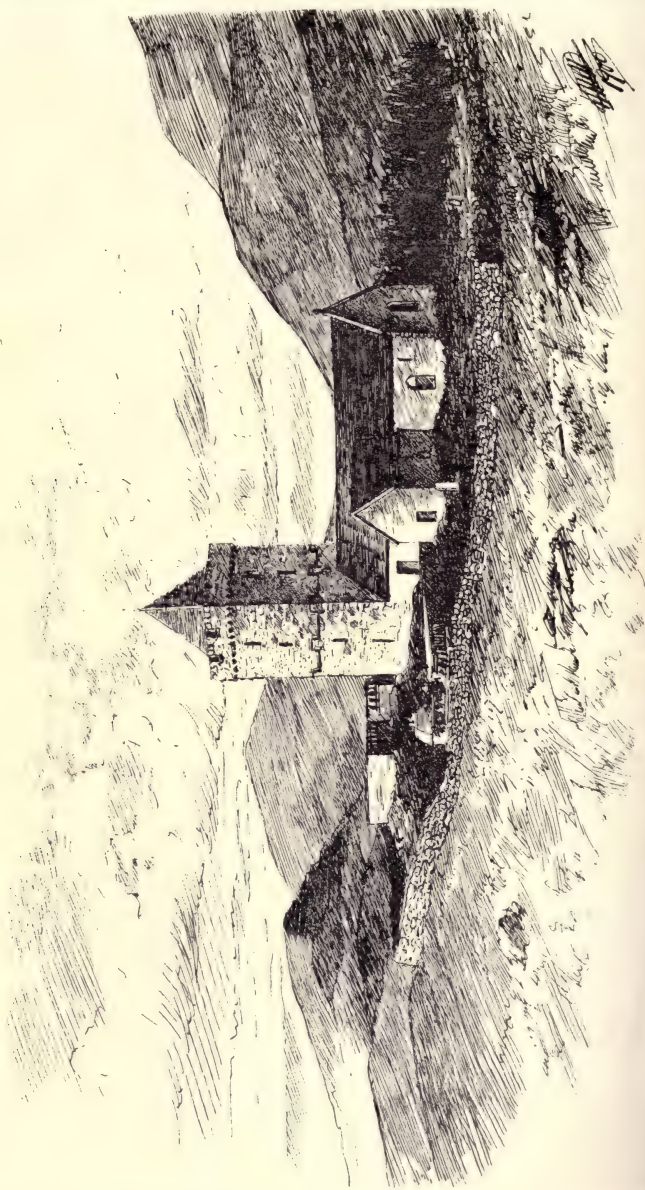
* *Origines Parochiales*, Vol. II., Part I., pp. 381-2.



CHURCH OF ST. COLUMBA, AT UI, NEAR STORNOWAY.

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CHURCH OF ST. CLEMENT, AT RODIL, HARRIS.

a hybrid, being composed of the Norse *sker*—a skerry or insulated rock, and the Gaelic *innis*—an island or peninsula ; the name thus apparently offering etymological confirmation of the site of the priory. In 1561, it appears in a rental of the Bishopric of the Isles as *Skeirach-na-beie*, which may mean “skerry of the bay” (Broad Bay). An examination of the ruins of the church at Ui reveals the fact, that part of the architecture is apparently Norman, and that the building may be ascribed to, at least, two distinct periods. That it was regarded by the Macleods of Lewis as a place of peculiar sanctity, is obvious from the fact of its being their burying-ground ; nineteen of the Siol Torquil, according to tradition, were interred there.* The remains of William, fifth Earl of Seaforth, who ended his days in Lewis, are said to lie beneath a flagstone in the church.

The establishment of the Priory Church of St. Clement at Rodil, is variously attributed to David I., and to one of the Macleods of Harris. The priory depended on the Abbey of Holyrood House. As Ui was the “Iona” of the Siol Torquil, so was Rodil the “Iona” of the Siol Tormod. Rodil Church was repaired by Alexander Macleod of Harris, who died in 1547, and it contains his tomb, elaborately carved, and bearing a Latin inscription. The church was restored by Captain Alexander Macleod when he bought the estate of Harris, and was, in 1787, rebuilt by him, after its accidental destruction by fire. There is a tablet in the church commemorative of the event, and the inscription bears testimony to the conventual character of the original structure. In the nineteenth century, the church was restored by the Countess of Dunmore.

In Lewis, there are still to be seen the remains—in some instances, mere traces—of a number of the churches men-

* There is a tombstone in the church bearing the almost illegible inscription : “*Hic jacet Margareta filia Roderici Meic Leoyd de Leodhuis vidua Lachlanni Meic Fingeone obiit 1503.*” It has been erroneously supposed that this inscription refers to Malcolm Macleod, who died in the reign of James V., but Dr. Joass states that the above is the correct reading. Margaret (who was probably Roderick Macleod’s daughter by his first wife, Margaret Macleod of Harris) was the mother of John, Abbot of Iona, whose cross is in St. Oran’s Chapel.

tioned by Martin, notably those of St. Columba at Ui, St. Aula (Olaf) at Gress, Holy Cross at Galson, St. John the Baptist at Bragar, St. Michael at Cirrabhig (Loch Carloway), St. Peter at Shader, St. Thomas at Habost, St. Peter at Swainbost, and St. Bridget at Borge. Of the church at Stornoway, dedicated to St. Lennan, which Martin mentions, there is no trace left. The Flannan and Shiant Isles also contain remains of the same character; likewise Rona, Sula Sgeir, and St. Colm's Isle in Loch Erisort; all of which are interesting additions to the ecclesiology of the Long Island. But next to the Priory Church of Ui, the greatest interest attaches to the *teampull-mòr*, or big temple, at Eorrapidh, near the Butt of Lewis, commonly called St. Olaf, from its founder, who was apparently Olave the Black. Captain Dymes calls it "St. Mallonuy" and "St. Mallonvie," and Martin calls it "St. Mulvay." The saint in question was very probably St. Maelrubha (pronounced Malruie),* whose name has appeared in numerous corrupted forms, two of which are Mulrui and Mulroy.† St. Maelrubha, the patron saint of the Morisons of Ness, was regarded as the special healer of lunacy. A belief in the healing virtues of the well in Inch Maree (Mourie or Maelrubha) probably still lingers in West Ross-shire; in former times, it was a common practice to bring lunatics to Loch Maree to be cured. Similarly, lunatics were taken from many parts of the North-West of Scotland to the church at Ness, with the same object. The patient walked seven times round the building, was sprinkled with water from St. Ronan's Well, close at hand, and was then bound and left for the night on the site of the altar.‡ We shall notice, later on, other superstitious rites in connexion with this church,

* The name might also stand for St. Molua or St. Mullins, but Sir Arthur Mitchell, who is an authority on the subject, informs the author that his suggestion of St. Maelrubha is probably correct.

† It may be remarked that the letters "n" and "r" are commutable in Gaelic, which seems to support the belief that Captain Dymes's "Mallonuy" may be meant for "Mulrui."

‡ Sir Arthur Mitchell's *Various Superstitions in the North-West Highlands and Islands*, pp. 19-20.

which serve to show the veneration in which the saint was held.

Some of the other islands of the Outer Hebrides are also of ecclesiological interest. The remains of greatest importance in North Uist, are those of the historical Trinity Church, at Carinish. At Howmore, in South Uist, traces are left of its former ecclesiastical greatness. At Balivanich, in Benbecula, there are the remains of a chapel; and Kilbar, in Barra, commemorates the veneration of St. Barr in that island. In pre-Reformation times, all the churches and chapels in the Outer Hebrides were sanctuaries. It can be conceived, without any undue stretch of the imagination, that they were in frequent use by criminals, fleeing from the avenging hand of Justice.

We get only a few passing glimpses of the Lewis churches, in the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland. In 1506, James IV. presented Sir John Polson,* Precentor of Caithness, to the rectory of Ui, when it should be vacant by the irregularity, or inability, of John Macleod. In 1534 and 1536, the Rector of Ui was Sir Magnus Vass, Commissary of Inverness. In the latter year, James V. presented "Master Roderic Farquhar (Hector's son)" to several churches vacant by the death of "Master Martin McGilmartin," including the rectory of the Church of Our Lady in Barvas. In 1552, the Rector of Ui was Sir Donald Monro, doubtless the Archdeacon of the Isles. In 1559, Queen Mary presented Master Lauchlan Maclean to the rectory of Ness, vacant by the death of Sir John Finlay. In 1561, the parsonage of Ui belonged to the Bishop of the Isles. In 1573, Ranald (Angus' son) appears on record as the parson of Uig, when he subscribed a bond entered into between Ruari Macleod and the Bishop of the Isles, Ruari himself being unable to write.†

The abolition of Roman Catholicism in Scotland, in 1560, necessarily led to a re-modelling of the ecclesiastical

* "Sir" was a title of respect formerly given to clergymen. The prefix of "Mr." to a name, signified that the bearer of it was a Master of Arts.

† *Origines Parochiales*, Vol. II., Part I., p. 381.

government of the Hebrides. John Carswell, the well-known translator of Knox's Liturgy into Gaelic, was appointed first Superintendent of the Isles, a title which permitted the exercise of episcopal functions, without a recognition of episcopal consecration. When Episcopacy of a more decided nature was introduced in 1572, the Islesmen found their superintendents transformed into tulchan-bishops. But to them, these nominal changes had little or no significance. Before the Reformation, the religion of the Long Islanders, so far as can be ascertained, was a strange conglomeration of Christian beliefs and heathen rites. The Christianity of the Celts, and of the semi-Christianised Norsemen, was superimposed upon the purely pagan creed of the worshippers of Odin and Thor ; and gradually, the two became so mixed as to be indistinguishable, the one from the other. Christian saints were substituted for heathen deities ; Christian ceremonies were mingled with pagan rites ; Christian credence in the supernatural was intertwined with the beliefs in witchcraft, spells, and sorcery, which swayed the lives of the Vikings. The Roman Catholic clergy, following the example of the Celtic missionaries to the Norsemen, employed this hybrid creed as an agency in promoting morality ; and there is evidence to show that it was used with success. When Romanism was abolished in Scotland, the spiritual needs of the remote islands were apparently suffered to fall into total neglect. The restraints of religious exercises being removed, the morality of the islanders suffered accordingly. Hence arose the irreligious and immoral condition of Lewis at the end of the sixteenth century, described, but in exaggerated language, by the Acts of James VI., when the raid of the Fife Adventurers was in course of preparation. That the darkest period of religion and morality in Lewis was the second half of the sixteenth century, the events already recorded in these pages serve to show. King James VI. sought to transform the face of Lewis, not by the reformation, but by the extirpation, of the natives, with the results which we know. But it was surely

pitiful to find the Reformed Church of Scotland acquiescing, apparently, in the proposed scheme of extermination, instead of hastening to repair its neglect of a community, whose spiritual needs it had for nearly forty years practically ignored. The Adventurers brought to Lewis their own clergyman, Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, but there was no intention of giving him missionary work to perform: his services were to be confined to the elect from Fife and the Lothians. He escaped from Lewis after the first abortive attempt of the colonists, and was, in 1601, again appointed to plant "ane kirk" in the island.

The neglect of the Outer Hebrides by the Reformed Church is proved by the fact, that when, in 1610, Lord Kintail brought to Lewis, Mr. Farquhar Macrae, Vicar of Gairloch, then a young man of thirty, to minister to the religious wants of the people, that clergyman found it necessary to baptise all under forty years of age, and to re-introduce, practically, the institution of marriage. His ministrations were gladly received, and his presence was an influential factor in inducing the people—except the irreconcilables—to submit to Kintail. Farquhar Macrae's stay in Lewis was short, but the impression he created was probably durable.

After its struggle with the Crown, Presbyterianism was, in 1592, fully established in Scotland. But in 1606, bishops were restored to their temporal estate, and in 1610, Episcopacy triumphed by the abolition of the rival organisation. By the Acts of Assembly in 1638, and of the Scottish Parliament in 1640, Presbyterianism was re-introduced, only to be again replaced by Episcopacy at the Restoration. In 1690, Episcopacy was finally abolished, and Presbyterianism permanently adopted, being subsequently confirmed in 1707, by the Articles of Union, as the form of church government in Scotland. These changes had little or no practical effect upon the Western Highlands and Isles. In the Western Highlands, the clergy and the people remained faithful to Episcopacy; and it was not until the eighteenth century, that Presbyterianism was unwillingly accepted.

In the Outer Hebrides, religious observances were doubtless stimulated by the Statutes of Icolmkill, drawn up in 1609 for the improvement of the Isles ; and subsequently by the Bond of 1614. The first Earl of Seaforth is described as "a pious and religious" man. As patron of the Lewis churches, he provided them with books, no doubt of a devotional character, and he built a church in Stornoway. And yet we find Bishop Thomas, in 1626, complaining that the Earl had only paid the Bishop's father, fifty merks of his dues, and was now refusing to pay anything, denying all liability for Bishops' dues. In 1626, there were only two ministers in Lewis, their parishes being Barvas (including Uig), and Ui (including Lochs), the living, in each case, being worth two thousand merks yearly. But in spite of the regular payment of clergymen's stipends, the repair of "ruinous kirks," the abolition of handfast marriages, the punishment of open immorality, and the observance of the Sabbath, which the Statutes of Icolmkill aimed at achieving, the theological beliefs of the Long Island remained practically the same as before the Reformation. In those places where the heritors belonged to the Reformed Church, the people doubtless became, in time, nominally Protestants, but there is abundant evidence to show that down to the eighteenth century, the real religion of the people was simply saint-worship, strongly diluted by the pagan rites inherited from their Norse forefathers. To this condition of things, a solitary exception must be made, in the case of Stornoway, where Christianity was probably of the orthodox type, Episcopacy and Presbyterianism alternately predominating.

The state of religion in Lewis, in 1630, is clearly indicated by the report of Captain Dymes.* He says that in their religion, the islanders were "very ignorant, and have been given to the idolatrous worshipping of divers saints" ; the saint held in greatest veneration being "Mollonuy" (Maelrubha). The church at Ness, dedicated to Maelrubha, was kept in

* See Appendix F.

good repair, and was frequented by those suffering from "wounds and soares," the people having great faith in the curative efficacy of the saint. When unable to go to the church in person, they made a copy in wood of the limb affected, and cut in the wood a faithful representation of the wound. The wooden arm or leg was then sent to the church, and laid on the altar ; and, doubtless, in due course, the quick healing of the wound, which resulted from a healthy constitution, plus an inordinate amount of faith, was attributed to the direct intervention of the saint on their behalf, as a reward for their devotion. At Candlemas and Hallowtide each year, drunken orgies took place, followed by dancing, the *finale* to the proceedings being a visit by the people, with lights in their hands, to the church, where they worshipped the saint all night long. Just before Dymes's visit to the island, a minister from another parish—probably Farquhar Clerk from Ui—came among them, as they were preparing at Candlemas for their time-honoured devotions, and by means of argument, warning, and threats, induced the more moderate among them to promise to give up their idolatrous practices.

Seventy years later, in Martin's time, the worship of saints still prevailed, though all the people in the island were nominally Protestants, with the exception of one Roman Catholic family (? Mackenzie of Kildun). When the Lewismen visited the Flannan Islands every summer for birds' eggs, down, feathers, and quills, they observed certain ceremonies which indicate their strict adherence to set forms. As soon as they landed, they uncovered their heads and made a turn sunways, thanking God for their safety. When they came within about twenty paces of the altar, in the chapel dedicated to St. Flannan, they stripped themselves of their upper garments, and prayed three times before fowling operations were commenced ; the first prayer while advancing towards the chapel on their knees, the second as they went round the building, and the third close to, or at the chapel ; and the same form was observed at vespers. These fowlers considered it unlawful to kill a

bird with a stone ; it was, they said, a great barbarity, and contrary to ancient custom.

But the most striking instance given by Martin of the retention of pagan customs is one connected with the church at Ness. At Hallowtide, the people came to the church prepared for the feast, each family providing a peck of malt which was brewed into ale, and each man having a supply of provisions with him. Then the ceremony was observed of propitiating the sea-god, who was presumed to have the power of yielding, or withholding, a supply of seaweed for manuring the fields. A selected person waded into the sea up to his middle, carrying a cup of ale in his hand. With a loud voice he cried, " Shony, I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send us plenty of seaweed for enriching our ground the ensuing year " ; and so saying, he threw the ale into the sea. This ceremony was performed at night, and was followed by a visit to the church, after which, the people repaired to the fields, where they made merry until the morning. The rite just described is probably a survival of the autumnal sacrificial feast observed by the Norsemen, " Shony," as Captain Thomas suggests, being doubtless the Icelandic *Sjoni*, a nickname derived from *sōn*—an atonement or sacrifice. Probably the invocation of *Sjoni* originated in the worship of Niordr, the ruler of the sea in the Scandinavian mythology. Donald Morison, minister of Barvas (grandson of the last Brieve), and his son Kenneth, minister of Ui, were instrumental in putting down *Sjoni*-worship ; but the ceremony survived in another form. The people used, in the spring, to proceed to the end of a reef, and invoke St. Brianan to send a strong north wind to drive plenty of seaweed ashore. Instances of *Sjoni*-worship are cited, as having been observed in Lewis as recently as the nineteenth century. Martin relates other superstitions, which show how strongly impregnated the people were with the beliefs of their ancestors. The characteristic tenacity with which traditional customs are retained in Lewis, is proved by the fact, that even at the present day, the superstitious practices of

bygone times are not wholly extinct, striking instances of which occasionally come to light.

The Morisons of Ness were notable figures in the Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; so, too, were the Macaulays of Uig. The first Protestant minister of Barvas (formerly Ness and Cladich) of whom there is any record, was Murdoch McHuiston, or McHoustoun, who was inducted in, or before, 1642. He was succeeded by Donald Morison, who was transferred to Ui in 1649, succeeding Farquhar Clerk, who was inducted before 26th May, 1642. Subsequently, Donald Morison appears to have been re-transferred to Barvas, where he died in 1699 in his 80th year. Of his seven sons, no fewer than six became ministers, the seventh being a surgeon. He was succeeded at Barvas by his son, Allan, formerly of South Uist. Donald Morison was bred an Episcopalian, but conformed to Presbyterianism. He was succeeded at Stornoway (parish of Ui) by his son Kenneth, who also became a Presbyterian. It may well be believed that the simplicity of the Episcopal service in Lewis was such, that the change to Presbyterianism did not involve any radical alteration in the form of worship. Kenneth Morison was a remarkable man, well fitted to cope with the difficulties which surrounded the Protestant clergy at that time. So high did religious feeling run between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, that Morison was accustomed to carry a sword by his side, when he walked from his manse to the church in Stornoway ; and the church door was guarded by two men with drawn swords. The Earl of Seaforth's uncle, John Mackenzie of Kildun, was the leader of the Catholics, and the muscular Christianity of Kenneth Morison so exasperated him, that he endeavoured to have the minister seized at night and carried to his house at Aignish. But Morison was on his guard, and defeated the plot by the simple process of making the messengers drunk, and sending them bound to their master's house, where their pitiful plight told its own tale. This practical rebuke by the minister had its due effect upon Kildun, who became

reconciled to his enemy, and thereafter lived on good terms with him, religious differences notwithstanding. Kenneth had two sons, one of whom, Murdoch, was a merchant in Stornoway. Kenneth was succeeded at Stornoway by his cousin, Donald Morison, who died in 1746.

Aulay Macaulay, the minister of Harris who figured in the history of Prince Charlie's wanderings, was the grandson of Angus Macaulay of Brenish, who was killed at Auldearn in 1645, and great-grandson of Donald Cam, the old enemy of the Morisons. That the relations between the two clans had altered considerably, is evident from the fact that Aulay Macaulay was married to a daughter of Kenneth Morison, the minister of Stornoway. He had at least three sons, Æneas, John, and Kenneth. John was minister, successively of Barra, South Uist, Lismore, and Inverary, and ended his days as minister of Cardross in Dumbartonshire. We have already described his attempt, in conjunction with his father, to have Prince Charles Edward arrested at Stornoway. His son, Zachary, was the famous slavery abolitionist, and Zachary's son was the still more famous Lord Macaulay. Kenneth, the third of Aulay's sons, was minister of Ardnamurchan, and afterwards of Cawdor. He wrote a book on St. Kilda, which Dr. Johnson described as a "well-written book, except some foppery about liberty and slavery."

The Presbytery of the Long Island embraced by the Synod of Glenelg was, in 1724, disjoined from the Presbytery of Skye, and erected by the General Assembly. In 1742, the Presbytery was divided, and erected into two distinct Presbyteries, viz., Lewis and Uist, the latter including Harris, formerly the parish of Kilbride. The register of the Presbytery of Lewis begins in July, 1742, and that of Uist in February, 1768, the previous records having been lost at sea by the upsetting of a boat, when the crew and the passengers were drowned.* In the parish of Stornoway, embracing the ancient parish of Ui and a

* Scott's *Fasti*, Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 138.

large portion of the ancient parish of Ness, is included the *quoad sacra* parish of Knock, erected in 1857. In the same year, the *quoad sacra* parish of Cross was erected in the parish of Barvas. The old parishes of Lochs and Uig, after a lapse of many years, were re-erected by the Lords Commissioners of Teinds in 1722. The first minister of Lochs, after the re-constitution, was Colin Mackenzie, ordained in 1724, and the first of Uig was John Macleod, ordained in 1726. The old parish churches were, respectively, St. Columba (Ui), St. Peter (Barvas), St. Columba, on the Island of St. Colm (Lochs), and St. Christopher (Uig). At the disruption, in 1843, several of the Lewis ministers went over to the Free Church.

The parish of South Uist is formed of the old parishes of Kilpeter, Howmore, and Benbecula. The first minister of South Uist on record is Donald Macmillan, who is described in 1626 by Bishop Knox, as "a very old man." Martin Macpherson, the minister of South Uist in 1658, sheltered General Middleton from the troops of the Commonwealth, and his services were acknowledged, after the Restoration, by a gift of £200. Barra was an old parish, but had been annexed to South Uist, from which it was disjoined in 1733, and re-constituted as a separate parish.

Until the system of poor rates was established by the Poor Law Act in 1845, the Church was the chief dispenser of alms in the Long Island. The poor were supported by church collections, and fines imposed upon "irregular persons," which were largely supplemented by private charity, the latter being still exercised in various forms. The poor were received into the houses of the well-to-do inhabitants, and invariably received hospitable treatment. In some parishes, the Kirk Session distributed, every spring, among the paupers on the roll, a quantity of grain, regularly set aside for their use by those of their neighbours who could afford it. The wife of the last Lord Seaforth was distinguished by her care of the poor in Lewis.

In educational matters, the Long Island was, until the

nineteenth century, immeasurably behind the rest of Scotland. Evidence of the lack of education among the Hebridean chiefs of the sixteenth century has been given in these pages; and by that evidence, the ignorance of the lower orders may well be gauged. But there were, even in the Long Island, notable exceptions to the general illiteracy, one of the most striking being that of Malcolm Macleod, who, as we have seen, drew up, in 1598, a bond with the precision of a skilled lawyer. The Fife Adventurers brought a schoolmaster to Lewis, whose services, like those of the minister, were to be confined to pupils within the "Pale." In 1633, the system of parochial schools in Scotland, first projected in 1616, received legislative sanction. In 1696, a school was appointed to be settled in every parish in Scotland, and in 1704 and 1707, Education Acts were passed, having special reference to the Highlands. In 1700, there was only one school in the Outer Hebrides, situated at Stornoway, where, Martin informs us, "Latin and English" were taught. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, founded in 1704, performed excellent educational service in the Long Island, as elsewhere. By 1765, the Society had established two schools in the parish of Stornoway, one in Harris, and one in North Uist. Besides these schools, there was in the town of Stornoway, a school established by the Committee for managing the Royal Bounty,* to teach "English, Latin, writing, and arithmetic." A school for spinning linen yarn was opened in 1763, and was still in existence in 1813. A parochial school was, in 1764, opened in the parish of Lochs, but there were no schools in the parishes of Uig and Barvas. There was a parochial school in Harris, and a Royal Bounty school in North Uist. The Roman Catholic Islands of South Uist and Barra were destitute of schools of any kind. It is interesting to observe, that in the time of Charles I.,

* The Royal Bounty was an annual grant of £1,000 by the King, to provide the Highlands and Isles with missionaries and schoolmasters. The ministers had sometimes to be sharply watched, to prevent them from appropriating to the Church, sums allocated for education.

the inhabitants of Barra were all Protestants ; they were proselytised during the reign of Charles II.

About 1796, according to the Old Statistical Account, there were two schools in the parish of Stornoway—the parochial and the Society's—besides a spinning school. In the parish of Barvas, there had been no parochial school “for many years back,” but the proprietor was about to supply the deficiency, and there was a Society's school at Ness. There were two spinning schools in the parish. In Lochs, there were a parochial and a Society's school (both newly erected), and two spinning schools. In Uig, there were two schools “lately erected,” and three spinning schools. In Harris, there was a parish school (at Rodil), and another school was about to be built by the Society, which had already established a seminary for girls at Rodil. North Uist and Barra each had a school, the one in Barra having been erected by the Society.

The people did not take kindly to education, being suspicious of its results. Some of the teachers had little to do, but they formed useful substitutes for the ministers, when the latter were absent from their parishes. Lord Seaforth exerted himself in this, as in other directions, for the improvement of his tenantry, but he found it difficult to overcome their prejudices. Their argument was, that their children would leave them as the result of education. It is curious to find an argument, which was used a hundred years ago against education, being employed at the present day in its favour, as forming the chief factor in the future solution of the problem of congestion.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Gaelic School Society of Inverness turned its attention to the Long Island. The parent Society was founded in Edinburgh in 1811, and in 1818, the Inverness Society was instituted, having as its object, the promotion of education among the poor of the Highlands and Isles. As an indication of the vigorous efforts put forth by this Society, it may be stated that when, in 1825, it published its *Moral Statistics*, there were in Lewis nineteen schools, of which

nine were Gaelic ; and in Harris, nine schools, no fewer than seven of which were connected with the Society. About 1825, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland moved in the same direction, and planted schools in the most necessitous parts. When the Disruption took place in 1843, the Free Church vied with the parent Church in educational efforts. A great fillip was thus given to the establishment of schools in the Outer Hebrides, which, in Lewis, was facilitated by the hearty co-operation of Sir James Matheson. When Sheriff Nicolson published, in 1866, his report on the state of education in the Hebrides, there were the following schools in the Long Island, viz., Lewis, 48 ; Harris, 18 ;* the parish of North Uist, 15 ; Benbecula, 5 ; South Uist (including Eriskay), 9 ; and Barra, 5. And yet with all this scholastic machinery, the illiteracy was astonishing. In Lewis, 26·5 per cent. were unable to read even in Gaelic, and 86 per cent. were unable to write ; and the same state of matters prevailed in the rest of the islands, South Uist and Barra being the most backward of the group. In the town of Stornoway, as many can now testify, the schools of that period were turning out pupils, whose educational equipment has enabled them to hold their own in all parts of the world, and in some instances, to make brilliant reputations, more particularly in the ministerial profession. In earlier generations, they turned out such distinguished men as Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the discoverer of that great river which bears his name, and Kenneth Morison, the founder of the Railway Clearing House. But in the country schools, education was more partial, less assimilable, and too readily shed like a superfluous coat, to make any real impression upon the great mass of the people. Probably, too, the adjustment of the bi-lingual difficulty, a difficulty which still exists, was defective. The schools were primarily the handmaidens

* The School of the S.P.C.K., in Bernera, Harris, was the oldest house on the Long Island. It was the birthplace of Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker and Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, who fought at the battle of Worcester.

of the Church, and clerical domination was, from an educational standpoint, not altogether an unmixed blessing. The advent of the School Boards worked a revolution, both in the methods and the scope of education in the Long Island. There may be some difference of opinion, as to whether or not the moral qualities of the pupils have deteriorated under the present system; but there can be none at all as to the immeasurable superiority of its educational machinery. The system of the Catechism and the Cane may conceivably have turned out more complete men, but the system of Grind and Grants is certainly turning out more finished scholars. At the present day, the equipment of the schools in the Outer Hebrides will bear favourable comparison with that of any in the Highlands. It would be difficult to find a Board School anywhere of greater efficiency than the Nicolson Institute in Stornoway; a school which owes its inception, and its principal endowments, to the patriotic generosity of the family of Lewismen whose name it bears.

When we turn to the early trade and commerce of the Long Island, we grope in the dark. In truth, there was little of either to find. The lack of a Royal burgh militated severely against the development of industries. But there is evidence to show that barter with the mainland was not of infrequent occurrence. In 1597, some Lewismen were on their way to Logie Market, when they met and killed two of the Baynes of Tulloch, who were fleeing from the fair, pursued by a party of Mackenzies. An isolated instance like this affords a hint of the trading intercommunication between the Outer Hebrides and the mainland in the sixteenth century. The Dutchmen who were invited to Lewis by Colin, Earl of Seaforth, in the seventeenth century, exported, during their short stay in the island, not only fish, but black cattle, hides, tallow, plaidings, and other unnamed commodities, thus indicating the commercial possibilities of the island under a system of free export. In 1630, Captain Dymes reported that the "commodities" of Lewis, other than fish, consisted of

cattle, and some "pladinge and tartan, which is a kind of woollen cloath wherewith they cloath themselves." Lewismen were in the habit of frequenting a large market which was held for generations near Poolewe. The last of these markets was held in 1720. Many of the Lewismen who attended it were drowned in the Minch during a storm, when returning home in their open boats. But Inverness was the chief market of the Long Islanders until early in the eighteenth century, when they began to trade by sea with Glasgow. The custom was, to land their exports at Glenelg and elsewhere on the west coast, transporting them thence to Inverness on horseback; bringing back imports in the same manner. The loss of the trade of the Long Island was a grievous blow to the Capital of the Highlands.

There is in existence a statement of accounts, prepared by Zachary Macaulay in 1717, for Frances, Countess of Seaforth, which shows the income and the outgo from the Lewis estate, together with the values of various commodities. The money rent of the crop was, in round figures, £708 sterling; the lease of the vicarage of Stornoway* yielded £1111; and the rental of Stornoway (crop 1715) was £31. The total income was £1,354, and the total expenditure £1,366, showing a deficit of £12. A cargo of beef, tallow, tongues, and hides, shipped "with Skipper Robertson as per Bill of Lading dated at Stornoway January 25th, 1716," is valued at £214. Herrings were valued at 13s. 4d. per barrel; ling at 33s. 4d. per 100; cod at 20s. per 100; beef at 16s. 8d. per barrel; and tallow at about 4s. per stone. It is interesting to compare these values with those given by Dr. Walker in 1765. The stipend of Kenneth Morison (crop 1715), was about £56 (£666 13s. 4d. Scots), and of Allan Morison, half that sum. The schoolmaster's salary was £8 6s. 8d. (£100 Scots); the salary of Zachary Macaulay himself was £50 (£600 Scots), and that of the officer of Stornoway about 25s. 6d.

* The glebe and manse were at Stornoway until 1758, after which they were located at Tong.

(£15 6s. 8d. Scots). An interesting item is, "Watching the water of Creed" (about 9s.), which shows that salmon poaching in Lewis is not of recent date; the product of the Creed, it may be added, was a barrel and a half of salmon. Another instructive item is that of 5 odd gallons of "aquavity" (about 68s.), spent upon "butchers, coopers, seamen, and our workmen," from 1st September, 1715, till March, 1716.* "Refreshers" to workmen were obviously of common practice, and whiskey was relatively an expensive luxury.

It will be seen from these figures, that the money rent was little more than half the total revenue. The produce received as rent, was shipped from Stornoway, chiefly to Leith, where it was sold. If the net result of the year in question may be taken as a criterion, Lewis cannot have been a profitable property to the Seaforths at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The poverty of the people is confirmed by a letter from Zachary Macaulay in 1721, which, in view of the general information it affords, is here given in full. The addressees, William Ross of Easterfearn and Robert Ross of Tain, were the two stewards acting for the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, who were subsequently outwitted and beaten back by Donald Murchison, young Easterfearn being mortally wounded in the skirmish which took place.

"Stornova, February 22nd, 1721.

"GENTLEMEN,—Yours of the 16th January received upon the eight of February. It's not practicable to convene the tennents of the Lewes att such a season as this: but I shall take care that the contents of your letter be communicated to them all att their respective duellings. I beleive yee know without my information that my Lady Dowager of Seafort meddled with cropt one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, and Collonel Alexander McKenzie with cropts one thousand seven hundered and sixteen seventeen eighteen and nineteen either by himself or his doers.

"For the ordinary method of payment of the Lewes rents please know that the rental consists of four branches (whatever mistake Glenkindy might have been in) viz., money meal butter and mutton.

* Seaforth MSS. in Brit. Mus.

The last branches were punctually received in their seasons. As for money branch ther was very little of it payed in cash. But in the monthes of October and November cowes were raised and slaughtered and the beefe sent to such mercats as the manadgers thought fit. Then in January February etc., aquavity was received for a considerable pairt of the money rent. In short there was hardly anything the ground produced but was received in its season and after all a Whitsonday clearance even for one cropt was never yet gotten in the Lewes.

"I know no effects now in season (or that can be expected before May or June) but meal or some aquavity and for the meal being it's a little dangerous to leave it in the hands of the tennents and that others more responsable may need it I'll make bold to raise as much of it as the tennents may handsomely spare and be answerable att a day for it. The aquavity they may delay to your own arrival. The nixt product is milk cowes in the month of May. These for the most pairt may be sold within the island. Thereafter in June and July driveing cowes. How to dispose of them yee know much better than I.

"As for resistance or disobedience ther is no danger att all ther being no spot of ground in Great Britain more effectually disciplined into passive obedience than the poor Lewes Island. But I can assure yee shall find one rugged hag that will resist both King and Government vizt., Poverty.

"It's possible that this account from a person in my circumstances may seem disingenuous; but I only intreat that yee intertain no wrong impression that may but suspend your judgements till time and your own experience determine the matter and accordingle pass your verdicts upon the report of

"Gentlemen, your humble servant

"ZACHARY MCAULAY."

"To Mr. William Ross of Easter Ferne and Mr. Robert Ross, Bayly of Tane."*

Dr. Walker's† list of exports from the Long Island in 1764-5 shows quite a respectable total. From Lewis, black cattle (in summer) and herring were the principal items,

* Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*, Vol. I., pp. 39-40. Zachary Macaulay is said to have been educated at St. Andrews University, and there to have met Seaforth, who appointed him his factor in Lewis. Besides being a good man of business, he was a gifted bard. He was the author of *Iorram na Truaighe*, a poem written in honour of Mackenzie of Kildun; and of *An gliogram chas*, the air of which, under the name of "Liggeram Cosh," was a favourite with Burns.

† MS. in Brit. Mus. (King's, No. 105).

with dried ling and cod, dog-fish oil, whiskey—there were twelve stills in the island—linen, yarn, wool and blanketing, kelp, salmon, sheepskins, and feathers. Harris exported kelp, black cattle, a little butter and cheese, some wool, and the skins of sheep, otters, and seals. North Uist exported kelp, butter and cheese; South Uist and Benbecula, black cattle and kelp; and South Uist alone, dried ling, butter and cheese. Barra's exports consisted of black cattle, salted beef, hides, ling, and kelp. Lewis neither exported nor imported grain; Harris seldom exported or imported it; South Uist exported after a wet summer, and imported after a dry one; and Barra had usually a little barley to spare. A large proportion of the total exports went to the Clyde.

In 1765, labour was cheaper than in any European country, a labourer's wages in Lewis being 28s. per annum, while women were employed at the rate of 8s. a year. In South Uist, the annual wages of a labourer consisted of 13s. in money, grain sown to the extent of 16s., and two pairs of brogues, the whole amounting to about 31s. The cost of maintenance varied in the Long Island, from £2 to £2 10s. for a man, and from 25s. to 30s. for a woman, per annum. By the end of the eighteenth century, owing to the "multitudes" recruited for the army and navy, the price of male labour had gone up to 8d. per day without food. The labour of women in Lewis was to some extent utilised for the spinning of linen yarn from flax, linseed having been grown in the island since the commencement of the eighteenth century. Captain Barlow tells us that there was a thriving linen factory in North Uist in 1753, which had been established by Lady Margaret Macdonald. A spinning school was opened in Stornoway in 1763, which proved a great success. At first there was great opposition to the school, and the women were afraid to come to it, fearing there was some scheme on foot to send them to the American plantations. When the prejudice was overcome, and the groundlessness of their fears exposed, the women proved apt pupils, showing marked intelligence and quick-

ness; and spinning schools were opened all over the island. Aberdeen merchants sent annually large quantities of flax to a trustee in Stornoway, who distributed it among the various parishes in Lewis to be spun. The trustee's salary was paid by the proprietor and the S.P.C.K. It is probable that the spinning of linen yarn proved a profitable source of revenue, until the competition of cotton rendered the industry unremunerative.* Straw plaiting was introduced to Lewis by the last Lord Seaforth, and still subsists in North Uist. From the hemp in Lewis, of which there appears to have been a large quantity grown, all the nets required by the fishermen were made, and Dr. Walker testifies that they were of an excellent quality. The linen industry has its counterpart to-day in the manufacture of tweeds in Lewis and Harris, which has been greatly stimulated in recent years by the exertions of the promoters of home industries, among whom the Duchess of Sutherland takes chief place. Harris tweeds, the manufacture of which owes its origin to the Countess of Dunmore, are known all over the world, and Lewis tweeds are now sharing in their renown.

The fishing industry has already been dealt with in detail. In 1765, Lewis had about 100 fishing boats, employing about 500 men; Harris did not export a single barrel of herring; North Uist had not a herring net in the island, although in the seventeenth century, 400 boats had been loaded in Lochmaddy in one season; South Uist was noted for its ling, but Macdonald of Boisdale was the only person who took an active interest in the fishing. Barra, too, had a valuable ling fishery on the east coast of the island, but its development was greatly retarded by the smallness of the boats employed, and the defective nature of the fishing tackle. For many years before 1720, there was a great abundance of cod-fish, but after the year 1730, few or no cod were seen. When the cod disappeared, the

* The Hebrideans appear to have been famous spinners at a very early period. A *skald*, describing the dress of a warrior of the seventh century, remarks: "Sudreyans spun the web."

ling began to frequent the coast. Mr. Walker attributes the richness of the cod and ling fishing of the Long Island to the great abundance of shellfish. Loch Roag, on the west coast of Lewis, was, previous to 1765, the chief seat of the winter fishing, and herrings were caught in such abundance that they were sold at the rate of 1s. per cran. At the middle of the nineteenth century, it was the centre of an extensive lobster fishery. A London company had an agent established there who distributed £3,000 to £4,000 per annum in wages. As many as 40,000 lobsters are said to have been sent in one week to London. Loch Roag was also famous for the quality of its kelp. It was the best in the Highlands, and fetched a guinea a ton more than any other kelp.

The merchants of Stornoway were a prosperous body in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. They monopolised the fishing trade by means of the truck system, but after the failure of kelp, the proprietor assumed the supervision of the industry. Mr. Stewart-Mackenzie launched the first cod smack ever owned in Lewis, and he was the first to send a cargo of fresh fish from the island to the London market. In the eighteenth century, an extensive trade was carried on between Stornoway and the Baltic, Norway, Sweden, Holland, France, and the North of Ireland; and in later times, the town flourished as a port of call for vessels trading between Liverpool and Ireland, and the Baltic. In 1827, the chief exports from Stornoway were cattle and fish, the latter finding its way to markets as distant as the Mediterranean. During the five years ending July, 1808, 17,430 barrels of cured herrings, and 719 tons of ling and cod, were exported, bringing about £52,000 into the town; while the oil exported was valued at £10,000.* In 1753, the shipping of the port consisted of about thirty vessels "great and small"; in 1786, there were twenty-three decked vessels, employed

* In 1900, the value of herrings landed in Lewis and Harris was £83,547, and of white fish £21,487. (Report on Lewis by the Crofters Commission, Appendix K, p. 34.)

during summer in the herring bounty trade, and at other times in the coasting trade; in 1796, the number was thirty. In 1811, it had risen to forty-four vessels of sixteen to 127 tons burthen, aggregating 1,612 tons, and giving employment to 156 men and boys. In 1827, the number of trading vessels belonging to the port stood at seven; but the enterprise of Sir James Matheson, who added a patent ship to his many improvements, gave a stimulus to the shipping industry during the succeeding half century. Until they were gradually eliminated by the victorious inroads of steam, the sailing vessels of Stornoway were a lucrative source of revenue to their owners, and to the town.

At the end of the eighteenth century, inroads of a more dramatic nature were made upon the shipping of the port. In 1799, a Stornoway vessel was captured by a French privateer almost in sight of Stornoway Harbour; and that was only one of similar losses during the war with France. The whole of the shipping in the harbour, and the town itself, were on one occasion "held up" by two impudent privateers, which took possession of the Minch for a whole fortnight, none daring to make them afraid. Mr. Headrick, writing in 1800 about these occurrences, thought it was high time for a battery to be established in Stornoway for the defence of the town. It is now, a century later, one of the chief stations in the kingdom, of the Royal Naval Reserve, and possesses one of the most efficient corps of volunteers in the North of Scotland. Recruits for the Navy, as well as for the Army, were readily obtainable in the Long Island in the eighteenth, and during part of the nineteenth, century; but when the supply grew scarce, the pressgang scoured the coast. Many a tale could be told of the operations in those remote parts, both of the pressgang and of smugglers. Both systems relieved the monotony of life in the Outer Hebrides; but while one added to the gaiety of the people, the other had a distinctly sobering effect. Illicit distilling was carried on openly in Lewis as late as 1827. It was no uncommon thing for

even the Excise officers to be asked, when they were treated to a glass, which whiskey they preferred, "Coll," or "Gress," both of which farms had celebrated stills. Distilleries were erected in the island to counteract the illicit trade, which, however, died hard. In 1833, Stornoway had no less than eighteen licensed houses, some of them shebeens of the worst description. The changed sentiment of the community has effectually purged the town of these moral pests.

As we have seen, Stornoway had a Custom House in the first half of the eighteenth century. A Post-Office was erected in 1752, the first, apparently, in the Hebrides. Communication between Lewis and the mainland, about the middle of the nineteenth century, was of the most uncertain character. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the isolation of the island during the winter months was complete. In 1707, a suggestion was made, in consequence of this isolation, that "a substantial" inhabitant of Stornoway be appointed to collect the Excise duties on commission. In 1759, a fortnightly packet service was established between Stornoway and Poolewe, and about the end of the century, a new packet was bought, which sailed once a week, weather permitting, between the two ports. The cost of the service was £130, of which the Government paid £70, and Lord Seaforth £60, the latter recouping himself by passengers' fares, which, it may be observed, were only 2s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. each passenger. In 1823, Mr Stewart-Mackenzie bought the *Glenelg of Glenelg*, a smack of about sixty tons, to run weekly between Stornoway and Poolewe. On a stormy morning in November, 1824, she was lost with all on board, soon after leaving Poolewe; one of the three passengers being the Rev. Mr. Fraser, minister of Stornoway, who over-persuaded the master to attempt the crossing. The packet that succeeded her is described by Lord Teignmouth, who travelled by her in 1827, as an ill-found craft, with a cabin which no passenger could enter; on the occasion in question, she took seventeen

hours to cross from Poolewe to Stornoway. The smack *North Britain*, Captain Leslie, who is still remembered in Stornoway, was on the service for eighteen years ; and the *Lady Hood*, called after Lord Seaforth's daughter, was one of the last of the old sailers, before steam communication between Stornoway and Ullapool was, at a heavy cost to himself, established by Sir James Matheson ; the first of the steamers being the *Ondine*. When the railway was extended to Stromie Ferry, the latter took the place of Ullapool ; and the mainland *termini* at the present day are Kyle of Lochalsh and Mallaig, the mail contract being in the hands of Mr. David MacBrayne.

The rest of the Long Island was served in the eighteenth century by a packet, which sailed to Dunvegan once a fortnight. By 1827, the service had become bi-weekly ; and daily communication with the mainland is now maintained. It is a curious commentary on the fiscal arrangements existing in the Long Island, as recently as seventy years ago, that a tax, which was facetiously termed "road-money," was—in Harris at least—applied to the support of the packet ; to the payment of part of the schoolmaster's salary ; to the payment of the salaries of a resident surgeon, constables, and public shepherds ; and to meet the assessed taxes on dogs levied on small tenants. "Road-money" in the Long Island appears to have been a comprehensive impost, which covered a multitude of factorial sins.

Criminal procedure in Stornoway was curiously archaic even in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. A case of sheep-stealing was punished in 1788, by the culprit being taken from the Tolbooth, having a rope round his neck, and a placard placed on his breast, bearing the words "sheep-stealing" in large characters. He was then led through the streets of the town by the common executioner, and received fifty lashes on his bare back, ten at each of five appointed places.* Banishment from Lewis

* In the case quoted, the five places were :—"Point Street ; on the South Shore opposite, or to the east of, the house of Mr. Kenneth Morison ; Goathill, Bayhead, and Cromwell Street."



STORNOWAY IN 1819, SHOWING SEAFORTH LODGE (ON THE SITE OF WHICH LEWS CASTLE NOW STANDS) AND THE REMAINS OF OLD STORNOWAY CASTLE. (A COMPARISON WITH THE FRONTISPIECE IS HISTORICALLY INTERESTING.)

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and the County of Ross usually followed the whipping; perpetual, or for a term of years, according to the circumstances of the offence. In 1818, a prisoner convicted of theft applied for, and received, in exchange for his liberty, the office of common executioner for Stornoway, then vacant, with the fees, perquisites, and emoluments, pertaining to the office. In 1820, a woman convicted of theft was condemned to be taken from prison with a rope round her neck, and a label on her breast, with the words "habit and repute a thief," inscribed thereon in large characters. She was then to be put in the pillory for two hours, and afterwards banished from the Counties of Ross and Cromarty for a term of seven years.*

It might be inferred from instances like the above, that Stornoway must have been considerably behind the times in the early years of the nineteenth century. Yet we find Dr. McCulloch, a very superior person indeed, paying his tribute to its modernity. It had its fashions, its tea-parties, its politics, its scandal, and its gossip; and the critical doctor was able to have his rubber of whist. There is a remarkable consensus of opinion among all the travellers who visited Stornoway, as to its go-aheadness and its pleasing appearance, forming then, as now, such a strong contrast to the rest of the Long Island. This opinion is, however, qualified by the allusions to the old part of the town, occupied by sailors and fishermen, which, at the end of the eighteenth century, consisted of thatched huts.† As far back as 1796, Stornoway had a Town House and an Assembly-room. It had also an attorney and a Roman Catholic priest, the latter of whom, the reverend compiler of the Old Statistical Account somewhat maliciously adds, was "without an individual of a flock."

We must now survey, necessarily in a brief summary, the general conditions, social and economic, which prevailed in the Long Island after its incorporation with the Kingdom

* *Juridical Review*, June 1900, pp. 176-183.

† Captain Barlow states that in 1753, the town consisted of "about 100 thatched huts."

of Scotland. It is a subject which, to do it justice, requires a volume for itself.

The scattered references by contemporary writers enable us to form a more or less accurate idea of the social structure of the Isles, during and after the clan period. While charters and covenants played an important part in the division of land, the real basis of tenure was that of Celtic feudalism. And Celtic feudalism was an essentially different thing from the primitive tribal system, which had its roots in the vague and shadowy past. The sturdy independence of the Norse democracy in the Long Island must have left its impression ; but that impression was gradually obliterated by the feudalism which was engrafted upon the patriarchal system of the Celtic tribes. The fruit of this grafting process was the clan system, which differed in its operations both from Anglo-Norman feudalism, and from the primitive conditions which governed the tribal communities. Certain of its elements had neither the sanction of Law, as in the one case, nor the sanction of Custom, as in the other. Partaking of the character of both, it gradually evolved distinctive features, which it possessed in common with the Border polity. The tendency of its development was in the direction of absolutism, which was not only opposed to the spirit of the patriarchal system, but was a source of danger to the State. The clansmen gradually lost their cohesion, and with their cohesion, the rights of the community in the land ; with the era of Crown charters, the supreme power passed into the hands of the chiefs. And how they used that power, the history of the Highlands and the Hebrides testifies.

In the Long Island, as in the Hebrides generally, there were two distinct castes, the military class, and the labourers of the ground. Celtic feudalism drove a wedge between the two, and there is clear evidence of the thoroughness of the cleavage. The whole power of the community was vested in an oligarchy, composed of the chiefs and their relatives ; while the proletariat were reduced to a condition not far removed from that of the thralls during the Norse occupa-

tion of the Hebrides. The fighting, the hunting, the feasting class fought, and hunted, and feasted, at the expense of the class that stayed at home to till the soil. The sword was a mightier weapon than the spade ; prowess in arms was of weightier concern than skill in agriculture. The lusty young men who followed their chiefs to the field of battle, looked down with contempt upon the helots who toiled in the field of corn. The bards flattered the vanity of the chiefs by fulsome eulogies, and encouraged their predatory instincts by the glorification of slaughter. And the proletariat sweated at their spades, and reared their cattle, to support the idle crowd in a state of barbaric splendour. Such, stripped of its glamour, is an outline of the operation of the clan system in the Outer Hebrides.

The Church acted as a buffer between the two classes, and mitigated the sufferings of the one, while it restrained the tyranny of the other. What it failed to effect by moral suasion, it succeeded in accomplishing by the terrors of superstition. It insisted upon the observance of Christian rites, and employed the weapon of excommunication to enforce its decrees. But it could not, even if it tried, alter the fabric of the social system ; and its own polity was in accord with unquestioning submission to authority. When, as we have seen, the Reformation subverted the old order of things, and the Outer Hebrides were temporarily deprived of religious teaching, the unrestrained evils of the clan system gathered force until they culminated, at the end of the sixteenth century, in a state of anarchy.

The reforming agencies at work in the seventeenth century curbed the power of the chiefs, and stripped them of a portion of their semi-regal magnificence. The arbitrary authority which they exercised over their dependents was, in a measure, curtailed ; and a gradual improvement in social, religious, and economic conditions was initiated. The chiefs of the Mackenzies introduced into Lewis a more enlightened form of civilisation than it had ever previously enjoyed. But they flooded the island with their own followers, and granted them land on easy condi-

tions. To the gentlemen of their clan—the duinewassels—they gave leases; and the latter, in turn, sub-let on such terms as enabled them to sit rent-free. The era of the tacksmen set in, and in some respects the peasantry were worse off than ever. The sub-tenants were entirely at the mercy of the tacksmen, who occasionally exercised their power in a more oppressive manner than the chiefs had ever done. Unprejudiced observers in the latter half of the eighteenth century, give clear testimony of the hardships entailed by tenure from the tacksmen. These leasehold lairdlings were undoubtedly under strong temptation to overstep the bounds of fairness and justice. They were men of education and experience, while the lower classes were steeped in ignorance and poverty, and thoroughly opposed to change. The conservatism of their character, and the unparalleled cheapness of labour, facilitated the imposition of the monstrous “services” which were exacted from them by right of ancient usage. By these “services,” the people were bled from their birth to their dying day; and by these “services,” the leaseholders fattened on their inferiors. The tacksmen who rose superior to the obvious opportunities of tyranny, afforded by so iniquitous a system, were worthy of respect; just as the chiefs who, in spite of Celtic feudalism, retained the patriarchal regard for their clansmen which was the basis of the tribal polity, are also deserving of praise. In each case, it was the system that was at fault, and it was the system that transformed otherwise honourable men into the instruments of cruel injustice and gross despotism. When the tacksmen, as a class, disappeared from the Long Island—the surplus produce being found insufficient to support the two sets of landlords—the evils were greatly mitigated, but not altogether eradicated. Factors, clothed in a little brief authority by absentee landlordism, endeavoured in some instances to revive some of the ancient exactions. Even as recently as the second half of the nineteenth century, the autocratic sway of certain factors in the Long Island—particularly in Lewis—was exercised in a manner which

can only be characterised as mediæval. But in the twentieth century, such abuse of power is, fortunately, no longer possible.

The system of agriculture was practically the same in the eighteenth as in the sixteenth century, when Dean Monro visited the islands ; and it was probably the same in the sixteenth, as it was in the sixth, century. In no part of the British Islands were conditions so backward, and in no part was the standard of comfort so low. The *cas-chrom*, the crooked spade-plough employed in agriculture, typified the stage of agricultural development at which the people had arrived ; and the *cas-chrom* was in common use until the nineteenth century, and is not yet wholly extinct. Not until the second half of the eighteenth century, was the use of hay known ; and not until the nineteenth century, was artificial drainage practised. The crofting system, the principle of which was one man one holding, was not introduced until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when it superseded the run-rig system, the co-operative principle of which was found to be unconducting to energy. Barley and oats, with occasional patches of rye, linseed, and (in Lewis), hempseed, were the only crops grown until 1743, when Clanranald (or Macdonald of Boisdale) introduced the potato to South Uist from Ireland. At first, the people would have none of the new root, which they regarded with disgust and contempt.* “You made us plant those worthless things,” they said to Clanranald, “but, Virgin Mary, will you make us eat them?” The potato was introduced to Lewis between 1750 and 1760, and met with a similar reception. When the prejudice against it was eventually removed, the pendulum swung to the other side. The despised tuber became the staff of life in the Long Island. And when the great famine swept over the Outer Hebrides between 1846 and 1850, it was the failure of the potato crops that was mainly responsible for the terrible destitution which prevailed. Public and private

* They had previously used the *brisgean*, the root of the silver weed.

help was freely given to the islanders to tide over their misfortunes. The proprietor of Lewis, by the energy and public spirit which he displayed during that trying period, well deserved the recognition which his services received at the hands of the Crown, in 1851, when he was created a baronet of the United Kingdom. The improvements effected by Sir James Matheson in Lewis, at a cost of £240,000, increased the prosperity of the people; or, to put it in a negative and more correct form, they served to decrease their poverty. If the value of the estate was coincidently appreciated by the improvements, the result was a combination of mutual benefit which is only too rare in the history of the Hebrides. Had the proprietor's great scheme of drainage, under the direction of Mr. James Smith of Deanston, met with the permanent success which was anticipated, the face of Lewis would have been changed. But although the greatest authority on drainage of his day failed to make "another Carse of Gowrie" of the bogs he had undertaken to reclaim, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that modern science may yet succeed in making these wildernesses blossom like the rose.

The advent of kelp to the Outer Hebrides was an event of the greatest economic importance. A state of fictitious prosperity was created, which appeared for a time to have solved the problem of poverty. As with the potato, so with kelp, a knowledge of its manufacture was first brought from Ireland to Uist by Macdonald of Boisdale (or, according to other accounts, by Macdonald of Balishare). Since 1722, kelp had been made in the Orkneys, and it was first manufactured in North Uist in 1735, an Irishman named Roderick Macdonald having been brought over by Balishare to instruct the people in its manufacture. In 1748, it was first made in Harris, on the initiative of Macleod of Bernera. The date of its introduction to Lewis is unknown. The vicissitudes of the industry in the Long Island were remarkable. The high-water mark was reached at the commencement of the nineteenth century, when as much as £22 per ton is said to have been paid,

but that must be considered quite an extreme figure. For this inflation of value, the war with France was chiefly responsible. For the twenty-two years ending 1822, the average price was £10 10s. A succession of heavy blows played havoc with kelp. The high duty on the imports of barilla from Spain was removed; the duty on salt was repealed; and potash salts from Saxony were added to the list of competitors. In 1831, as low a price as £2 per ton was reached. The increasing uses of iodine saved the trade from extinction; but when, about 1875, iodine was imported from Chili, and, subsequently, from Peru, the manufacture of kelp was again rendered unremunerative. An effort was made in 1863 to revive the industry in Tiree, and subsequently in North Uist, on more scientific principles than had formerly obtained; but the attempt had to be abandoned in Uist, and last year, the works in Tiree were closed.

The revenue derived by the proprietors of the Long Island from kelp, during its palmy days, was considerable. To the proprietors of Uist, especially, it proved a veritable gold mine. In 1812, the net proceeds of kelp in North Uist exceeded £14,000, and for several years afterwards, they fell little short of that sum. By 1837, the profits had dwindled to an insignificant amount. About 1790, the rental of South Uist was £2,200. As kelp increased in value, the rental rose rapidly to £15,000. By 1837, it had fallen to £5,000. In 1825, the net proceeds from kelp in Harris were about £2,180; in 1826, about £800; in 1828, about £280; and in 1829, the balance was on the wrong side.* While the boom lasted, the people were in a state of comparative comfort, though their share of the profits was not commensurate with the terribly arduous labour which kelp-burning entailed. But the proprietors lived up to their inflated incomes, and the people saved nothing from their increased wages. When the bubble burst, ruin stared proprietors and people alike in the face. General

* During the palmy days, early in the century, Lord Seaforth derived a revenue of about £8,000 per annum from the kelp manufactured in Lewis.

Macneill had erected expensive chemical works in Barra for the manufacture of soap from kelp; the money was all lost. The proprietors of Uist and Harris had made no provision against a fall in revenue; the chief source of revenue was now gone. An increased population had been stimulated by the increased standard of comfort in the islands; the prosperous times were now over. Emigration had been discouraged to provide a sufficiency of labour; the supply of labour now exceeded the demand. The wages of the kelpers had been over four pounds a ton; they were now reduced by more than half. Agriculture and the fisheries had been neglected in the feverish haste to turn kelp into money, and the fish had been scared away from the coast; an insufficiency of food was now threatened, and in Barra, the people had to live chiefly on shellfish. The extravagance of the proprietors could have but one result, when the reaction set in. All the estates in the Long Island changed hands during the nineteenth century; and to that result, the bursting of the kelp-bubble contributed in no small degree.

When kelp went out, distress came in. The people were unable to pay their rents, which do not appear to have been much, if at all, reduced. By the failure of kelp, a fresh impetus was given to the neglected arts of agriculture and fishing. But the mischief had already been done. A renewed exodus to America took place. From Lewis—especially from the parish of Lochs—emigrants went to Nova Scotia, where their success would have caused many to follow their example, had it not been for their reluctance to part with their cattle at the low prices ruling. Six hundred people went to British America from North Uist in 1828, and from Barra a constant stream of emigrants kept pouring into Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Up to this time, the policy of the proprietors had been to keep the peasantry at home, but a reversal of that policy was now initiated; and when the destitution of 1846-50 occurred, the expediency of the new policy became increasingly apparent. Much has been said and written for and against

emigration, but it would be foreign to our purpose to enter into a discussion of the merits of the question. Like most questions, there is a good deal to be said on both sides, a view which is frequently overlooked, alike by the intemperate advocates, and the intemperate opponents, of emigration. But one aspect of the question admits of no discussion; and that is, the immorality of expatriation, or compulsory emigration. Colonel Gordon of Cluny, the new proprietor of South Uist and Barra, earned an unenviable notoriety in that respect. It may be assumed, from the fact that he offered to sell the Island of Barra to the Government as a convict station, that he was not a man who could be charged with sentimental weakness. He was confronted with the perplexing problem of dealing with a surplus population; and he attempted to solve it in his own way. It appears to be only too well authenticated that his ultimate method of meeting the difficulty was the simple one of expatriation to Canada, where the immigrants were to be left to shift for themselves.* For the deceitful promises by which the people were induced to assemble at Loch Boisdale; for the scenes which occurred when the disillusioned peasants fled to the mountains, and were dragged on board the transports by main force; for such acts as these, which were the counterpart of the worst abuses of the slave trade, Colonel Gordon must share the responsibility with his agents, the chief of whom was a minister, who seems to have been a disgrace to his cloth. At the present day, descendants of the peasants from Barra and South Uist, who were left starving in Upper Canada in 1851-2, must marvel that only half a century ago, such things could happen in a civilised country.

The problem of disposing of a surplus population awaited solution in the other parts of the Long Island, equally with South Uist and Barra. Early and improvident marriages, and the prevalence of the squatting system,

* Contemporary *Quebec Times*, quoted in Donald Macleod's *Gloomy Memories*, pp. 139-141.

were the chief causes assigned by the proprietors for the poverty and congestion ; the gradual attenuation of their holdings, to increase the area of deer forests and farms, was the chief cause from the tenants' standpoint. Proprietors and people were both right in their assumptions : each half of the truth formed the complement of the other half. In Lewis, the congestion, consequent upon the gradual increase of landless cottars, was a more pressing question than in any other island of the Hebrides. Sir James Matheson was fully alive to the obvious outlet for the surplus population, which emigration provided. But he was a humane, as well as a practical man, and emigration from Lewis has always been free from the stain of any compulsion, except that of circumstances. In 1851, 1852, and 1855, 1,772 persons emigrated from Lewis, chiefly to Canada, at the proprietor's expense. Since then, a revolution of feeling has set in, and a wholesale exodus from the Outer Hebrides is now a thing of the past, although the congestion, particularly in Lewis, is greater than ever. At one time, the difficulty was to keep the people from emigrating ; now the conditions are exactly reversed. Government aid has been freely offered to stimulate emigration, but all to no purpose. Discouraging reports from unsuccessful settlers ; the indoctrination of the people with modern ideas of property, its rights, and its duties ; their acquisition of political power ; the relief afforded by the Crofters Act and by Treasury grants for developing the fishing industry ; all these elements have combined to render emigration distasteful and impossible. The Long Islander clings like his native limpet to the rocky shore that is his home ; the possibilities across the seas are, in his view, a poor off-set against the wrench from early associations.

The fluctuations in the population of the islands are curiously illustrative of the results we have been noticing. The earliest record of the population and rental of Lewis we possess, are those given in 1630. In that year, the population was about 4,000, and the rental 12,000 merks

Scots which, with the two deer forests * and other casualties, valued at 6,000 merks Scots, made a total rental equivalent to about £1,000 sterling. In 1755, the population was 6,386; in 1763 it stood at 6,938, and the rental at £1,200. In 1791, the population was 8,311; in 1801, 9,168; and in 1811, 10,522, the rental in the last-named year being £4,697. In 1841, the population was 17,037; and in 1844, when the property changed hands, the rental was £9,800. In 1851, the population stood at 19,695, of which number, in the previous year, there were no fewer than 11,000 persons in receipt of relief from the Destitution Fund, exclusive of paupers on the roll. In 1861 and 1871, the census figures were 21,056 and 23,483 respectively; and in 1865 the rental was £12,670. During the last thirty years, the increase in the population has been consistently maintained, the figures for 1901 being 28,949. The present rental is £32,768, about one-half of which pertains to the Burgh of Stornoway. It will be seen from these figures, that at no period did the outflow of the population from Lewis overtake the natural increment.

Harris, including its pertinents, had in 1755, a population of 1,965; and in 1765, the number stood at 1,093, with a rental of £600, which had increased to £3,589 by 1832. In 1792, the population was 2,536; in 1824, it was 3,551; in 1841, over 4,000; and in 1861, the figures were 4,183, a large emigration to Canada having taken place during the twenty years after 1841. The population in 1901 was 5,253, including Bernera and St. Kilda, and the rental now stands at £5,145.

In 1755, North Uist had a population of 1,909; and in 1765, 2,465, with a rental (including kelp) of £1,300, which, about 1796, was £2,100; in 1851, £3,327; and in 1865, £4,155. The population was 3,218 about 1796; 3,010 in 1801; 3,863 in 1811; 4,971 in 1821; 4,603 in 1831; about 4,418 in 1841; 3,918 in 1851; and 3,959 in 1861. The

* The strict preservation of game at that period (1630) is shown by a contract entered into in 1628 by the heritors of Lewis, Harris, North and South Uist, Raasay, and Strathordill. (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 190-3.)

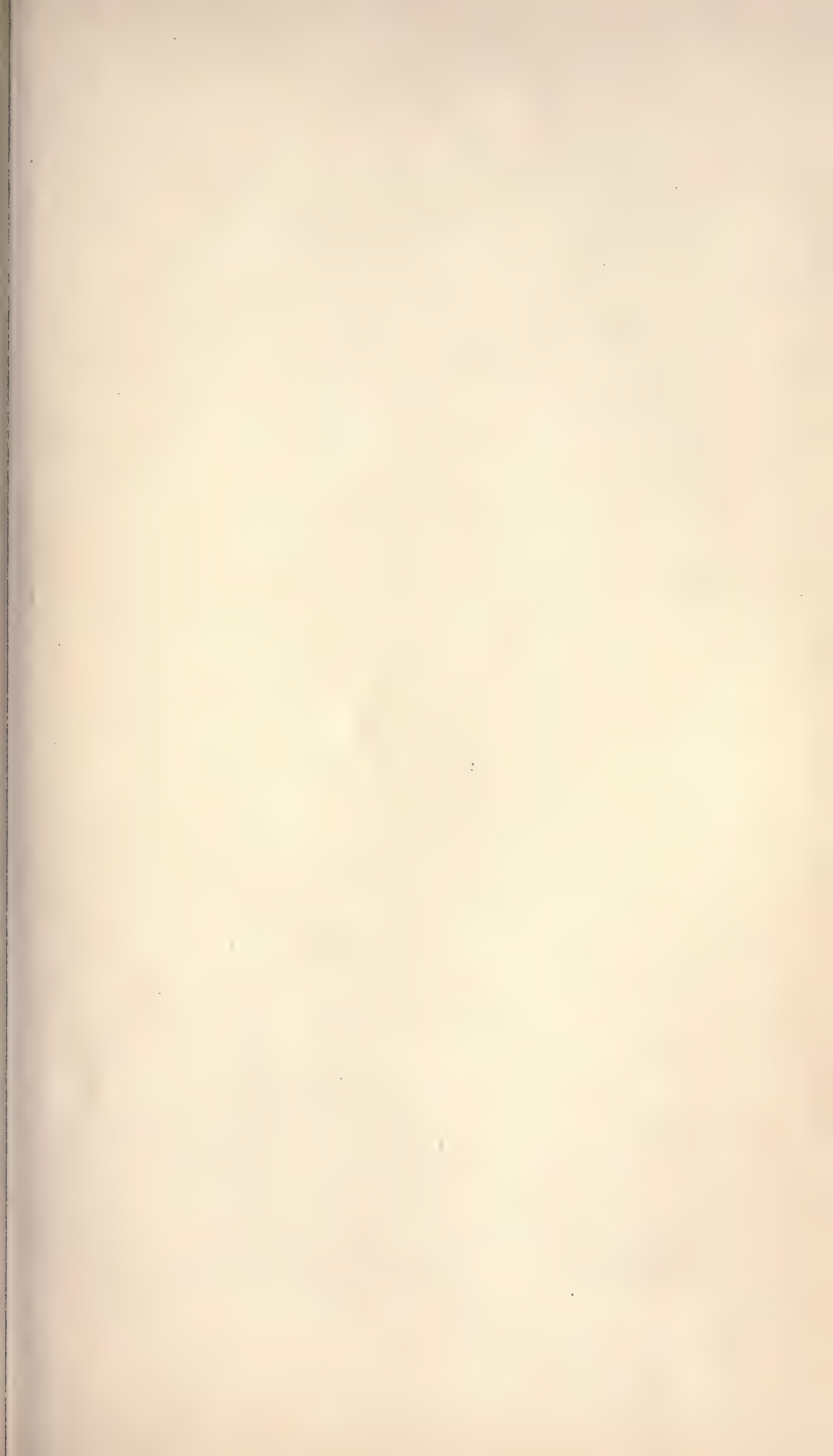
steady declension between 1821 and 1851 is remarkable, the largest fall, which occurred during the decennial period of 1841-51, pointing to a considerable exodus of the people. At the last census, the population was 3,862, and the rental now stands at £5,301.

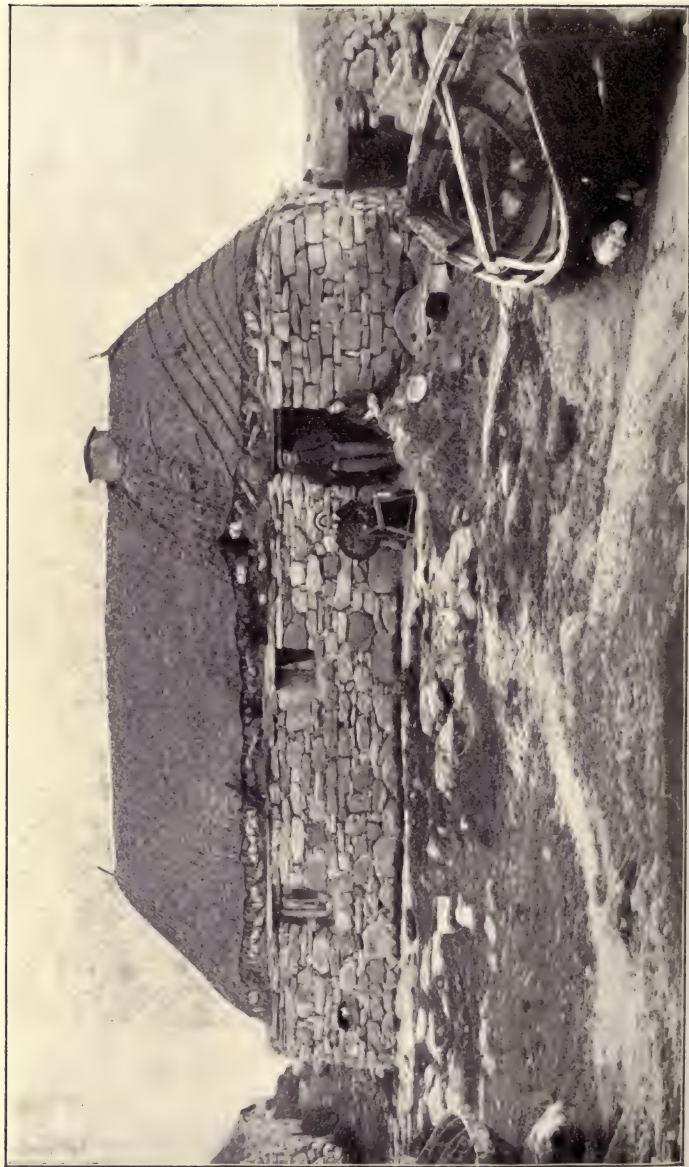
In Benbecula, the number of inhabitants was 600 in 1765, and the rental (including kelp) was £458. In 1861, the population was 1,544. South Uist had, in 1765, a population of 1,580, and the rental was about £500. The population was 4,595 in 1801; 4,825 in 1811; 6,038 in 1824; 7,333 in 1841; and 5,358 in 1861, the last two numbers including the inhabitants of Benbecula. In 1864, the rental of South Uist alone was £5,635. A decrease of nearly 2,000 persons, or about 27 per cent. of the population in twenty years, is clear evidence of what occurred after the famine, when the proprietor adopted the policy of wholesale expatriation. The population of the parish of South Uist in 1901 was 5,489, and the rental is £6,096.

The inhabitants of Barra and its pertinents numbered 1,150 in 1755; 1,285 in 1764, when the rental was £298. The number of inhabitants was 1,604 in 1791; 1,925 in 1801; 1,969 in 1811; 2,303 in 1821; 2,097 in 1831; and 1,853 in 1861. Here we see the effects of the kelp *débâcle* in the first period of decline, and of Colonel Gordon's "crowning mercy" in the second. The rental of the estate amounted to £1,692 in 1865. In 1901, the population of the parish of Barra was 2,542, and the rental stands at £2,492.

It will thus be seen that during the period embraced between 1770 and 1860, the number of emigrants from the Long Island reached a very large total. Their descendants are to-day to be found in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, forming colonies where Gaelic is still a spoken language, and where the people still "behold in dreams the distant Hebrides."

It need hardly be said that deeper causes than any of those mentioned, lay at the root of the misery which pre-





AN UIST CROFTER FAMILY AND THEIR HOME,

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vailed in the Outer Hebrides. The reverend compilers of the Statistical Accounts were fairly unanimous in recommending fixity of tenure, and an enlargement of holdings, as the chief elements of improvement. Insufficiency of land and insecurity of tenure were largely responsible for the inertia of the people, and for the primitive conditions under which they were content to live. Their spirits were broken by the oppressions of the past, and their energies were paralysed by the uncertainties of the future. The land problem in the Long Island is still in process of solution, and may yet, possibly, present difficulties which will tax the resources of wisdom and statesmanship. When the history of the land question in the Highlands is written, it will form an economic treatise of surpassing interest and value. It will trace to their real sources, such incidents as the Bernera riots in Lewis in 1874, and the sporadic outbreaks in other parts of the Outer Hebrides since that date. It will describe the operations of the system which preceded the passing of the Crofters Act in 1886, and the intolerable conditions which made remedial legislation inevitable. It will give a faithful record of the splendid work performed by the Crofters Commission, under many difficulties, discouragements, and obloquy. It will criticise the timorous mandate, and analyse the multifarious duties, of the Congested Districts Board, whose work concerns the Outer Hebrides more than any other locality. The work of this Board is being watched with sympathetic interest. Whether its tentative efforts to cope with the demand for land, and to improve the agricultural and general conditions in the congested areas, will achieve, with the enlargement of its powers, and with the spread of education, the ultimate settlement of the land question ; or whether its experiments will merely pave the way for the introduction of legislation which shall aim at finality ; in either case, all who deplore the evils of congestion in the Long Island, and who desire to see the people in healthier homes, and leading happier and more prosperous lives, will wish success to this, and to all other agencies

of melioration. Meanwhile, it is highly satisfactory to observe the cordial relations which exist at the present day between nearly all the proprietors of the Long Island and their tenantry : it augurs well for the friendly solution of any problems which may, and probably will, arise in the future.

THE GEOLOGY, PHYSICAL FEATURES, BOTANY, AND VERTEBRATES OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MORRISON, M.A., CARR BRIDGE.

"THE LONG ISLAND," as this chain of islands forming the Outer Hebrides is named, extends from Barra Head to the Butt of Lewis. Geologically it is interesting, as it forms a huge breakwater to the Atlantic, which otherwise would have long ago swept away the later formations which compose the Inner Hebrides, and would have made serious inroads on the western seaboard of the mainland. The rock formation of the Outer Hebrides stands out as a solid wall of Archæan age, breasting the billows of the ocean in their ceaseless assault upon our islands. True, the upper tiers of that wall have gone by marine erosion when the "Long Island" was submerged under the waters of the Atlantic, but as these tiers of later rocks were removed, the basement rose as a bulwark against the breaching action of the sea. This accounts for the general flatness of those islands. On the mainland of Sutherlandshire the same rock formation is seen levelled down with almost mathematical precision, and on this level platform the huge masses of the Torridon Sandstone formation rises to thousands of feet into the air. These Torridon Sandstones—in vast sheets—run from near Cape Wrath to the Lochcarron, and give an impressive idea of the appalling antiquity of the underlying rock formation of the Archæan rocks of the Outer Hebrides. Standing on these Archæan rocks, we really stand on the basement of the geological staircase of the globe. This basement rises nowhere to hills of over 3,000 feet. The "outliers" or peaks of the formation may be seen in North Rona, the north part of Raasay, Coll, Tiree and Iona, but in their greatest extent in the islands of the Outer Hebrides. St. Kilda is geologi-

cally of a different formation from the rest of the Outer Hebrides. The prevalent "strike" or direction of the ridges, where the rock rises above the general slope, is from north-west to south-east. This direction, as seen best in the Harris hills, is at right angles to the general direction of the mountain chains of later formation on the mainland. Indeed, this "strike" or direction is characteristic of this most ancient formation. As the strata, however, is seen turning round arches of gentle curve, the "strike" in many places is from north-east to south-west. According to the late Professor Nicol of Aberdeen, the whole of the Central and North-West Highlands is composed of these Archæan rocks. The Gneiss, as this rock is named, is composed of the following minerals: felspar, mica, hornblende and quartz. In the Outer Hebrides the hornblende prevails over the mica as a constituent of the Gneiss. The structure varies from granitic, where the lines of foliation nearly disappear, to the coarse schistose or flaggy, where the lines are distinctly visible. These lines are no indication of the gneiss having been laid down in water as sedimentary rocks, though in all probability they were so formed. The lines of "foliation" are rather indications of the rock having been changed by heat and pressure, so that the segregation of the minerals which form these lines took place by the relative cooling into the crystalline form of the separate minerals which compose the gneiss. The gneiss passes, as it has been above said, from the foliated state to the amorphous—or shapeless granitic state. This is well seen in Lewis, where the flaky gneiss of the east side of the island passes into the compact gneiss or granite of Beinn Bhragair. With the exception of this granite, which, by the way, compares well with the best Aberdeen grey granite, the gneiss of Lewis weathers rapidly, and hence is not durable as a building stone. Lewis Castle, at Stornoway, is built of the Bragar Granite. The stone used in the best class of houses in Stornoway is taken from the Torridon Sandstone of Isle of Martin at the entrance of Loch Broom across the Minch.

The Lewisian gneiss is known to geologists as the 'Laurentian' gneiss or as the "Fundamental" gneiss, on account of its peculiar character, or its having been related to the gneiss of Labrador and that of the Coasts of the Mouth of the St. Lawrence. The reappearance of this gneiss on the Eastern shore of the North Atlantic basin suggests the belief in a submerged continent—"the lost Atlantis"—that once extended across this basin. The "Telegraph Plateau" extending across to Newfoundland probably is a higher ridge of this sunk continent.

THE CONGLOMERATE FORMATION.

On the east of Lewis, skirting part of Broad Bay and Loch Stornoway, is a peculiar red or chocolate coloured conglomerate which Sir Roderick Murchison, on a cursory view, referred to the Torridon Sandstone formation on the other side of the Minch. A closer examination of this rock shows that it is wholly of local origin—and of an uncertain age. Huge boulders of the adjacent gneiss are to be seen embedded in this conglomerate. Indeed, the minerals peculiar to the Lewisian gneiss form the "rubble" or matrix in which these gneiss blocks are found.

The writer made a detailed examination of this singular conglomerate which he communicated to the Edinburgh Geological Society several years ago, of which paper the following extract may be interesting to Lewismen.

THE CONGLOMERATES OF LEWIS.

On the east of Lewis, and wholly within the parish of Stornoway, is an extensive area of Conglomerate, formerly believed to have been Old Red Sandstone. Macculloch, in his *Geology of the Western Islands of Scotland*, thus refers to it:—"It would be concluded, from its general character, to be analogous to the Old Red Sandstone; and therefore, like the rock to which I have compared it, to be the first of the secondary strata. Yet this opinion is subject to serious doubts." Notwithstanding this *caveat* of

Macculloch's, this deposit had been put down on Knipe's Geological Map as Old Red, with a note, however, that Murchison had called in question this belief, and had stated, at a meeting of the British Association, held at Leeds on September 28th, 1858, that his opinion was that the whole of the sedimentary rocks in the north-west, from Cape Wrath to Sleat in Skye, were Cambrian. That opinion has been accepted by Geikie; but in these days of "obstinate questionings, blank misgivings," that opinion is itself called in question.

Whatever opinion he held regarding the age of the Torridon Sandstone—whether it be of Cambrian or of Precambrian Age—my proposition is that the Lewis Conglomerate has been connected with that sandstone on inadequate grounds.

Heddle, in his *Geognosy of Scotland*, Part IV., "Sutherland," conclusively shows that the Torridon Sandstone grits or Conglomerates are not, as Murchison supposed they were, "made up exclusively of the gneiss on which they rest." Heddle shows that the marked absence of hornblende from the Torridon formation—an absence remarked also by Macculloch, Cunningham, Nicol, and Professor Bonney—is a difficulty not to be surmounted by Murchison's view. True, as Heddle admits, that he is not in a position to deny that this many-bedded formation is in some part formed of the ruins of the underlying gneiss; yet the total absence, or almost total absence of hornblende, and the presence, on the other hand, of the very "large amount of fine-grained porphyries, and especially of colloidal silica—as seen in jaspers, cherts, and vein-hornstones—which goes to form its pebbles," point to some other than the presently remaining Archæan rocks as the parent source of these sandstones, grits, and conglomerates. Dr. Hicks, quoted by Heddle, points out that the presence of bits of greenish, purplish, and reddish slates, jasper, &c., in these Conglomerates, makes it quite possible that in some other area, not far distant, representatives of these Precambrian

rocks may be found, as the derivative source of the components of the Conglomerates of Torridon.

The main conclusion here is, that the Torridon Conglomerates are not, as a whole, made up of fragments of the Archæan rocks on which they rest. Murchison's description of the origin of the Torridon formation is wholly true, however, of the Lewis Conglomerates; and on that ground alone it is a legitimate inference that the Lewis and Torridon Conglomerates have had neither a community of origin nor a contemporaneity of formation.

The main deposit lies on the east of Lewis, and covers an area of about twenty square miles. A glance at the map of the island shows the east coast, southwards from Stornoway to Harris, deeply indented by sea-lochs. The peculiar character of the Archæan rock in this region doubtless determined this indentation. Here the gneiss is seen passing into soft and fissile argillaceous schists. Sometimes the one predominates, sometimes the other. The high cliffs formed by this compound structure, especially in the Lochs district, are very much contorted and broken into arches formed by the crossing and recrossing of dip joints. Weather and marine agency have thus admirable conditions for their destructive action on this line of coast. The shores of the more sheltered sea-lochs in the district of Park, for instance, at present show an example of littoral deposit which may be paralleled with that which forms the coarse littoral deposit at Stornoway forming the Conglomerate in question. This Conglomerate lies within a rough right-angled triangular area, having its basal line of four miles from the neck of Arnish to a point (Bostadh) near Chicken Head, the line running due east from Arnish. From this latter point at Chicken Head the line runs for ten miles due north to a point a short distance east of Gress across the Broad Bay, and from thence the western line sweeps outwards with a gentle curve to Lewis Castle in the neighbourhood of Stornoway. This town is built on a cap of clay (boulder) and gravel covering the Conglomerate. The fine natural harbour of Stornoway has been formed by denudation of

the Conglomerate, leaving only a small island in the harbour as an outlier. The sea has fretted the base of the cliffs into arches and caves, especially on the north-west shore of the Broad Bay, where the exposure to the north-east is open sea. Macculloch, who had the fine eye of an artist as well as the keen glance of a scientific observer, notes that "caves of various dimensions are found in these cliffs, offering subjects of considerable beauty to the pencil of the artist."

The cliffs of the Conglomerate, when seen from the south-east, show rude lines of stratification dipping at angles to the south-west from 30 degrees to 40 degrees. As the dip of the adjacent gneiss is north-east, we have the Conglomerate thus lying unconformably upon it. The dip of the gneiss in the immediate neighbourhood is almost vertical; at the junctions at Chicken Head, Garrabost, and Gress, I found the angle to be about 80 degrees. At the Chicken Head junction the Conglomerate is seen for a short distance, and at low-water, resting on a pediment of the gneiss formed by the truncated edges of the strata, and sloping to the south-west, parallel to the stratification lines of the Conglomerate above. A glimpse is thus given of the shelving shore upon which the Conglomerate accumulated as a beach. The steep cliffs at the junctions at Garrabost and Gress, the high angle 60 degrees at the junction near Lewis Castle, and the south-west dip of the stratification, seem to indicate that the conditions which still hold good in the far-reaching sea-lochs of Lewis, as to the deposition of coarse boulder beaches, held good in Archæan ages, if the Conglomerate goes that far back. If the same relative levels existed then as now, the sea which breached those ancient cliffs to form the Conglomerate at their bases, must have submerged almost all the tract of open land to the south-west, lying between Loch Roag and the hills of Uig and Harris. This "if" with its consequent is however altogether irrelevant to the main point of interest in this subject.

A cursory examination of the Lewis Conglomerate shows

it to be an exceedingly rough deposit of boulders and smaller blocks imbedded in a coarse, compacted gravel, and all deeply coloured reddish-brown by a staining of iron-peroxide. This external appearance naturally suggests that this Conglomerate is identical with the Red Sandstones and Conglomerates on the opposite side of the Minch. A careful examination, however, shows that the component blocks, pebbles and cementing matrix are but fragments, great and small, from the adjacent crystalline and schistose rocks, *in situ*. Blocks of gneiss of all sizes up to three feet, variously coloured: grey, dark, and orange as the predominance of felspar or hornblende shows in the block, are imbedded in large numbers throughout the deposit. Blocks are to be seen at Aignish at high-water mark at the foot of cliffs of a loosely coherent sandstone and of a deep chocolate-brown. No other blocks are seen in or near this mass of sandstone. These blocks ring to the hammer, but when broken show an intensely compacted agglomerate of the same ingredients as the general mass of the Conglomerate. Associated with the fragments of gneiss are granules of calcite and a greenish mineral pronounced to be pinite, and rare. The calcite is coarsely granular, and largely prevails in the Conglomerate, as may be seen by testing any chance fragment of it by hydrochloric acid. The calcite fills crevices, forms the cementing matrix largely, and appears in horizontal bands along the faces of the cliffs. The beach at Holm is strewn with gneissic pebbles washed out of the cliffs. These pebbles are composed of quartz, hornblende, and that melange of epidote with quartz and felspar to which Heddle has given the name "Epidosite." The cliffs in this district are full of these peculiar pebbles and blocks. Besides these prevailing rocks and minerals, there are to be found bits of greenish, argillaceous schists fastened in the calcite matrix of some fragments. At Coll, on the north of Broad Bay, there are blocks of gneiss in the cliffs in which mica is found, in addition to the ordinary constituents, quartz, felspar, and hornblende. The large amount of hæmatite flakes, or scales rather, closely resem-

bling mica scales, in the Conglomerate, is a peculiarity I have nowhere else seen.

The presence of a mineral such as pinite, in rocks *in situ*, in the neighbourhood—at the very junction, I should have said—and the same mineral with its associated scales of hæmatite and granules of calcite, found also in the Conglomerate, leave no doubt whatever as to the local character of this Conglomerate. At the same time, this very special character is such as to leave little in common between it and its alleged Torridon congener, except the quartz, felspar perhaps, and the iron oxides, unless, indeed, much may be made of the fact that both rest on the same Archæan platform. In this last alternative, I should have added, that though they both rest on the same platform, it was under different conditions they did so,—the one as a thoroughly attrited *Conglomerate*, the other as a *Breccia*; the one formed by marine agency, the other by subaerial. In fine, the Lewis Conglomerate may or may not be connected under the Minch with the Torridon sandstones of Ross and Sutherland, but data for either conclusion are not to be had by an examination of the Lewis Conglomerate.

It may be of interest to note that the Conglomerate is cut through its entire length from south-east to north-west or so by volcanic dykes. Some of these—I counted seven—are, however, washed out, leaving chasms in the Conglomerate, as at Holm, or form trenches in the rocky shore, as at the Battery Point. One magnificent fragment is seen near Gress, known as the “King’s Dyke.” It occupies the side of a chasm running down over a length of 472 feet, from a height of 90 feet at the head of the chasm to less than half that height from the water. Its breadth is 18 feet. The sea fills the chasm or “geo” at all tides. In the neighbourhood is an immense sea-cave, known as the “Pigeons’ Cave,” 150 yards by 50 yards, and 30 feet high from the sandy floor to the centre of its dome-like roof. The entrance of this cave, as also that of the more famous “Seal Cave” in the neighbourhood, is to the north-east. On account of the divisional planes, and calcareous loose

cohesion of the Conglomerate, the winds and waves have played their fantasies in forming these sea-caves. The entrance to the "Seal Cave" is evidently a washed-out dyke. A fragment is seen forming the lintel to this subterranean hall, the approach to which is along a narrow and dark corridor, and must be made by a boat at all states of the tide.

TRAP ROCKS.

The Island of Lewis is traversed from south to north by huge trap or volcanic rocks passing to unknown depths in the gneiss. The heads of these "dykes" sometimes show in the Coast sections breadths of from twenty to thirty feet, and where exposed to the sapping action of the waves nothing save the lintel of the rock is seen over the doorway of a sea cave. These trap dykes pass through the conglomerate formation as well as through the underlying gneiss. This shows that the conglomerates were laid down before these "dykes" were formed. A good example of these dykes and the parts they played in forming "geos" and caves may be seen in the neighbourhood of Gress. The "Seal Cave" there is entered through a door-way with a fragment of the dyke forming the lintel. Owing to the conglomerate having formed in huge sheets—once this door was forced—the action of the waves in forcing and then exhausting the air soon drew down sheets from the roof, until within one finds himself in a spacious sea cave. The pendants of carbonate of lime or "stalactites" from the roof are formed by the water percolating through the conglomerate.

It is interesting to note that these Trap Dykes belong to the volcanic rocks of the Secondary Age, and are probably contemporaneous with the formation of those of the Carboniferous Age. The Shiant Isles, Cuchullin Hills of Skye, the basalts of Mull, Staffa and the Giant's Causeway in Ireland are all nearly in the same meridian. This line of weakness on the Earth's crust runs on to the Faroe Isles and Iceland. The Shiant Isles are, like the Bass Rock and

other islets in the Firth of Forth on the east, but the "plugs" up which the molten matter flowed in greater quantities than it did where the gneiss in remoter parts cracked into chasms which became moulds for the liquid rock to fill. The Scur of Eigg seems to be of later age. There we have the Cast standing out as a gigantic fragment of a wall—after the mould had weathered away. According to Geikie the mould was formed by a river cañon or gorge running westwards. The Hysker rocks—according to the late Professor Heddle—appears to be a continuation of this "Cast" sloping westwards towards the Atlantic.

THE BOULDER-CLAY.

It is thought to be somewhat singular that no vestiges of the rock fragments from the mainland or from the neighbouring island of Skye have been found in the boulder-clay that so thickly covers the Outer Islands and forms the sub-soil of them. This is deemed singular only to those who insist on the ice-sheet—or other glaciation agency coming from the east across the Minch and from the mainland. Certainly, if it did so, then it must have swept up portions of the rocks of Skye, but none such are found in Lewis at any place. The fragments are from rocks which have their parent source in the island itself. A glance at the levels of the Lewis will shew that the surface slopes by gentle gradients to the north from their base at the Harris hills. At the foot of the hills in the Park district morain heaps abound—pointing to local glaciers which slowly glided down their northern slopes. The accumulation of boulder-clay is greater as we go north towards Ness where it is at its greatest. The longer axes of the multitudinous sheets of water from those of the size of Loch Langabhat in Uig are on the whole from south to north. All these features point to the direction in which the clay-laden agency travelled.

During the Glacial Age, when these Outer Hebrides in common with all Scotland lay buried under the vertical pressure of thousands of feet of snow and ice, this vertical

pressure caused naturally a translatory movement down the slope from the Harris hills to Ness. The viscous mass in its slow movement ground along like a huge plough, crushing the softer materials of the rocks into a "math" as the grinding went on, or catching up intractable fragments or blocks, and carrying them from their parent source left them as perched blocks on hill tops, or as streams of boulders on the low-lying plains.

Ice passing down the slope of the watershed of a district behaves as snow on the roofs of houses does. The local character of the glaciation of a district is demonstrably seen in the County of Ross. The watershed there running north and south through the middle of the County sent down during glaciation times streams of boulder-clay and "carried" blocks to the coast on each side. Their line of march is seen pointing on the east side of the N.W. and on the west to N.E. Were the boulders of Lewis of as durable a character as those of the mainland their longer axes would be seen pointing north and south.

But the boulders of Lewis are looser in texture, and thus their forms become detached blocks sooner than the more compact rocks of the same formation on the mainland. Hence neither striation nor ice-scratchings are readily seen in Lewis as on the mainland of the County of Ross. The boulder-clay of Lewis is however such in its constituents and formation as might have been caused wholly by local agencies.

Blown sand and marine shells buried under peat as at Aignish are mixed with a felspathic clay which makes excellent material for bricks.

MINERALS.

No minerals of commercial importance are found in these Outer Islands. In the Park district of Lewis—according to Macculloch in his *Geology of the Western Isles*—are to be found valuable veins of serpentine and of asbestos. The writer has not seen any trace of either

so far as he has examined the cliff sections in that district. At Loch Shell whole cliffs of China stone, felspar, may be seen. Here at Isginn near the head of the loch are to be seen siliceous cherts—some black as Lydian stone, others bleached white, in blocks, resembling fossilized stumps of trees.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES.

The islands forming the chain of the Outer Hebrides extend from N. Lat. 58 degrees 31 minutes at the Butt of Lewis to 56 degrees 48 minutes at Barra Head, which gives a stretch of 130 miles in length. The coast line is extremely rugged and indented. The surface is flat and monotonous, nowhere rising to the 3,000 feet line. The highest part is that of Harris, which probably is from the Norse word "har" and its dative feminine form "harri." In Harris the highest point of 2,622 feet is reached in the Clisheam. The contour lines shew a steady descent to the north or Lewis side of summits 1,250 feet, as at Suainabhal in Uig and Mor Mhonadh at Park. On the south or Harris side we have heights of over 1,250 feet, as Beinn Dhubh 1,654 feet, An Coileach 1,265, Heilisval 1,257, Bleaval 1,305, and Roneval 1,506 feet. In Lewis the hills are on the average about half this height, as Eitshal 733 feet, Beinne Bharabhais 800 feet, Monach 800 feet. The levels of these summits over Lewis from south to north are pretty uniform. The Park and Uig summits rise to the 1,500 feet level. Those of Mid Lewis or of the Lochs and Carloway district shew summits of only 750 feet. The Ness hills make a further descent to 500 feet, as at Tom Dithabhail and Beinn Bhail. These three descending terraces are doubtless the work of the Ice Age. The same general observation holds good for the islands south of the Harris group of hills.

The innumerable lochs scattered over this surface are doubtless due to glacial agency. Their entire number has been computed at 1,500, covering an area of 50,000 acres.

These lochs, as might have been expected from the low "head" of the gouging tool of ice which scooped them out, are mostly shallow. They seldom reach four fathoms in depth. The work of the ice is seen also in the innumerable islets, reefs and shoals which stud the windings of the sea-lochs or fiords and straits. Sea-lochs such as Loch Roag, Loch Resort, Loch Seaforth, Loch Shell and Loch Erisort are but the deep furrows left by the great ice plough on its way to the sea from the higher reaches of these lochs.

Of course the pounding action of the sea waves completed the work by sweeping away all the accumulated *débris* at the sea ends of these submerged valleys. But where the Atlantic surges have an open field as on the west of the Outer Hebrides, the coast line on the whole presents an unbroken front with open shelving sand beaches alternating with grim walls of rock forming cliffs up to 100 feet, and all exposed to the full force of the Ocean. South of Carloway, the shore line is abrupt though not of great altitude. In this part of the coast there are several good harbours as in the fiords above referred to.

The islands of North and of South Uist with Benbecula between in reality form one island, as the sea separating them is fordable between half tide and low water. To the south of Uist is the group of the islands of Barra. In the train of the larger islands is a large number of smaller islands in close neighbourhood to the larger ones. Other islands and islets belonging to the group of the Outer Hebrides stand further away as the Shiantis off the south-east of Lewis. The Flannan Isles or Seven Hunters are some 20 miles west of Uig, Lewis, and 45 miles further off is St. Kilda. The stack of Rockall, some 180 miles west of St. Kilda, rises from near the verge of the submerged platform on which the British Islands rest. A few miles to the west of it the sounding line goes down abruptly from 100 to 200 fathoms, and thereafter with swift descent down to the abyssmal depths of the Atlantic.

THE BOTANY OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

In A. C. Watson's classification of plants according to localities, the chief plants recorded for his Province XVIII., which includes with the Outer Hebrides both Orkney and Shetland, are given in his *Cybele Britannica*. No exhaustive list has been made of plants in the Outer Hebrides. Those given here are the flowering plants common to the Hebrides. In the area of 1,000 square miles of the Outer Hebrides, 317 species of such plants have been recorded.

Of those that may be said to belong especially to the Outer Hebrides, we have five representatives of the Natural Order of Composites, viz.:—*Aster Tripolium* or the Sea-starwort; *Crepis vireus* or the Smooth Hawksbeard; *Hieracium vulgatum* or Common Hawksweed; *Senecio Sylvaticus* or Mountain Ragwort, and *Tanacetum vulgare* or Common Tansy.

The Crowfoots or Natural Order Ranunculaceæ are represented by the *Ranunculus Sceleratus* or Celery-leaved Crowfoot or buttercup. The Natural Order Haloraginaceæ by *Myriophyllum alterniflorum* or Alternate-leaved water Milfoil. The Natural Order Lentibulariaceæ by *Utricularia Minor* or lesser Bladder-wort. The Natural Order Boraginaceæ or Borage-worts by *Lithospermium arvense* or Common Gromsell or Bastard Alkanet, and by *Echium vulgare* or Viper's bugloss. The Geraniums by *Erodium cicutarium* or Hemlock stork's bill. The Birches or Natural Order Betulaceæ by *Alnus glutinosa* or Common Alder. The Natural Order of the Labiates by *Scutellaria galericulata* or Common Skull-cap. The lily or Natural Order Liliaceæ by *Hyacinthus, Non-Scripta*, or Bluebell or Wild Hyacinth. The Sedges or Natural Order Cyperaceæ by *Carex pipulifera* or Round-headed Sedge, and the Felices or Ferns by *Asplenium ruta muraria* or Well rue fern.

If the floral area up to North Lat. 59 degrees with the annual mean temperature of 46 degrees be taken, the number of species will be found to decrease as we go north. Again the species common to the Northern or Alpine regions will be found to decrease as we go south

to this Lat. of 59 degrees or as we descend from Alpine heights to sea level. Within these limits there are very many plants found in the Outer Hebrides common to the Inner Hebrides and mainland. These must have spread to the Outer Hebrides before separation from the Inner Hebrides and mainland took place in post-glacial times. Seeds may be carried by birds, by winds and other agencies across stretches of water such as the Minch, but the uniformity of the distribution of these plants over the whole chain of the Outer Hebrides could only have taken place when there was continuity of land surface over the whole archipelago of the Western Isles and the mainland of Scotland. More than one period of post-glacial depression is believed by geologists to have occurred which lowered the levels of the British Isles to at least 150 feet—thus destroying or altering the flora of the shore lines. This period was followed by a period of upheaval which was sufficiently great to form a pathway for a new migration of species from the mainland. Hence the flora of the Hebrides is not of the type which is found peculiar to Oceanic islands.

LIST OF HEBRIDEAN PLANTS FOUND UP TO N. LAT. 59°.

<i>Galium cruciatum</i>	<i>Potamogeton pusillus</i>
<i>Epilobium parviflorum</i>	" <i>perfoliat.</i>
<i>Ulmus montana</i>	<i>Primula veris</i>
<i>Cardamine sylvatica</i>	<i>Epilobium tetragonum</i>
<i>Callitriche peduncul.</i>	<i>Potamogeton filiformis</i>
<i>Myosotis repens</i>	<i>Erythrea littoralis</i>
<i>Thlaspi arvense</i>	<i>Iuncus compressus</i>
<i>Stachys ambigua</i>	<i>Sagina maritima</i>
<i>Hypericum elodes</i>	<i>Ruppia</i> "
<i>Pinguicula lusitanica</i>	<i>Polygonum Raii</i>
<i>Lastraea Fœnisecii</i>	<i>Beta Maritim.</i>
<i>Asplenium Maritim.</i>	<i>Eryngium Maritim.</i>
<i>Pyrethrum</i> "	<i>Cerastium tetrandum</i>
<i>Carex extensa</i>	<i>Jasione montana</i>
" <i>distans</i>	<i>Osmunda regalis</i>
" <i>paniculata</i>	<i>Scolopendrum vulgare</i>
<i>Scirpus fluitans</i>	<i>Lamium incisum</i>
<i>Zaunichellia palustris</i>	<i>Sonchus Asper</i>

<i>Anthiscus vulgaris</i>	<i>Polygonum hydrop.</i>
<i>Avena fatua</i>	<i>Zostera marina</i>
<i>Sedum Anglicum</i>	<i>Glyceria marit.</i>
<i>Gymnadenia conopsea</i>	<i>Cakile</i> „
<i>Callitriche platycarpa</i>	<i>Silene</i> „
<i>Carex Oederi</i>	<i>Carex Arenaria</i>
„ <i>præcox.</i>	<i>Cochlearia danica</i>
<i>Rhyncospora alba</i>	<i>Catabrosa aquatica</i>
<i>Utricularia vulgaris</i>	<i>Potamogeton pectinat.</i>
<i>Potamogeton heterophyllum</i>	<i>Ophioglossum vulgatum</i>
<i>Myosotis collina</i>	<i>Festuca elatior</i>
<i>Hypericum perforatum</i>	<i>Gentiana Amarella</i>
<i>Anagallis tenella</i>	<i>Hippuris vulgaris</i>
<i>Scilla verna</i>	<i>Honckeneja peploïæ</i>
<i>Atriplex Angustifolia</i>	<i>Lathyrus Maritimus</i>
<i>Rumex conglomerata</i>	

LIST OF PLANTS FOUND SOUTH TO NORTH LAT. 59°, INCLUDING
ALPINE SPECIES IN THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

<i>Sagina subulata</i>	<i>Lobelia Dortmanna</i>
<i>Elymus arenarius</i>	<i>Hieracium Anglicum</i>
<i>Polypodium Phegopteris</i>	<i>Alchemilla Alpina</i>
<i>Listera Cordata</i>	<i>Vaccinium uliginosum</i>
<i>Thalistrum minus</i>	<i>Dryas octopetala</i>
<i>Gnaphalium diocium</i>	<i>Gallium boreale</i>
<i>Empetrum nigrum</i>	<i>Salix herbacea</i>
<i>Allosorus crispus</i>	<i>Saxifraga oppositifolia</i>
<i>Hymenophyl. Wilsoni</i>	<i>Lycopodium selaginoides</i>
<i>Gallium pusillum</i>	<i>Draba incana</i>
<i>Lycopodium Alpinum</i>	<i>Lycopodium annotrium</i>
<i>Carex diocia</i>	<i>Blysmus rufus</i>
<i>Parnassia palustris</i>	<i>Sedum Rhodolia</i>
<i>Salix ambigua</i>	<i>Saxifraga stellaris</i>
<i>Pyrola media</i>	<i>Thalictrum Alpinum</i>
<i>Habenaria albida</i>	<i>Polygonum viviparum</i>
<i>Scirpus uniglumis</i>	<i>Juncus triglumis</i>
<i>Sparganium natans</i>	<i>Juniperus nana</i>
<i>Drosera Anglica</i>	<i>Circæ Alpina</i>
<i>Viola lutea</i>	<i>Carex rigida</i>
<i>Rubia saxatilis</i>	<i>Hieracium argentum</i>
<i>Trollius Europæus</i>	<i>Mertensia marit.</i>
<i>Myrrhis odorata</i>	<i>Saussurea Alpina</i>
<i>Vaccinium vitis. Idæa</i>	<i>Oxyria reniformis</i>
<i>Hieracium pallidum</i>	<i>Silene caulis</i>

<i>Luzula spicata</i>	<i>Trientalis Europæa</i>
<i>Arabis petræa</i>	<i>Arbutus Uva ursi</i>
<i>Salix phylicifolia</i>	<i>Ligusticum Scoticum</i>
<i>Rumex aquaticus</i>	<i>Salix Lapponum</i>
<i>Saxifraga aizoides</i>	<i>Lamium intermedium</i>

The above list does by no means exhaust the list of plants found in this botanical province. They include only the flowering plants, ferns and club-mosses.

VERTEBRATE ANIMALS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES.—THE MAMMALS.

Of the land animals which made the Outer Hebrides their habitat before the separation of the islands took place but few species survive. These are—

- The Shrew (*Sorex minutus*).
- The Shrew (*Sorex tetragonurus*).
- The Vole (*Arvicola agrestis*).
- The Pole-cat (*Martes sylvestris*).
- The Otter (*Lutra vulgaris*).
- The Weasel (*Mustela vulgaris*).
- The Badger (*Meles taxus*).

The remains of a small fossil ox, *Bos longifrons*, is said by Mr. Harvie Brown to have been found in a "Picts" House in Harris.

The land animals which probably were introduced by man were the deer.

- The Red Deer (*Cervus elaphus*).
- The Fallow Deer (*Cervus dama*).
- The Roe Deer (*Capreolus capræas*).
- The Harvest Mouse (*Mus minutus*).
- The Harvest Mouse (*Mus musculus*).
- The Black Rat (*Mus rattus*).
- The Black Rat (*Mus decumannus*).
- The Water Vole (*Arvicola amphibia*).
- The Hare (*Lepus Europæus*).
- The White Hare (*Lepus variabilis*).

Rabbits were but recently introduced and have proved, as usual, a very scourge.

The vertebrates which have the power of wing or fin are to be found in great numbers if not of species, at least of individuals. The first in order are the seals—the Phocidæa.

The Common Seal (*Phoca vitulina*).

The Ringed Seal (*Phoca hispida*).

The Grey Seal (*Phoca gryphus*).

The Whales or Cetacea come next.

The Right Whale (*Balæna biscayensis*).

The Humped-back Whale (*Megaptera longimana*).

The Common Rorqual (*Balæoptera musculus*).

The Pilot Whale (*Globicephalus melas*).

Schools of about 200 of these whales were captured at Stornoway in 1869 and in 1882.

Akin to the Whale is the Porpoise (*Phocæna communis*).

THE BIRDS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

To name the birds which are to be seen in the Outer Hebrides at all seasons of the year would be to name almost all British birds. We omit all migratory and restrict ourselves to indigenous birds, and by following Macgillivray, the highest authority on the birds of the Hebrides, we take those found in winter as well as those found both in winter and in summer, in other words, we keep to those to be seen all the year round. In winter Macgillivray found the Brown Ptarmigan, the Grey Ptarmigan, Snow Bunting, Water Rail, Snipe and Black Snipe. On the lakes are to be seen during winter, the Swan, Bean-Goose, Brent Goose, the Golden Eye Goose, and the Dabchick. In many of the brooks are to be seen the Woodcock and the Dipper.

In pastures are seen the Field Lark, Corn Bunting, Reed Bunting, Brown Linnet, Twite, Hedge-Chanter, and the Common Wren. The "Golden Crested" Wren has been

seen by the writer in the Castle grounds near Stornoway. A species of Wren is found in St. Kilda which is peculiar to that island. The Starling, Rock Pigeon, Common Thrush, the Fieldfare, and the Redwing are also to be seen in great numbers.

Of the predatory species there are the White-tailed Sea-eagle, Golden Eagle, Sparrow-hawk, Hen-harrier, Kestrel Raven, and the Hooded Crow.

The common sea-birds include the great Glaucous Gull, the Black-backed Gull, the Herring Gull, and the Common Sea-Gull, the Cormorant, the Crested Cormorant, Great Northern Diver, the Puffin, Fulmar and others of the Petrel family.

Along the shores are to be found the Golden Plover Sanderling, Oyster-catcher, Ring Plover, Turnstone, Lapwing, Common Heron, Curlew, Dunlin, Purple Sandpiper, Red Shank, Rock Pipit, Common Pipit.

It has been observed that the number of land birds in winter is much larger in the South of Scotland than it is in the North, whereas shore and sea birds are more numerous in the North than they are in the South of Scotland.

For an exhaustive account of the birds of the Outer Hebrides the works of Macgillivray and Harvie Brown are recommended to such as are desirous of following up this most fascinating part of the fauna of the Outer Hebrides.

THE FISHES OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES.

As the geographical situation of the Outer Hebrides lies within the North Atlantic province, the Arctic fauna which has invaded it diminishes in the number of individuals of each class the farther the northern invaders have gone within its area. What the fauna has gained in variety of classes it has lost in the numbers belonging to each class. The same remark holds good for the representatives of the Mediterranean fauna which also are found within this portion of the North Atlantic province, which Forbes rightly named the Celtic Province—or, rather, Sub-Province.

Among the Arctic fishes found within the province are Dog-fishes, Rays (Skates) and various members of the Great Cod family.

Among those common to the Arctic and Mediterranean are *Lophins* (Anglers); Mulletts; Halibut, Turbot and others of the Flounder family, the *Pleuronectidæ*; Rock-fish (*Labrus maculatus*); Conger-eels, Pipe-fish (*Syngnathus*) and the Herring-class (*Clupea*). These are typical fishes that have spread themselves over this area from those three great provinces.

Of the fishes that date back to remote geological times we have representatives within the waters of the Outer Hebrides. Among these we have Sharks, Rays, Dog-fishes and Sturgeons. Fossil remains of these fishes are found in rocks of the Lias, in the rocks of the same age as the Sandstones underlying the basalts of the Inner Hebrides.

The Sharks seen in the Minch are the Blue-Shark (*Carcharias Glaucus*), the Porbeagle (*Lamna Cornubica*), the Fox-Thresher (*Alopecias*), so named from the splashing it makes with its tail while feeding. This shark follows the herring and is quite harmless to man. To the same family belongs the Basking Shark (*Selache*), which is also quite harmless. On the West Coast of Ireland this fish is chased for the sake of the oil from its liver. An average fish yields from a ton to a ton and a half of oil. The writer saw one landed in Stornoway the liver of which filled eight herring barrels. This was but a poor equivalent for the loss of nearly a whole "drift" of nets which the monster had destroyed on becoming entangled in it.

The Dog-fish family, like the Sharks, are of an ancient lineage, but that is the utmost which can be said of this most destructive fish. They follow the herring in vast numbers, and are the plague of the fishermen by destroying their nets. They make poor eating as human food. The Larger Dog-fish (*Scyllium canicula*) and the Spotted Dog-fish (*Scyllium catulus*) are known by their respective Gaelic names *Am Biorach* and *An Dallag*.

The Rays or Skates are allied to the Sharks and Dog-fishes, but form a distinct species. They do not descend to the same depths as the sharks and are for the greater part coast fishes. Those found in the Outer Hebrides are the Thornback (*Raja clavata*) and the Shagreen Ray (*Raja fullonica*).

The Sturgeon, a sub-order under the oldest geological fishes, is not found in such early rocks as the Sharks are. The Common Sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio*)—the living representative of these early fishes—is found in rivers where it passes part of the year for the purpose of spawning.

The great sub-class of Fishes, the *Teleostei*, which form the greatest number of living fishes, have numerous representatives in Hebridean waters. We can but name these following the order of Günther. The Perches (*Percidæ*) both the fresh water perch (*Perca fluviatilis*) and the Bass (*Labrax lupus*), Gaelic *Creagag*.

The Mulletts (*Mullus barbatus*).

The family of Breams (*Sparidæ*), the Sea-Bream, Gaelic *An Carbhanach*.

The Horse-Mackerel (*Caranx trachurus*) and the Mackerel proper (*Scomber Scomber*), Gaelic *Rionnach*.

Lophias (*L. piscatorius*) known by its English names, the Fishing-Frog or the Angler, and the Gaelic *Cat Mara*.

The Gurnards (*Cottus Trigla*), Gaelic *Crodan*. Several species of the Gurnard are found and are all good for food.

The Lump-Sucker (*Cyclopterus lumpus*), Gaelic *Muc-chraige*.

The Stickle-back (*Eastrosteus*).

Labrus Maculatus or "Ballan Wrasse," also known in some districts by the Gaelic name, *Muc-chraige*, from its thick lips. This is a Mediterranean fish, and is noted for its beautiful colours. It gradually becomes scarcer the farther north we go.

The most important fishes of all are those of the Cod family (*Gadidæ*).

The Common Cod (*Gadus Morrhua*), Gaelic *Trosg*, is fished largely on the Atlantic side of the Outer Hebrides—out to the 100 fathom line. Large numbers are caught around Rockall.

The Haddock (*Gadus aeglefinus*). Individuals 3 feet long have been frequently fished in the Broad Bay near Stornoway. Trawling, we fear, has nearly destroyed these rich fish banks.

The Whiting (*Gadus merlangus*).

The Coal-fish (*Gadus vireus*), Gaelic *Ucus*.

The Lythe, a different species from the Coal-fish.

The Hake (*Merluccius vulgaris*), Gaelic *Falamar*, belongs to this family but is of a distinct genus from that of the Common Cod.

The Ling (*Molva vulgaris*).

The Tusk (*Brosmius Brosme*).

The Sand-eels or Launces (*Ammodytes lanceolatus*), so named from their appearance and their habit of burying themselves in the sand, are the only representatives of the family of the *Ophidiidæ* or fishes without ventral fins, and whose dorsal fins occupy the greater part of the back. Gaelic *Siolag*.

The Flounders, or Flat-fishes, are of the One Great Class of *Pleuronectidæ*.

The Halibut (*Hippoglossus vulgaris*), Gaelic *Bradan leathain*. Specimens weighing 2 cwt. have been fished off St. Kilda.

The Turbot (*Rhombus maximus*), Gaelic *Turbaid*.

Brill (*Rhombus lævis*). These are all off-shore fishes, that is, are found as far as the 100 fathom line. The in-shore fishes of this family are:—

The Plaice, Dab, Flounder and Sole.

The Salmon family (*Salmonidæ*) are represented by the—

Salmo Salar, Salmon, Gaelic *Bradan*.

Salmo trutta, Sea-Trout, Gaelic *Gealag*.

Salmo fario, Common Trout, Gaelic *Brea*.

Salmo Alpinus, Alpine Char, Gaelic *Tarragheal*.

The Herring family (*Clupeidæ*), allied to that of the Salmon, surpasses all others in the vast number of individuals belonging to it. The herring never goes very far from the coast. It is not pelagic.

The Herring (*Clupea harengus*), Gaelic *Sgadan*.

Sprat (*Clupea Sprattus*), Gaelic *Siol*.

The Eels (*Muraenidæ*) are represented by the Common Eel (*Anguilla anguilla*) and the Conger.

Representatives of the Pipe-fish, Sun-fish and the Glutinous Hag and the Lancelet are said to have been found in the Outer Hebrides.



APPENDICES.

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APPENDICES.

COPIES OF MSS. IN PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE AND BRITISH MUSEUM.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACTS FROM MS. "THE ISLES OF SCOTLAND AND THE DIVISION THEREOF, WITH THE NAMES OF THE CHIEFTAINS," DATED EDINBURGH, 21 MARCH, 1595.

State Papers. Scotland. Elizabeth. Vol. 58. No. 41.

(Spelling modernised.)

The West Isles of Scotland are divided in four parts, every part having in it a principal Isle, with a number of smaller Isles about the same. Two lie northwards, The Lewis and Skye, and two southward, Islay and Mull.

Lewis hath joined with it by a small gripp of 2 or 3 pair of "buttes" length the Harris. Lewis is 32 miles of length, and Harris 8 miles. Lewis pertains to Macleod of the Lewis, who being an old man famous for the massacring of his own kinsmen his bastard son called Torquil Og usurps now the room. This Isle will make 700 men to the wars, besides them that occupies the ground which neither in that nor none other of the Isles are charged to the war but suffers to remain at home for labouring of the ground.

The other part of this Isle called Harris pertains to Macleod of Harris who is presently a child and has sundry other lands. On this land of Harris he will raise 140 men able for the war.

Uist is an Isle of 40 miles of length but of small breadth, the north part thereof pertains to the Clan Donald in the North, to whom Donald Gormson is chieftain, who will raise on that part 300 men. The south part to the Clan Ranald, who will raise thereon 300 men.

Barra pertains to Macneill of Barra who may raise thereon and some little Isles adjacent 200 men.

Rona pertaining to Macleod of the Lewis 50 men.

Pabbay pertaining to Macleod of Harris 40 men.

Helsker pertaining to the Nunnery of Icolmkill 20 men.

"Colsmo" not inhabited.

"Irt or Hirtha" (St. Kilda) pertains to Macleod of Harris. The inhabitants rude and simple send no men to the war. . . .

The concords and discords are difficult and almost impossible to declare, for since their reconciliation after their barbarous wars the tutor of Harris is joined with Donald Gormson and as some say also Torquil usurper of the Lewis.

In Strathnaver and the Braes of Caithness and Sutherland Mackay has dominion. Torquil the eldest son of Macleod of the Lewis (poor unable and oppressed by his bastard brother the usurper) remains in Coigeach in the mainland. . . .

APPENDIX B.

EXTRACTS FROM STATE PAPERS RELATING TO A PROPOSED
INVASION OF LEWIS (1602).

State Papers. Scotland. Eliz. Vol. 68. No. 64.

(Spelling modernised.)

. . . . The 26th hereof the King hath appointed a Convention to be at St. Johnstone, for a new course to be taken for "repossing" the Lewis, and for the matter of the Isles, how to raise the King's profits and duties on them and settle them in peace. . . .

Edinburgh the 10th of June 1602.

State Papers. Scotland. Eliz. Vol. 68. No. 73.

. . . . Our Convention of the Estates did hold at Perth this 78 [*sic*] of this instant which was Monday last, when was chiefly treated matters of the Lewis, and how an army might be sent thither, as also the King was desirous of a subsidy of twenty thousand pounds sterling, which is an hundred thousand pounds Scottish.

Falkland this first of July 1602.

State Papers. Scotland. Eliz. Vol. 68. No. 86.

. . . . The Convention of our Estates did hold upon Friday the 16th of this instant wherein the King (after his accustomed manner when his Lords meet) made there a speech of one half hour long tending all to three points, of which the first was—

* * * * *

The second was that since he had received indignities at these savage people their hands that dwell [dual] in the Lewis, it was against his honour to forget it and not to see it punished (since it was spoken in England said he) how shall he rule us that cannot rule an handful, in respect of such a nation, and to the intent he might send forth some soldiers thither, he required a subsidy only of the "curchmen" and "boruis"; this was denied.

The third was that since they would grant no subsidy, that he might coin some base money to pay the soldiers; that was also denied. . . .

Edinburgh this 21st of July 1602.

State Papers. Scotland. Eliz. Vol. 68. No. 87.

. . . . On Friday afternoon and all Saturday till he departed, he (the King) was occupied in the Convention, which was but small for the nobility, and as little done in the matters he intended: for the matter of the Lewis he made motion to have had a contribution towards the repossessing of the partners; but could get none granted and so left that to the further deliberation of his Council who yesterday have resolved that the north parts of this land shall be charged to go under the Earl of Huntley's commandment to put the partners in possession again of the Lewis. . . .

Edinburgh the 21st of July 1602.

State Papers. Scotland. Eliz. Vol. 69. No. 54.

. . . . The next week the King goes to St. Johnstons about a Convention for the Lewis and Isles matters, and there confers with the

Commissioners of the General Assembly for preparation for the same to be in St. Andrews the 6th of the next, where then the agreement with Huntley and Murray will be earnest laboured by the King with other "contry" (country) affairs.

Edinburgh, 20 January, 1602/3.

APPENDIX C.

State Papers. Domestic. Jas. I. Vol. 205. No. 31.

A MEMORANDUM OF THE FISSCHINGS OF THE LEWES AND EYLLANDS OF HIBREDES. WHAT FISSCHIS IS MOST WENDABILL AND IN WHAT CUNTRIES EVERIE KYNDE OF FISCH SELLS BEST INTOO (Undated).

Iteme in primis.

Salt cod linge and salmone is wendabill wniversallie througheout all naiteones and cuntries what sumeuer. Cod linge and salmone dryit is wendabill also for all cuntries for wittuallinge of shipis and provisione for houssis.

Greatt seathis callid collmeis drye or salt is wendabill in all cuntries whaire trafike of schippinge is for wittuallinge of schipis in Speane France and all the easterne pts and witheyn the Baltike seais and for cuntrie pipell thaire.

Dreyit skeatts is wendabill in Ingland Scotland Eyreland, France, Speane, Holland and in all the easterne pts and witheyn the Baltike seais.

Dryit dog fische is wendabill in Speane and witheyn the streatts and hes beine sould thaire at moire then 6d. a punde.

Barrallid cod is wendabill in all cuntries and greatt geane gottin thaireby, barrallid or drye haddokis is wendabill in Russia, Norvaye and in all the Baltike seais within the sound.

Greatt wheyttinges dryeit is wendabill in Ingland Scotland Eyreland France Holland and in all the easterne pts.

Greatt conger eills saltit or dryeit is wendabill in all cuntries.

Torske saltit or dryeit is wendabill in all cuntries.

Dreyit flunders great and small is wendabill in Russia Norvaye Swaidin Poille, Garmanye Denmarke Holland Flanders France and wther cuntries.

Turbatt dryeit callid riklinge is wendabill in Russia and in all the easterne seais and pts within the sound.

Dreyit stoke fische is wendabill in all cuntries whatsumewer.

Mackerelle barrallid or dryeit is wendabill in Russia and in all the easterne pts.

Sealle fische barrallid is wendabill in Speane and throughe the straitts. It doithe produce good treane oeylle; the skines of thiose fisch is good for sundrey wsis.

Heringe barrallid or dryeit is wendabill in all naciones whatsumewer.

The liewers of all the forsaid fischis excepe sallmone produces a greatt deall of trean oeylle whiche is a greatt helpe to the fischschers to paye thaire outrige besydes mony wther kynde of small fischis not nominal heire whiche fischschers sawes to helpe thaire chairgis soe that perfeyt fischsch men doo maik the small fischis withe thaire trean thaye maik of the said lievers paye the most pt of their hoille chairgis.

For suporttinge and fortifieinge of the fischings in the Lewes and in wther eyellands of Hibredes thaire may be good salt in the Leweis and wther eyllands thaireto aiacent whiche wald be a greatt benifeit for one to thame

that ar colonaris of a coporacione thaire to be prowdeit withe salt for all occasiōes of fischinge ather in sommer or winter. The winter is better nor the sommer to the residerenters thaire beinge prowdyt withe salt and wthere nessesaris for greatt fischis as whaills sealls and abondance of all sortts of fischis whiche flowes in one sands in greatt stormes and sumtymes cheast in in loghes be whaills wpone drey sands of the bounds of 2 or 3 mylls of lenthe the breid a paire of butts. Ane greatt dealle of riches (is) lost for wantt of salt whiche maye be prewenttit by the meanes of maiking of salt thaire if it pleas his Matie to assist that guid worke as he hes royeallie begune the samen and geiwe wentoreris who ar willinge to goe thaire and remaene sum liberties conforme to the ordore of wther plantioners will in short tyme import greatt benefeitt to his Matie and his subiectts, inress of customes schiping Nauigacoine and a pieouse ws for the releiweing of mony poore pipell to be sett in vorkhe whiche now periesis for want of employment.

Endorsed

W^t. kinds of Fish, where vendible.

APPENDIX D.

STORNOWAY'S CHARTER OF INCORPORATION (1629).

S.P. Domestic. Chas. I. Vol. 152. No. 63.

1629, Novemb^r 30. Uppon conference wth M^r Heye Agent for the Burroughs of Scotland, concerning Lewes Iland.

The Island of Lewis is distant frō the continent of Scotland about 24 miles, is above 40 miles in length and in breadth 16 miles, the east lowland the west and southwest sūwhat hillie, but hath much tillage and feedeth much cattle. It hath divers good harboroughs whereof the principall is the Harborough of Stronway. The town lieth about 2 miles frō the mouth of the river w^{ch} is also called Stronway. The river's mouth is but a bow shoote over it so as a fort built on either side may make it defensible against al the world above the mouth into the land; the water enlargeth it self in sū places half a mile in sume a mile and so til it cumeth to the town of convenient breadth and depth for al maner of ships to ride safly of what burden soever and to the nūber of thousands free frō al weather. At the town ther is a smale harborough about a quarter of a mile in compass, w^{ch} lieth drie when the sea ebs: but at a flood hath depth for anie ship to cū in: and then to bee repaired, calked or trimmed. The town of Sternoway is but a smale village and is not yet a free town; it hath yet no traffique. But the town is so situate that it may bee aisily fortified and the water brought about it to drown the ground neere it. About this Iland and the other Ilands adiacent there is continual fishing for white fish that is ling and cod and samon, and for herings. And the fishings here are at al times of the yeare when fisher men can brooke the seas. This fishing hath been used by the Scots above 40 years, and by them is esteemed above that of New found Land. Ther is also conveniences for whale fishing wherof thousands are yearly seen about the Iles.* This fishing was not haunted or known by anie but Scotsmen before the yeare 1594, when the Hollanders began to fish in those seas uppon p'tence of a patent from King Jeames whereby they were restrained to cū w^{thin} at least 28 miles of the shore, nor w^{thin} the loughs that is the baies w^{thin} the Ilands.† Since that year 1594 the Hollanders have cū thither wth al their Fleet of Busyes sūtimes 3000 saile.

By the laws of Scotland no stranger may fish w^{thin} their seas uppon paine

* This hath been attempted: but yeildeth no profit. They are not whales but Jobarts w^{ch} are less and afford but smale store of oile, and indure not the boats to cū neere them.

† In the time of K. Jeams the 5th the Hollanders having only a verbal licence to fish at 28 miles distance, cam neere the shore into the mouth of the furth of Edenborough and ther fished in

of confiscation of their goods and loss of life, so the Hollanders cū in against the law. They first procured the Erle Marshal of Scotland called Kyth to begge of King Jeames leave to sel to the Hollanders a litle Island of his inheritance lying over against a harbrough in Boughan called Peter head : w^{ch} King Jeams absolutely refused wth protestation that no Hollander or stranger should get footing in his country whilst hee lived. This was attempted and this answer given since King Jeams cūming into England. Notwthstanding the King's refusal, the Hollanders cam yearly uppon the coast along the Ilands, and offred manie abuses to the subiects, wheruppon the subiects made complaint to the King by their petition dated 12 March 1618 wheruppon the Council of Scotland writt their letters to the King in concurrence wth this petition to move for a proclamation to inhibit the Hollanders and to give order to his Ambassador in the Low Countries to expostulate this iniurie. The letters dated 4 April 1618. His M^{ty} answered the Councils letter by his letters dated 7 Novemb 1618 wherby hee signified that the business was to be tried and that Comissioners were to be sent frō the States to that end : and requiring a comission to bee sent frō Scotland to the Duke of Lenox and others to treat wth them &c. The Comission was accordingly sent up. But the Hollanders declined the question of right, p^tended frō former graunts or usages, and fel uppon the general dispute de mari libero : and thereby frustrated the proceeding, and the business so rested til An^o 1622, when the subiects renued their complaint to the Council ther who by their letter dated 24 June 1622 signified the same to his M^{ty}. Uppon w^{ch} letter nothing was donne only the Duke of Lenox had a purpose to have raised a companie in Scotland for fishing but hee dying the yeare after it cam to no effect. But the Hollanders forseeing what might succeed uppon theis continued complaints they agreed wth the Erle of Seafort for the town of Stronway to plant a colonie ther and to make it a free town : that it might be inhabed to have free trade, because by the law in Scotland none can trade but those that have the libertes of a free town. This Erl's father had bought the whole freehold of the Island of Lewes from 14 or 15 gentlemen to whom in bodie or companie to raise fishing King Jeams before his cūming into England : though by the laws of Scotland the Ilands belong inseperably to the Crown : these persons being sū killed and the rest discouraged at length were drawn by the Erle of Seafort to sel their right to him, and theruppon his sonne now Erle of Seafort sould Stronway to the Hollanders as is conceived. And to avoid further question moved the King for a Patent to erect Stronway into a free town and a Burourie entering their liberties over the whole yland, wth power to fortifie, to people it with strangers, and to grant to all the said strangers protection and pardon for all iniures past not cōitted in his dominions, wherby the business of Amboina was remitted. And to trade freely in all the world. This patent by the mediation of M^r Hey was staid by his M^{ts} cōmand til the free broughs of Scotland by whom he was sent to sollicit this cause should bee heard : this was donne in May 1628, and afterwards in September when hee finding the Erle had made a strong partie in Scotland cam again to move the King. So now it resteth only under the King's hand but staid at the Exchequer in Scotland. Notwthstanding w^{ch} stay the Erle of Seafort hath brought some families of Hollanders into Stronway and there planteth them, and permitteth sondrie of their ships above a dozen saile the last yeare to cū and fish ther, and to carie away their fish w^{thout} cocket or custom paid to his M^{ty}, and not permitting anie Scot to fish wthin those waters except they wil sel their fish to the Hollanders : notwthstanding a letter written to the said Erle by his M^{ty} to the contrarie dated in August 1628 wheruppon complaint being made by the Boroughs to the Council of Scotland : they by their sentence and decree discharged the said Erle as appeareth by the decree it self dated 7 March 1629, the effect wherof is that the Erle of Seafort should observe the Act of Parliament made 1621, that no stranger nor inhabitant wthin Scotland should pack or pil in anie place of the yles out of the free boroughs, nor transport forbidden goods out of the same.

despight of the Kings cōmand. Then the King set out men of warre and tooke so manie of them that hee sent a barilful of their heads into Holland wth their names fixed to their foreheades uppon cards. This related by the old Bishop of Rosse Linsay who cam in wth K. Jeames to England.

Notwithstanding w^{ch} decree the Erle continueth to intertain strangers there contrarie to the law, wheruppon the Boroughs again complained to the Councel ther: and they by their letters dated in July last comend their petition to his M^{ty}, signifying that the Hollanders by this meanes have ingrossed the whole fishing and al comodites thereof and desire redress.

State Papers. Domestic. Chas. I. Vol. 152. No. 64.

ILAND OF LEWES.

1. The Erle of Seaforts patent w^{ch} is only signed by the King and not yet sealed: being staid here at the instance of the Boroughs, and then by his M^{ty} sent to the Councel of Scotland and by them returned hither, and now in the custodie of Sr Wm. Alexander, may by his M^{ts} comāndment bee cancelled: w^{ch} must bee donne by the King himself to whom the Lords of his Councel of Scotland have remitted it w^{thout} anie opinion delivered.

2. There remaining ten or 12 Dutchmen in the yland being fishermen contrarie to the laws of Scotland, it wil bee fit that they being servants to great merchants in Hollande and negotiating for them bee al discharged and sent away by the Councel of Scotlande and the Erle of Seafort comānded to see them al avoided: w^{ch} hee must obey according to the Decret made in Scotland w^{ch} is that hee shal bring them before the Councel ther to bee sent away if the King so thinck fit. That the Erle and M^r Hey may attend the King to this effect. This being first performed: the Iland being the Erles inheritance: yet the fishing belongeth as they say to the Boroughs of Scotland: that is the fishing w^{thin} the land namely at the lowghs amongst the ylands. The sea is the Kings as al the rest but to the sea fishing the borowghs pretend not. By acts of parliament none may pack nor pil anie fish w^{thin} the lowghs but the free borowghs of the contrie. About a dozen towns of Scotland live by fishing: Edenborough, Burnt Iland, Aigorn, Dysert, Pitten Ween, Anstruther, Egstey (?) and Werter, Krel, Lieben (?) St. Andrewes, Dondee, Monross, Aberdine, Glasco, Trewin, Are, and other fisher towns not free as Meseleborough, Fisher an (?) and others.

The Hollanders are now suffred to land and pile and pack, w^{ch} they ought not to do by law. And if the laws were executed: though in calm seasons they may fish, yet storms would make them wearie. They also victual there.

The Lewes hath store of fisher men uppon it.

State Papers. Domestic. Chas. I. Vol. 152. No. 65.

Clauses out of the Earle of Seeforts Patent graunted by his Ma^{tie} vnder his hand.

With power to the inhabitants of the said Burghe to compasse and fortifie the said Burghe Seaport and Haven of the same wth walls, Fowses, Bulwarks and other necessary fortificacōns, and to keepe and entertaine vpō their owne charges, a number of their owne inhabitants and faying of them a number of others hyred and conduced souldiers and men of warre in Garrison for defence of the said Burghe and resistance of all forraigne invasion.

Gives full power and comission to deale wth whatsoever farrainers and strangers beeing of his Ma^{ties} Confederates, beeing Tradesmen, Artisans, Merchaunts, Sayl^{rs} and Shippers, and other psons of whatsoever quality necessary for planting and peopling the said Burghe, and to bring and transp[ort] them from the places of their residence of the said Burghe of Stronway for inhabiting of the same, like as his Ma^{tie} takes and accepts whatsoever psons who shall transport themselves wth their wives and families forth of Holland or any other neighbour Country beeing of his Ma^{ts} Confederates to dwell w^{thin} the said Burghe, vnder his Ma^{te} safeguard, peace and proteccōn, enduring their dwelling and remayning w^{thin} the same. And wills and grants that the said psons to bee transported as said is, shalbe free and vnchallenged by his Ma^{tie} or by whatsoever Judges and Mynisters of

his Mat^{ies} lawes, for whatsoever crime or offence comitted by them out of his Mat^{ies} Dominions, before their transporting to the said Burghes they alwayes living vnder the obedience of his Mat^{ies} Lawes, after their reparing to the same. And also gives and graunts to the inhabitants of the said Burgh, (having the liberties and pvilidges thereof) and their successo^{rs}, full power pvilidge and liberty to sayle and trade wth their shippes and Barkes, and to have comerce and traffique therewth wthin any part of Christendome in Barbara, Asia, Affrica, East and West Indies, and Newfound Lands beeing his Mat^{ies} Freinde and Confederates and no otherwise.

Signed by S^r WILLIAM ALEXANDER
Secretary for Scotland.

APPENDIX E.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE LEWIS FISHERIES (1629).

State Papers. Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 152. No. 66.

Capt^t Mason his Overture concerning the Island of the Lewes.

1. The Earle of Seaford his Patent to be cancelled, and the King and his Adventurers to purchase the Island. And the Hollanders to be discharged and sent away by the said Earle.

2. Intimation to be made to the Burrough Townes on the Sea Coasts that free lybertie shalbe graunted for them to fish as in former tymes about the Lewes, and to make vse of the shoare for Packing and Pealing in convenient places to be appointed, paying ground leave. And that they give their consents that the King settle certeine Fisheries for the vse of himself and Adventurers with him.

3. A Proposition to be likewise made to the Fyshermen of the said Townes, that such as will become Tennants to landes and live in the Lewes, shalbe admitted. And all their fish shalbe taken off their hands dayly as they bring it from the Sea at resonable rates, and payment shalbe made therefore in money. And yf they want any commodity it shalbe furnished them out of the Magazins to be erected and at resonable rates.

4. That 12 Magazins and 12 Stages be built in the Broad Lough and Lough Sternoway.

5. That Salt Caske and men to dresse and packe and peale fyshe shalbe provided allso for composicōn by the last of fyshe.

6. That competent quantities being gotten together to make certeine shippes ladings, shippes shalbe freighted out of Scotland to transport the fishe, for soe much p last to the Marketts.

7. That the Island being paid for, by the Company of Adventurers who ought to be naturalized Scottishmen, the King is to grant it them in Fee Farm, paying the same duties that the Earle of Seaford paid to his Mat^{ie}. And the Island may be divided into soe many lotts as there are chief Adventurers. And every Lott to be created a Barony after the manner of Scotland. And amongst the whole number of Baronies, a free Burrough Towne to be erected, and seated vpon the chief Fyishing harbour, having such priveledges as were graunted to the Hollanders, the particulers whereof will appeare in that Signature which is in the custody of S^r William Alexander.

8. It is thought very requisite, that the Earle of Seaford be kept in for an Adventurer with the rest proporcionally, for he may much accommodate the buisines, and keepe the Islanders in awe.

9. The Patent being cancelled, let Articles be drawn betwixt the King and the said Earle conteyning the substance of the whole bargaine, wherein he is to deliver vpp as well the Fyshings as Lands. And the Exemphificacōn of the whole to be remitted into Scotland and perfected there.

10. A Threasurer to be chosen, and a stocke of money to be put into his handes for managing of the Fyshings, with Commission to him to proceed according to the directions of the maior part of the Company.

11. In this course 30 or 40 ti may be gayned in the C.^{ti} for one fysching. And three Retournes being made out of the three Fyshings within the yeare, may drawe vpp ninety in the Cth benefitt at the yeares end. And noe trouble nor charge, nor adventure of Shippes extraordinary in the nature of Busses nor fishing Boates.

12. Besides this benefitt of Retourne by the Fyshings, the Island is to pay rent to the Purchasers, which in fyfteene yeares tyme will redeeme the purchase thereof.

Vor Honors Humble Servant,

JHON MASON.

State Papers. Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 229. No. 95

Captaine Masons oppinion how the Stocke to be raised by the Associates of the Right Honorable the Lo: highe Th^{ier} of England for the Intended fishings in the Isle of Lewes ought to be Implyed.

1. The Associats ought to be naturalized Scottishmen and made Burgesses of a free Burrough to be created at Sternoway in Lewis, according to an Act of Parliament of King James 6th that they may be capeable of any trafficque to those parts as well as fishinge.

2. That the King purchase the Isle of Lewis from the Earle of Seafort in whole or in part. In lewe whereof his Mat^{tie} may give other Lands of the Crowne of Scotland according to the vallew as I shall shew his Mat^{tie}, which lye more convenient for the Erle. And soe the Kinge to have the whole benefitt of the Towles or petty Customes of the fishings of that Island, or otherwise his Mat^{tie} to sett downe a rate reasonable for all Adventurers to pay for the vse of the Harbors and grownd Leave for packhouses and drying netts.

3. The Harbors and Loughs on the maine Land oposite to the Lewes must be free for our fishings with ground Leave alsoe as in the Lewes to which end the Kings Letter must be obtayned to the proprietors of those places and the Th^{ier} to make Composition with them. The fishings of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland are free being the King's land.

4. The King to bestowe 10 pieces iron ordnance with powder and shott sufficyent from tyme to tyme for maintenance of a Fort vpon the Island in Sternoway. The Captaine and Souldiers shall be paid at the charge of the generall fishers and Inhabitants.

5. Every Adventurer may increase his Adventure yearlye as he pleaseth but not withdrawe it out of the Stocke without consent of the maior part of the Associats of his Company.

6. All Codd and Linge to be brought to sale in this Kingdom for a tyme and Herrings likewise except the Sommer Herrings which are only fitt for the marketts in Muscovia Poland and other places.

7. All fishers employed in our Shipping or boats shall goe for shares. And their shares shall bee bought at a rate by the Th^{ier} to the vse and benefitt of the Associats and his Mat^{ties} subiects cheifly or all together to be sett on worke.

8. All such fishers as will sell fish to be delivered fresh at the packhouses in the Lewes whether they be Inhabitants of the Island or others shall have a reasonable rate for it, for which cause part of the Stocke in mony and victualls and some other comodities in a Magazin must be there.

9. Every Adventurer shall have a bill of Adventure from the Thēer for his particular, and faire books shall be kept of all buyings and sellings, settings out and returnes wherby once in the yeare every one shall know how his monyes are employed and how his stocke in that particular stands.

10. It will be necessary that the Adventurers or the greater part of them meet at tymes to conferre of their affaires and to order their Bussinesses wherein noe man of them shall be excluded from his vote, or to auoyd the trubling a multitude, a Committee may be chosen out of them and their meetings to be at the house of Captaine Mason in Fanchurch Street.

11. Seeing that this worke doth tend very much to setting a worke the poore of this Kingdom, which for the most part are now idle and vagrants, if his Ma^{tie} shalbe pleased to graunt to this Company in favour of this their Enterprise 6 ackres of Broomfeild Close neer Deptford for building worke-houses and habitations for the poore that shalbe employed in spinning and makeing netts. The Cittye of London may be induced to build the said houses at his charge, or S^r Henry Martyn out of the mony for Pious vses may build them in a short tyme and the stocke shall be made to sett the poor on worke by these Adventurers.

APPENDIX F.

DESCRIPTION OF LEWIS BY CAPTAIN DYMES (1630).

State Papers. Domestic. Chas. I. Vol. 180. No. 97.

A breife Description of the Isle of the Leweis beinge one of the Islands of y^e Hebrides subject to his Ma^{tie} Kingdome of Scotland wherein is contained the nature of the soyle, y^e manners of y^e people the severall fishings and theire seasons alsoe the places most comodious for a free towne or Mart for traffique, accordinge as it was ordered to bee done by certaine of the Lords of his Ma^{ties} most hono^{ble} privie Councill and performed in Anno 1630 by Captaine John Dymes.

This Island Leogea soe called from Leogus the sonne of a Danish Kinge w^{ch} heretofore possessed the same is nowe called Leweis. It lyeth in the Ducalidon sea and is the northermost of all the Hebrides vnder the Lattitude of 60 degrees, about some 33 Leagues to the west south west of the Isles of Orkeney. The Climate is somethinge colder then ours here in England, but the ayre very wholesome as doth appeare by the healthfull bodyes and long lives of the inhabitants, there beinge divers yet livinge some of an hundred and some of sixscore yeares of age, w^{ch} have lustie and able bodyes, there was one now yet livinge at my beinge there whom the inhabitants did affirme vnto mee to bee an hundred and fowerscore yeares of age. In so^mer when theire dayes bee at the longest the sunne doth remaine soe short a space beneath theire Horizon that they have noe night at all and yett theire shortest daie in Winter is almost as longe as ours here in England.

This Island is in length from north to south about threescore miles and in breadth in some places 12: some 14: and some places 20: miles. The land is very mountaineous, w^{ch} causeth great store both of fresh and salt water, Loughes and Bayes w^{ch} aboundeth wth all sorts of fish espetially Herring, Cod, and Ling and great stoare of Whales w^{ch} followes the other Fish for prey.

The inward part of the land is altogea^{ther} like vnto the Highlands of Scotland full of heath and boggs, and affordeth the inhabitants noe other thinge then grasse for theire catle in sommer and fewell to burne in winter,

w^{ch} fewell is a stronge kind of peat as good as anie wood or coale for fier. On the lake sides and about the skoits of the Ile there are divers peices of arrable land w^{ch} are manured by the inhabitants, and yealdeth an increase of above 50 for one of barley and oates as for anie other graine they have none.

As for the inhabitants their language is a kind of bade Irish. They are ltogether in custome, manners and livinge like vnto the Highlanders, w^{ch} the English call Redshanks, but are nowe much more obedient both vnto the lawes of the Kingdome and to the Lord of the Land to whome they owe great dueties.

In their religion they are very ignorant and have been given to the idolatrous worshipping of divers Sts. as doth appeare by their Chappells w^{ch} are yett to bee seene, but they are nowe most espetially devoted to one of their Sts. called St. Mallonuy whose Chappell is seated in the north part of the Ile, whome they have in great veneration to this daie and keepe the Chappell in good repaire. This St. was for cure of all their wounds and soares and therefore those that were not able to come vnto the Chappell in person they were wont to cutt out the proporcōn of their lame armes or leggs in wood wth the forme of their sores and wounds thereof and send them to the St. where I have seen them lyinge vpon the Altar in the Chappell. Within the Chappell there is a Sanctum Sanctorum w^{ch} is soe holy in their estimation that not anie of their weomen are suffered to enter therein. Anie woman wth child dareth not to enter within the doores of the Chappell, but there are certaine places without where they goe to their devotions. They had two genall meetings in the yeare at this Chappell, the one at Candlemas, and the other at Alhollautide where their custome was to eat and drinke vntill they were druncke. And then after much dancinge and dalliance togethether they entred the chappell at night with lights in their hands where they continued till next morninge in their devotions. The last tyme of their meetinge was at Candlemas last. They were prevented of their Idolatrous woripp by a gent. whoe is a Minister in the Isle, who albeit the place was farr from his aboade and out of his Cure, hee mett them at their Assembly in the Chappell where he begann first to reason wth them, then to admonish them and afterwards to threaten them both with God His Judgm^{ts} and the Lawes of the Realme, in somuch as divers of the better sort of them promised to forsake that wonted Idolatry of theirs. Aboute a mile distant from this Chappell lyeth the Pygmeys Island w^{ch} is a round high hill contening about one acre of land. This Ile is ioyned to the Leweis by a narrowe necke of land, w^{ch} is in length about halfe the distance of a paire of Butts, wherein there is the walls of a Chappell to bee seene w^{ch} is but 8 foote in length and 6 foote in breadth, the ground whereof hath bene often tymes digged vpp espetially by the Irish w^{ch} come thither of purpose to gett the bones of those little people w^{ch} they say were buried there. At my beinge vpon the Ile I made search in the earth and found some of those bones, w^{ch} are soe little that my beleife is scarce bigg enough to thinke them to bee the bones humane flesh. [*sic.*]

This Iland of the Leweis is deuided into twoe parts and accompted as two Ilands, the northermost part w^{ch} is the greater part thereof is called the Leweis, and belongeth to the Earle of Seafort. The other part to the southward is called the Harris and belongeth to John Mac-Cloud or rather Mac-Leogus of whome they are deriued.

Theis 2 Lapps are bounded partly with twoe salt-water Loughes and partly by a Forrest w^{ch} reacheth from the one of their Loughes vnto the other in w^{ch} there are great stoare of deere.

The Leweis is deuided into 4 parrishes, in each of w^{ch} parrishes there are some 20 townes w^{ch} townes are some halfe a scoare cottages built togethether neare some peice of arrable land where they make their aboade in winter, for the most part of the comon people in the so^mer they remaine on the hills to graze their Cattle.

The number of the inhabitants of the Island wilbee about some fower thousand persons, a great part whereof were brought out of the Continente by

the Earle of Seafort, w^{ch} remaine there vpon small condicōns. There are alsoe diuers of the said Inhabitants gentlemen w^{ch} are the cheife tennants to the Lord whoe lett out the land afterwards to the poorer sort at such rates that they themselves sitt rent free.

The whole rent of the Iland is valued at twelve thousand Marks Scottish money per annu besides the twoe Forrests and other Casualties, w^{ch} are valued at sixe thousand Markes more, w^{ch} makes in all one thousand pounds sterlinge.

The Comodities w^{ch} the Island doth affoord is noe other thinge then Cattle and some Pladinge an Tartan w^{ch} is a kind of woollen cloath wherewith they cloath themselves.

But the great and rich comoditie w^{ch} might bee made of this land is the Fishinge whereof the inhabitants doe make but small benefitt besides their owne food, there beinge in the Island not above a dozen boates w^{ch} doe kill anie fish for sale. But the Dutch w^{ch} have fished there theis two last yeares past have found that great and extraordinary gaine thereof, whose onely wth 4^{er} Busses wth 16 men and 25 netts in a Busse have within the space of three monethes killd three hundred last of Herrings w^{ch} Herrings by their factors and owne confession vnto mee was sold the last year at Danske for 400 gilders p last w^{ch} is about some 38 ti sterlinge at w^{ch} rate the 300 last did come to 11400 ti of w^{ch} if there bee rebated one third part for all chardges (w^{ch} is as much as needs to bee) it will plainly appeare that those 4^{er} Busses in lesse then three monethes space did make 7500 ti cleare gaine. The Master of one of those Busses w^{ch} transported me from the Island into the mayne continent did protest vnto mee that the fish was in such great abundance y^t they were sometymes constrained to cast it into the sea againe they haveing more in halfe their netts then they were able to save, and he was of opinion that if there had bene a thousand Busses more there was fish enough for them all. As for the Cod and Ling the Dutch doth kill none of it themselves, but buyeth it at easie rates of the Inhabitants; w^{ch} are alsoe so farr from haveinge the true industry of killinge that fish, that one boate with our Newfoundland men will kill more in a daie then they doe with one of their boates in a yeare.

The Dutch have also made provision of furnaces and other necessities for the Whale fish, but they have not yett made any vse thereof, they beinge as yet scarce settled in their busines, there beinge noe more of them besides Seamen yett then sixe servants and a Factor w^{ch} are alwayes resident in Stormway where they have built a pretty dwellinge house and a Magazine where they lay vpp their salt and caske and all other necessities for their fishinge.

The severall seasons for the fishings doe alter accordinge vnto the seasons of the yeares. The first season for Herrings doth beginne about the beginninge of June, and lasteth vntill the latter end of August. The second fishinge for Herrings is from August vntill Michmas, and then the Herrings will bee shotten and come neare the shoare. And the last season for Herrings is from Michmas vntill Christmas, and then they come in to the Loughes. The two later seasons the Dutch cannott as yett make any vse of with their great Busses, because the nights bee longe, and there is not scope enough for them to drive within the Bayes and Loughes.

Cod and Ling are taken all the yeare longe vpon the Coast, but the chiefest season for it is from Christmas vntil Easter, soe that it doth appeare that if there were vessells fitt for y^e purpose the fishinge might bee continued all the yeare longe either about the Island or in the Loughes over ag^t it in the Continent or else vpon a certaine Banke w^{ch} stretcheth on the west side of the Island from one end thereof to the other about some 5 leagues of from the shoare where there is abundance of Cod and Ling, and as I have bene certified by the Inhabitants of the Island that one fish taken there is as bigge as twoe taken elsewhere, but this side of the Land is very little frequented espetially by strangers by reason of the manie Rocks w^{ch} are vpon that Coast, and of the fowle seas w^{ch} are brought in by the Western Ocean.

This last yeare there came in great stoare of young Whales into one of

theire Loughes w^{ch} the inhabitants inclosed wth boates, and killd more then one hundred of them wth their swords and theire bowes and arrowes, for want of better engines, and made meat of them all, and for want of salt to save it they tooke the sea Oare (ware) and burned it and then powdered it with the ashes thereof, w^{ch} afterwards beinge dried in the smoake they ate it like Bacon.

They have alsoe a yearly fishinge vpon a small Ile called Causmoun where they kill great store of Seales w^{ch} fishinge may rather bee called an huntinge then a fishinge, for the inhabitants repaire thither once in the yeare manie of them together well arm'd both for offence and defence where they find theis fish vpon the Rocks, the weapons wherewith they kill them, are great batts and swords, and to defend themselves ag^t the teeth of theis fish (whose nature is not to lett goe theire hold till they feele the bones bruise betweene theare teeth) they lyne theire Trooses wth Charcoales, soe that when those fish chance to bite anie of them, when they feele the coals crash within their teeth they give over theire hold and are the sooner overcome, this fish alsoe they make meate of as they doe by theire Whales. The great abundance both of ravenous fishes and fowles w^{ch} that Coast doth afford is an infallable argum^t of that abundance of other fish whereupon they prey.

In this Iland the ayre is soe contrary to venomous creatures, that there is neither frogge, toade, snake or anie other venomous creature in the whole Island, except one place w^{ch} is a great deepe Cave in the cleft of a rocke neare the sea side, where there are soe manie serpents and of that monstrous bignes as the inhabitants did affirme vnto mee that the very ayre of that place was soe corrupted wth them that a man is not able to endure the smell therereof.

There are manie Eagles and Hawkes in the Ile w^{ch} breed in the clefts o. rocks, for this place is soe destitute of wood that there is not one tree growinge in the whole Island.

And thus haveinge made a breife survey of the whole Island, I have taken a more perticuler viewe of that place therein w^{ch} is most convenient for the seatinge of a Burrough towne w^{ch} I hould to bee in the Lough of Sternway.

First of al for the comodity of shippinge, this Lough hath a very faire cominge in to it cleare of all dangers, havinge within it safe rideinge for shippes with all windes wth places most convenient from whence both Roade an harbour may bee comaunded for the securinge both of towne and shippinge from the danger of an Enimy as it doth more plainly appeare by a draught w^{ch} I have made thereof.

As for y^e scituation of y^e towne, first for the benefitt of a good ayre w^{ch} is cheifely to bee considered. It is vpon a drye peece of leuell ground w^{ch} doth enioy the benefitt of the sonne from y^e morninge vntill the eveninge, w^{ch} is not easily found againe in this Ile because of the hills and boggs. Then for those two Elem^{ts} of fire and water they are there most conveniently at hand. Moreover this place lyeth near the midst of the Countrey for the more conveniency of all the inhabitants w^{ch} must resort thereunto. It beinge alsoe the place w^{ch} hath bene alwayes most frequented both of the inhabitants and strangers, where there are already some fewe buildings wth a pious worke of the Earle of Seafort, who doth build a church there w^{ch} is a good foundacōn for the rest of the worke.

There are alsoe divers places about the Island very necessary for y^e buildinge of Magazines and Stoarhouses for the layinge vpp of salt, packinge of fish, and all other necessaryes belonginge vnto the fishings w^{ch} will alwayes shift from place to place, accordinge vnto the seual seasons of the yeare, w^{ch} places wth theire proprieties because they cannott bee soe well vnderstood and conceived of by words I have made a platt of the Island whereby I hope to give your hono^{rs} the better satisfaccōn both of what I have heere related, and many other things concerninge the same.

Thus haveinge vsed my best endeavo^{rs} to dischargd my duety herein accordinge to the Comission and direccōns receaved from Capt. John Mason,

my humble request is that yo^r Hono^{rs} wilbee pleased to take it into yo^r noble consideracōns that the journey hath been chargeable and very painefull vnto mee.

Yo^r hono^{rs} s[']vant in all obedience

JOHN DYMES.

Endorsed.

Description o y^e Isle of Leweys by Captaine Dimes.

APPENDIX G.

EXTRACT FROM MEMORANDUM RELATING TO THE HEBRIDEAN FISHERIES (1632).

State Papers. Domestic. Charles I. Vol. 152. No. 71.

If yo^r Ma^{ty} shall thinke good to settle Collonyes and plant Corporcions [*sic*] in the said Ilands of Hibredes or in all yo^r north and west Ilands of Scotland and Ireland, it will be necessary that the Planters shall have pportions of ground appropriated to them on w^{ch} they may build dweling houses, and storehouses, as also Groundes so wel fit for planting as for Tillage and breeding of Cattle for theyr maintainance. They will finde the grounde very fertyle according to the climet, w^{ch} hath been an inducement to yo^r Predecessors who were well informed of the state of those Ilands, to labour to bring them to a Civill obedience of theyr Sovereigne who inhabited those Ilands y^t they being brought up in the fear of God might in tyme become both religeous and industryous. And to this end an Act of Parliament was enacted in the Reigne of King James the third of happy memory, for settleing and planteing of three free Townes and Corporacions in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, w^{ch} sayd Act hath been approved by all his successours and more especially ratefyde in the fifteenth Parlyament of King James the Sixth of blessed memory holden at Edenborough the ninth of December año 1597, and that the sayd three towns should bee built in the most convenient parts of the said Islands, viz., one in Kintyre, the second in Lockohaber, the third in the Lewes, and the said Townes to enioy the priveliges of Free Borroughs according to the meaning of the Statute enacted in the said Parlyament. . .

APPENDIX H.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE "FORTY-FIVE."

Declaration of Capt. O'Neill.

Fort Augustus August 7th, 1746.

(Word for word as taken from him.)

Capt O'Neill declares that after the action at Culloden he was sent by the Pretenders son to Inverness to order what people (belonging to him) who were then in the town to retire, the battle being lost. He directly passed thro' the town and told as many he could meet his orders. He saw Lady Ogilvie

old Lady McIntosh and others at a window whom he did not give himself time to speak to tho' they seemed desirous of it. From thence he directly went towards Moy where the Pretenders son promised to meet him. On the way he met Lord John Drummond, Major Kennedy and some other officers who told him that the Pretenders son had taken the road towards the McPhersons country and sent a quartermaster of Fitz-James's and four troopers to shew him the road. He lay that night at one Fraziers near a factor's of Lord Lovats and the next morning by break of day went to the said factors where he found Lord Lovat Captain Shea Captain Bagott and some other officers, who told him that the Pretenders son had desired them to surrender but had left a note with Lord Lovat directing him to go to Fort Augustus there to pick up what people he could and make a stand. He got there about eleven o'clock that day and found nobody except five or six people who told him that the Pretenders son was gone forwards towards Lochgary's house. At a house a little above Fort Augustus he met the Pretender's son's cook and one of his footmen and Sullivan's clerk who told him he would overtake him at Glangary's. He went thither and found Monsieur Mirabell a French engineer an Irish physician and a priest. They told him that the Pretender's son had left word for him to follow him to Scothouse of Knoidart. From thence he went to Lochiels where he lay that night. The next morning he met old Lochiel Mr McLachlan Mr Maxwell and Lord Elcho who accompanied him to Kinloch Moidart where they met Eneas McDonald the banker who brought him a note from the Pretenders son directing him to joyn him at one Donald Roy McDonald in Aresaig which he did next day along with one Danil McLeod who served them as a pilot afterwards and is now a prisoner on board the *Furnace*. There was with the Pretender's son in Aresaig Sullivan John Hay and one Allan McDonald a priest and now a prisoner. They staid there till the next day about six o'clock in the evening when Sullivan the Pretender's son and himself embarked in an open boat for Stornway. The night proving bad they were obliged to put into Rushnish in Long Island where they staid some time and made a second attempt for Stornway. But the weather still continuing bad, they was forced into Scalpa and went under the name of Sinclair a ship-wrecked merchant; Sullivan passed for his (the Prince's) father. There they was five or six days and sent Danil McLeod their pilot to Stornway to bargain for a ship to carry them to the Orkneys. They travelled from Scalpa to the Lewis which they crossed on foot twenty five miles to Stornway where they found that McLeod had got drunk and discovered them, so that the people of Stornway were rising in arms apprehending they had brought a number of men with them; which obliged them to lie in a moor all night two miles short of the town. Then they proposed going in their open boat to the Orkneys but the sailors who were with them having run such risques some nights before by the badness of the weather would not venture it; upon which not knowing what to resolve they embarked on board their boat and went southwards. In their passage they met two English men of war which obliged them to put into an uninhabited island where they remained four days having no provisions but some dried fish which they found on the rocks. They went from thence still southwards and were chased by a sloop of war in amongst the rocks off the Harries where they remained three hours till she was gone, when they ventured out and went to Benbicula where they remained at a poor man's house three days. From thence (by this man's advice) they went to Corridale a mountain in South Uist where they remained near a month in a sheiling of one McGachans and were subsisted by him and some of the people of the country during that time. While they was there the Pretender's son sent Capt O'Neill with a second son of Clanronald's, a Capt in Lord John Drummond's to the Lewis to endeavour to get a ship in which Capt O'Neill was to go to France with a letter to the King, and he was directed to give the King a distinct account of everything that had happened from his arrival in Scotland till the day he left the Pretender's son and was recommended to the King as a person who would give an impartial account of everything. He finding it impracticable to get

a ship on account of the strict examination all persons were obliged to undergo, returned towards Corridale but was told on the way that the Pretender's son had left that place on account of the Skye militia being come into South Uist and was gone to the island of Fuya where he rejoined him and staid there two days. From thence they went to Loch Boisdale in South Uist. In their passage thither they met two English men of war whom they avoided by getting behind a rock where they remained near two hours and then proceeded on their voyage to Loch Boisdale. They staid there four or five days but Capt Scott landing within two miles of them obliged them to part with Sullivan who they left there with the boat, Capt O'Neill and the Pretender's son going towards Corridale where they was informed that General Campbell was at Berneray and there were severall independent companys coming into the country in search of him, which determined them to go for Benbicula. On their way thither they met Miss Flora McDonald to whom it was proposed to go along with the Pretender's son to the Isle of Skye which she at first refused, but on his offering to dress himself in a woman's habit and to pass for her servant she consented, desiring them to remain on the North side of Corridale and she would send him word where to meet her. Their guide went with her to bring the message. They staid at the place fixt upon all the next day without hearing from her which made them think she had deceived him. Having no hopes of escaping he was just going to send Capt O'Neill to Gen^l Campbell to surrender himself when the guide returned with a message from M^s Flora that she would meet him at the head of Rushnish where they went that night but did not meet her, on which the guide was sent for her who brought her the next day about night fall. But hearing there was some ships engaged off Barra he was determined to stay till they heard what was the event. After staying some time they had an account that Gen^l Campbell passed from North Uist to Benbicula which obliged him to change his resolution. They went from thence at midnight to a point of the island nearer Skye where they saw two or three small vessels who attended Gen^l Campbell and were obliged to hide themselves in the heather. There they could not prevail upon Miss Flora to take Capt O'Neill along with them as he did not speak the language of the country and as he had (as she said) a foreign air, upon which he was obliged to part with them with a promise to joyn them as soon on the boat which carried them would come back, which it did some days after and brought a note from the Pretender's son to Capt O'Neill desiring he would joyn him in the McKinnons country, but he could not prevail on the boatmen to go back with him as they had run some risques by having shot fired at them before they landed the Pretender's son. The next day, he, O'Neill, was taken by Capt McNeil a captain in the independant companys in a sheiling near Rushnish where he had waited for an opportunity to get over to Skye.

LIST OF PRISONERS delivered to Commodore Smith by Major Gen^l Campbell,
August 3rd 1746.

1. Ronald Clanronald made prisoner for treasonable practices in visiting and assisting the Pretender's son while on the islands of Benbicula and South Uist.
2. Ronald McDonald Bailie of Benbicula made prisoner for treasonable practices—a material evidence against Clanronald, his lady, Buisdale the Bailie of Canna and Hugh Macdonald of Armadael, an officer of the Skye militia.
3. John McKinnon of Elgol in Skye made prisoner for having been an officer in the rebell army—a material evidence against the laird of McKinnon.
4. Malcolm McLeod of Teir (?) in Rasa made prisoner for having been a captain in the rebell army and other treasonable practices—an evidence against the laird of McKinnon.
5. Ronald McGachan, son to Obeg in South Uist made prisoner for having assisted the Pretenders son while in South Uist—an evidence against old Clanronald the Bailie of Benbicula and Buisdale.

6. Donald McCleod of Gartrigill made prisoner for having been in rebellion and piloting the Pretender's son from the Continent to the Western Isles—an evidence against old Clanronald McDonald of Buisdale Eneas McDonald the banker and the laird of Barra.

7. Charles McGachen in Peninurin in South Uist made prisoner for buying men for the Pretenders son—an evidence against old Clanronald, Ronald McGachen son to Obeg the bailie of Benbicula McDonald of Buisdale the bailie of Canna, and Ronald McDonald of Garrifluch.

8. Francis McDonald made prisoner for having raised men in Ireland for the Pretenders service and for being an officer with the rebels. He was made prisoner at Couchindier in Ireland for the same but made his escape and it is reported fifty pounds was promised by those he escaped from for retaking him for which reason, query, if it would not be right to send him thither to have him tried as there is no evidence here against him.

9. Lauchlan McVurych made prisoner for having been in rebellion for assisting the Pretender's son in his escape from the Continent to South Uist—an evidence against Lady Clanronald.

10 and 11. Angus McCaula and John McDonald two boy servants to the bailie of Benbicula—evidence against their master.

12. Duncan McKeizig made prisoner for having been in rebellion and taken with his arms.

13. Roderick McDonald made prisoner for having been in rebellion and assisting the young Pretender in escaping to the Long Island—an evidence against Clanronald.

14. John McLean cook to the laird of Clanronald made prisoner for having been cook to the Pretenders son while on the Long Island but chiefly to be an evidence against the laird and lady Clanronald.

15. John McDonald brother to the bailie of Benbicula made prisoner only for an evidence against some persons in the Long Island.

16. Duncan McKievre in Benbicula made prisoner for having rowed the Pretenders son from South Uist to Skye.

17. Alexander McDonald of Garilgole in Benbicula taken up only to be an evidence against Lady Clanronald and some others in the Long Island.

18. Francis Bower a Papist teacher of children in Morer.

19. Alexander McDonald of Buisdale confined prisoner by Captain Scott for being, aiding and assisting to the Pretenders son and visiting him while he was on South Uist.

20. John McKinnon the old laird confined for being in the rebellion. He was attainted in the last rebellion and this also. He conducted the Pretender's son from Skye to Morer and was otherwise assisting to him.

Enclosed in the Earl of Albemarle's letter of August 8th 1746 to the Duke of Newcastle (Fort Augustus).

APPENDIX I.

LETTERS FROM CAPTAIN BARLOW, WITH A REPORT ON THE LONG ISLAND. (Copies.)

(Additional MSS. 35891 in British Museum.)

Captain Barlow Commanding a Detachment of the Regiment of the Buffs to Lieut.-General Churchill from Vala (Vallay) in North Uist 30 June 1753.

SIR,—After many difficulties I have at length settled the several Parties under my Command agreeable to the Disposition which I had the Honour

to receive from you. As this has took up much time, I think it my Duty to acquaint you with every Days transaction by which you may understand how impossible it is for me to Report so often as my Orders directs me to do.

I arrived at Bernera with my whole Party on the First of June, and having Quarter'd them in the neighbourhood of that Place, I went to wait upon Captain Fergusson, who luckily had arrived there a few days before. After some conversation he told me he intended to sail the next Day if the Wind was fair, and desired I wou'd have my Party ready to embark as soon as possible. Accordingly the next morning early, having given out the Blankets and other Utensils, the Men were soon ship'd on Board the Ship, Brig and Wherry. About three in the afternoon we set sail with a good Wind, and that Evening landed the Party for Egg and next morning for Canna. On the 3d. we arrived at Boisdale in South Uist and anchored in South Uist the lock of that name, and having disposed of that Party, Captain Fergusson and I took Eight men and went ashore in order to Reconnoitre the Country. We march'd over Boggs and Mountains of Rock about four miles for Killbride, and from thence came through the most Inhabited part of the Island on the Western Coast, where the Country is very flat, of a sandy soil, and affords tolerable Pasturage for Cattle. The People were at first under some Apprehension, and wanted to know what brought us there in time of Peace. We told them we wanted Arms, but they said they had none, nor indeed did we find any, nor any Person in the Highland dress. *The whole of this Island are Papists. I have got a List of the Priests* and am determined to lay hold of them or make them quit the Country. I am told they have already done that, upon the first coming of the Troops among them. We made a Circuit of about Fifteen Miles and then returned to the Ship. On the 5th the Wind changing about we set sail again and passing North Uist we landed the Harrish Party at Rowdil. Continuing our Course, the Wind veered about and blowing hard, we were obliged to run into Loch Eianard. The Weather continuing bad and blowing hard, we continued in that Harbour Two Days. On the 8th we set sail again with a favourable Wind and Anchored safely the same Evening in the *Harbour of Stornway* and put the Party ashore. The next Day I put my own Party ashore likewise, in order to refresh them, and that they might clean their Arms, which were but in a bad Condition. *I halted there two Days and waited upon Mr. McKenzie who is Factor to my Lord Fortrose where I observed three Pieces of Brass Cannon, the largest carrying a Ball of about Four Pounds, the second about a Pound Shot, and the smallest half a Pound.* I spoke to Captain Fergusson about them, and he told me they belonged to my Lord Fortrose and that General Campbell saw them in the Year 1745 when he was in the Country, and as he took no notice of them I had better not, till I had acquainted you, and received your Directions. If therefore you think it necessary I shall take them Away, and send them to Fort William.

I now proposed to march with my Party through the whole Country, and gave orders to the Master of the Brigg, to go round to Rowdil where I should embark in order to be transported to North Uist. Having therefore took leave of Capt'n. Fergusson, to whom I must acknowledge myself under many obligations for his Assistance, and Civility to me and Party, I began my March on the 11th taking Lieut. Nicolson and Twenty of his Men with me. We came to Koise (Keose) where I left 1 Corpl. and 4 men, as People who Travel that Country must necessarily pass through that Place. It is about six Miles the highest way from Stornway. We came afterwards at Ballanllan (Balallan) where I left a Sergt. and 10 Men. Here is a Ferry, and the Town stands at the Mouth of Loch which runs up to Koise. The next Day being the 12th I march'd to Bonnevenitre (Bunavenader) or the Ferry House which stands upon the side of Loch Tarbet. I there found a French Firelock which had been newly oiled and clean'd without a Lock in a Hut where there were only two old Women. I asked for the Lock

but they told me it had been took away by one Mr. McLeod Factor to the Laird of that Name. Not being satisfied with this Answer, I caus'd the whole House to be search'd, and look'd into every Chest and Cupboard but could find nothing, so I brought the Firelock away. This Place is about 12 Miles from Ballanllan and 26 from Stornway. The whole country that we march'd through is one continued Bogg, impassable at all times for Horses or Cows, and the same in the Winter for any Human Creature; on our right Hand were inaccessible Mountains of Rock, of a Stupendious Height. There are about a Thousand Families in this part of the Country all Protestants of the Kirk of Scotland; they are all Vassels to my Lord Fortrose who is the sole Proprietor of this Island.

Mr. McKenzie told me he could raise three Thousand men in this Country; how far this may be true I know not, but I must doubt the Veracity of his Assertion. They say they are all well affected to His Majesty, and our happy Constitution; they have no Arms Nor do they at any time wear the Highland Dress. What I have seen of them are a poor wretched People and meer slaves to Violence and Oppression.

From Bonnevenitre I came part by Land and part by Water to Loskiner (Luskentyre) in the Harris. Ensign Airey the Officer Commanding here, was upon his rounds. I stay'd here two or three days to see him and to inform myself of the Country. I was at Mr. McLeods House and was treated very Hospitably. He is a man extramly well affected to His present Majesty, and His Government, and is in all respects (if I may Judge by his Conversation) a downright honest man. He Commanded a Company of McLeods against the Rebels in the Year 1745. The Day after I arrived at Loskiner, I received a Letter from Lieut. Nicolson from Stornway acquainting me he had sent Torkel McLeod a Papist, Prisoner on Board the Brig for being guilty of High Treason. The Evidences against him have sign'd the Affidavit and were sworn before Mr. McKenzie Chief Magistrate of the Place. The Prisoner was it seems drinking with a Sergeant and three men when he made use of his Treasonable Expressions, in saying the King was a Rebel and he would prove him so. I have Two of the Men with me who I think are sufficient to prove the Fact. I hope to have the Honour of Your Directions about him.

The whole Herris belongs to the Laird of McLeod, and he has appointed Donald McLeod, Baillie, or Superintendent over all his affairs in it. He was in the late Rebellion and the only one that went out of this Country; the poor People live in great subjection under him and it is said, his Power is as extensive as his Chief's. He had a Protection from his Laird to carry a Firelock, but having two Mr. Airey took one away. He also found an old Firelock and Broad Sword at Scalpa belonging to John Campbell who had formerly been a Sergeant in Lord Loudoun's Regiment and an old Pistol at Rowdil very rusty and without a Lock. As to the Highland Dress it is quite abolished, for nothing of that kind is to be seen through the Long Island. The People of this Country are all of the Kirk of Scotland not one Person that I can hear of dissenting from it. There are about one Hundred and fifty or Sixty Families, and able to bear Arms (taking from Sixteen to Sixty) about Three Hundred Men.

There are seven Islands comprehended in the Country of Herris, Terrensey, Scarp, and Scalpa, and for the most part Rocky and Barren. Bernera, Ensay Pabby and Killigroy are all together tolerably Fertile, particularly Bernera which is the Place where the Baillie Resides. There are many other smaller Isles uninhabited. From Loskiner I march'd to Rowdill where I waited several Days and could hear nothing of the Brigg. At last the Master sent me a Letter over Land by his Pilot, acquainting me he had done all in his power to make the Harbour of Rowdil but could not do it, and that he lay in Fins Bay unable to move untill the Wind chang'd. By this time my Party began to suffer very much for want of Provisions, Meal particularly, as none could be got at that Place, and as to my own part I thought I should

have been eat up with Rats and Lice. In this miserable situation I was obliged to hire an old leaky Boat to Transport myself and Party to the Ship in Fins Bay and thanks to Providence we got all safe there, which was a seasonable Relief to the poor Fellows. We continued Wind Bound Four Days longer before the Wind shifted and we were able to sail, and in that time had terrible Storms of Wind, Rain, Hail and Snow. It was very astonishing to me to have such Weather in the Month of June, who had never seen the like. On the 24th (after having waited Nine Days for the Ship and a fair Wind) we sail'd, and that Evening Anchored in Loch Maddy. On the 25th I march'd to Vala going part by Water and part by Land about 14 Miles, halted one Day the 26th. On the 27th I march'd round by the Coast to Carinish about 12 Miles, from thence to the Island of Ballsher back, and so over the Moor to Vala.

This Country belongs to Sir James McDonald and to appearance, by much the best Country of the whole long Island, that I have seen. The West side of this Country is only inhabited, the soil is sandy, and in a wet season it produces plenty of Corn and Grass; it lies very low and flat towards the Sea, but higher up towards the East are many Boggs and Mountains. The People are very civil, and hitherto I have had no Complaints. They are all Presbyterians and very well affected to His Majesty King George and His Family, for they say, the late Sir Alexr. McDonald, desired them with his last breath to be faithful and obedient, to whose Memory I find they pay great Veneration. He took a way all their Arms in the year 1746, which were restored to the Government, since which they have had none amongst them. This Island is reckon'd to be about Twenty computed Miles round, and contains between two and three Hundred Families. Here is a Linnen Manufactory Establish'd among them which at present is but in its Infancy. If it succeeds, it will be a means to turn the Genius of the People from Arms and Licentiousness, to Trade and Industry. They yearly make great Sums of Money by their Kelp. I have hitherto had but a superficial view of this Part of the Country as I have been but a short time in it, but hope soon to give you a more satisfactory Account of the whole.

Here follows a List of the several Parties I have made in the parts I have visited from Stornway to Killbride in South Uist, by which Means I have a Communication from one Extreame part of the long Island to the other, and by which no ship, Boat or Person can come into any part of the Country, but I can soon know it.

I left at Stornway, Lieut. Nicolson 2 Sergts. 1 Corpl. and 26 Men, to be disposed of as the Situation of that part of the Country, I have not visited, may require

From Stornway to Koise six miles...	...	...	1 Corpl. and 4 Men
From Koise to Ballanllan five miles	...	...	1 Sergt. and 10 "
From Ballanllan to Bonnevenitire twelve miles	...	...	4 "
From Bonnevenitire to Loskiner nine miles	1 sub.	1 Sergt. and	7 "
From Loskiner to Rowdil ten miles	...	1 Corpl. and	4 "
At the Head of Loch Maddy four leagues by Water	1 Corpl. and		4 "
From the Head of Loch Maddy to Sollos 8 miles	1 Do. and		4 "
From Sollos to Vala ...	1 Capt. 1 Sergt. 1 Drum. and		2 "
From Vala to Carinish 8 miles	...	1 Corpl. and	6 "
From Carinish to Benbecula 6 miles	...	1 Corpl. and	4 "
From Benbecula to Machairmeadhanach seven miles	1 Corpl. and		3 "
From Machairmeadhanach to Houghmore 6 miles	...		4 "
From Houghmore to Slaoinabroig 2 miles	...		4 "
From Slaoinabroig to Gearrabhailteas 4 miles	...		4 "
From Gearrabhailteas to Aisgiornish 2 miles	...		4 "
From Aisgiornish to Boisdale 3 miles	...		4 "
From Boisdale to Cillebhride 2 miles	1 Lieut. 1 Drum. and		3 "

As I thought the Parties in South Uist were too near each other I have wrote to Mr. Bulkeley to desire he will take off one or two of these Parties

and send it or them to Watersey to observe all ships coming into Watersey Bay, or the Harbour of Flada. I shall likewise make other Alterations as the Service may require when I am better acquainted with the different parts of the Country.

I have heard nothing about the Parties at Egg and Canna, I shall go thither as soon as the Wind serves, but at present it is directly against us. I should likewise visit all the Islands lying in those parts but in order to do this I ought to have a Wherry, for the Eliz. Brigg which I have now with me is too large for these Western Seas and by no means fit for the purpose. There are no Harbours on this Coast fit for a Vessel of her Burthen, so that if a Squal of Wind should come on (which is often the case even in Summer) she must Inevitably be lost. Captain Fergusson can best acquaint you with the advantages that would arise from my having a Wherry, preferably to that of having a Brigg—who I suppose will see you by the time this reaches Edinburgh.

I am now waiting for a fair Wind to transport me to Egg and Canna, and as soon as possibly I can Return I shall do my self the Honour to write to you again and acquaint you with what I have done further—In the meantime

I am &c. &c.

Sir

Signed JNO. BARLOW Captn. in the Buffs.

P.S. I forgot to mention that exclusive of those Parties above, I have caused a Party of a Corporal and four Men to be sent to Scalpa, where there are two excellent Harbours for large Ships, one on the East side, the other on the West, which are more frequented with shipping, than any part of the Harris, I have likewise sent a Corporal and four Men to Terrensey which is a tolerable large Island, and has three Villages in it. As soon as I have fix'd the several Parties in the whole long Island, so as there may be no occasion to make any alteration, I shall draw out a List in a more regular way, for what I have mention'd above is only in general Terms that you may know our Situation for the present.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN BARLOW COMMANDING IN THE WESTERN ISLES TO COLONEL HOLMES. DATED AT VALA, NORTH UIST, OCTOBER 9, 1753.

SIR,—Since I received Mr. Stewart's Letter with the Account of General Churchill's death, I have been at Dunvegan in Sky for subsistence for my Party. Upon our return, we were drove as far as Stornway by a violent Tempest, where we continued wind bound sixteen Days. During the time I was there, *I had many Complaints made to me privately against Mr. McKenzie, Chamberlain of that Island, who I find is in all respects a bad man.* He greatly regrets the loss of his Cannon, and at first refused giving them, until the officer who Commands there was going to take them away by force. His last effort to keep them was by threatening him with a prosecution, and he has now the Impudence to say it will only put him to the trouble of applying for them to get them again, tho' they belong'd to the late Lord Seaforth when he appear'd in Arms for the Pretender in the year 1715. I do not know how the present Lord stands affected to the Government, but his representative as he calls himself, hath neither humanity nor Common Honesty. *Among the many Instances that have lately happened, I shall only mention two or three that have come to my knowledge. The first was a Fine of Thirteen shill' and four pence he imposed upon several poor People, for selling their Herrings to the best advantage, and not disposing of them to his son in Law at his own price. The next was an order sign'd Collin McKenzie prohibiting any Cattle to be sold but to his Drover,*

under the Penalty of two pounds Scots and the Cattle to be returned. If he acts in this manner now, what may not the poor People expect when we leave the Island, and consequently no Body left, for to check such Arbitrary proceedings. But these I look upon as trifles, when I am informed, *that even Murder has been connived at.* He does not yet know that I have inspected into his conduct, and am acquainted with the abuse of his Power. I am not in the least surprised he is so uneasy about our going (which he daily shews). He is Conscious of his Guilt and dreads its being known, and tho' the People there are so greatly awed by him that they are afraid to speak the truth, yet I have got it from the Minister who had the courage and Honesty to declare it, but I am afraid he will find a very powerfull Enemy in the Chamberlain if he ever knows how this Intelligence comes.

The Priest McLeod's business was as I am informed to see his Friends and to settle some affairs probably with the Chamberlain, otherwise he would not have conceal'd him and denied his being there. However he was detected in a lye by it for he afterwards own'd that he was there, but said he knew nothing of his being a Priest which I am almost certain is a notorious falsehood. He is so absolutely Master in that Island and at the same time so great a tyrant in it that there is no getting any Intelligence but by his means. I am therefore not at all surprized that they harbour enemies to the Government. There is nobody in the Island woud think it safe to give any Intelligence of them, for tho' they have nothing to fear whilst we are amongst them yet they woud most severely suffer for it when we are gone. For such and many other reasons which I mentioned in my last letter I think it woud be but prudent in the Government to erect Barracks and to have the Troops constantly residing amongst them.

I have been stop'd in my proceedings of prosecuting Mr. McLeod of Bernera for having arms contrary to Law by a letter which I received from the Laird of that name acquainting me that Mr. McLeod only had these Arms as his Forrester which were of the Thirty stand he is intitled to by Act of Parliament. As I know nothing of the Law in this case I shall wait your farther directions how I am to proceed. *Indeed I did apply to Mr. McKenzie in the Lewis, but it seems that part of the Country belongs to the shire of Ross, but suppose it had not, I do not think it woud have avail'd anything, for I am inform'd Mr. McKenzie never held a Court since he has been appointed Sheriff substitute.*

Having had Intelligence that Forrester the Priest had got to a small Island near to Binbecula, in order to be transported to the Main land, I sent a Corp^l and Five men from Cannish in a boat after him. They had about Seven miles to Row, but scarcely had they got half way when there came on so dreadful a storm as had very near been the Distruction of them all. With some difficulty however, they got to a Barron Rock when they continued in the wet Cloaths all night. The fury of the storm abating in the morning they proceeded to the Island, in which were three poor miserable huts. These they carefully searched but could find no Priest, so they returned unsuccessfull. *This attempt has mightily inflam'd the Papists of Binbecula, against Mr. McLean of Grieneshe, for lending his Boat to the Party. They have even used Threats. Being under some apprehension, he complain'd to me of their behaviour,* upon which I immediately sent for an Officer and six soldiers from Stornoway. These with the Parties of Benbecula and Carinish, will make up a Body of Eighteen men, a force sufficient to check any Insolence their presumption may lead them to. I have order'd him to Quarter his People in that Island in the most convenient Manner, and to make all such Prisoners who act in opposition or Defiance of the Laws.

Being inform'd likewise that Clanronald has two or three Firelocks in his Custody, I have ordered him to search his house. Should any Arms be found, what must I do with him? He is a poor Drunken Animal.

We have almost had continual storms in this part of the Country for Nine weeks together. Should they continue, which often happens about this time of the Year, I know not what will become of us. The poor men have already

had great fatigues and are almost in a total want of necessaries, shoes particularly, and I am told provisions will soon be very scarce. Having no other Extraordinaries, I have the Honour to be,

Sir, etc.,

Signed JOHN BARLOW.

REPORT FROM CAPTAIN BARLOW OF THE BUFFS, GIVING A DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND WHERE THE PARTIES UNDER HIS COMMAND WERE EMPLOYED ON OUTPOST DUTY. SUMMER 1753.

The situation of the Western Isles, from what Observations I have been able to make whilst I had the Honour to command in them I shall lay down in as concise a manner as possible. And first I shall begin with Lewis and Stornway.

This country belongs to Lord Fortrose, and by the best Computation I can make, is about Thirty Miles long, and as many in breadth, the greatest part of which is rocky, Mountainous, and full of Boggs, particularly the East side of the Country. The Inhabitants are Protestants, and in Number about Six Thousand. They live mostly on the Western Coast which is tollerably fertile, and capable of great improvements, but they support themselves chiefly by their Fisheries, so that their Lands are much neglected.

Stornway is the Chieff Town and contains about One Hundred Houses or Huts, misirably built, and the only covering is loose straw or Heather shook upon them which is bound down with ropes made of the same materials to prevent the winds blowing it away. They carry on a considerable Trade with Norway, France and Holland, having a very safe commodious Harbour, and about Thirty vessels great and small belonging to the Town. There is the Remains of an Old Fort built (strengthened) by (order of) Oliver Cromwell, which was demolished by the English Garrison when they were withdrawn from that Country in the Reign of King Charles 2nd. Several of the Merchants of Stornway are in good Circumstances and the place might thrive mightily, were it not, that the Inhabitants labour under great tyrrany and oppression from the unbounded Authority of his Lordship's Factor, who is a Sheriff Substitute, but never held a Court, nor took Cognisance of any one Crime punishable by Law. I have been lately informed that he is dead; if so it will be a great relief to those poor people, unless another of the same Mercinary Disposition should be appointed in his room.

The Harris joins to the Lewis and seperated from it only by Loch Tarbot and some high Craigie mountains. This part of the Country belongs to the Laird of McLeod, and is about Ten Miles long, and in some parts Seven or Eight broad. The Face of the Country is pretty much the same with that of the Lewis. The Inhabitants including those of the small Islands which make part of the Harris, may amount to Eight or nine hundred Souls, more or less. They are all Protestants of the Kirk of Scotland, not one Man in the whole Country dissenting from it.

Donald McLeod is Baillie or Factor for McLeod, and was in the last Rebellion, and the only one that went out of the Harris. I crossed from Rowdel to Loch Mardy in North Uist, four Leagues by Water. This Island belongs to Sir James McDonald, and is about Twenty computed Miles in Circumference, and by much the pleasantest of the whole. The East part of the Country, indeed is very boggy, and there are a few Mountains, but the West side of the Country is extremely fertile and pleasant. The Sea gains greatly upon this part of the Island, for the Inhabitants are at no pains to stop its progress. The number of Souls in this Island from Seven Years of age and upwards, as they stand Registered upon the Parish Books, are about Sixteen Hundred. They seem a friendly, kind People, but Meer slaves to

the Wills of their Superiours. Lady Margaret McDonald hath established a Linnen Manufactory, which thrives mightily, and is of infinite use in employing numbers of poor Children. All the principal Farmers of the Country are likewise keen Adventurers in this Undertaking.

From North Uist, I cross'd the Strand at low water from Carinish to Benbicula. This is a very pleasant Fruitfull Island, and is about Seven Miles in length and five broad. In this Island lives Clanronald, who is the sole Proprietor of it. The Inhabitants are all bigotted Papists, and frequently made their Boasts to the Soldiers when quartered there, of what execution they did against the King's Troops at the Battle of Prestonpans. There is a Presbyterian Missionary resides in this Island but he has a miserable time of it. He set some Men to work with an Intention to build himself a House, but he has never been able to compleat it, for what was built in the Day, was almost demolished in the Night by People unknown, and the poor man durst not complain for fear a worse Treatment should ensue.

From Benbicula I cross'd the South Strand to South Uist. This Country also belongs to Clanronald, and is Twenty four Miles in length and five in breadth. All the West side of the Country is one continued flatt, and produces great quantities of Corn. The East side is not Inhabited, it being very mountainous, full of Rocks and Bogg. There are in this Island and Benbicula, about Two Thousand five hundred Souls (all Papists) and very few Protestants. They are such Papists, that when Priests travel through any part of the Country, it is very common for these poor wretches to fall flatt upon their Faces before them, paying a sort of Adoration, for they are taught to believe that they cannot be saved but by their means, which occasions this extraordinary Reverence. From whence, it may easily be conceiv'd, what Influence they have over these poor deluded Mortals, and how far they have it in their power to push them on to any desperate Attempt against the Government.

From South Uist I cross'd a ferry of nine Miles to Barra. This Island belongs to McNeil, and is about Five Miles in length and three in Breadth; at the North end of the Island is Fluda Bey. Some part of this Country is very pleasant, and capable of great Improvements, but the greatest part of it is mountainous and Rocky. Watersay is another small Island; it belongs to, and is properly speaking a part of Barra, tho' there is a Ferry of about half a mile between the two Islands. It is two Miles in length and half a Mile in breadth. There are other small Islands South of this, but not worth notice. In the Islands of Barra and Watersay, are about Eighteen hundred Souls, all Papists except about Fifty who are Protestants. The young Laird is a Protestant, and the only one of that family that hath been so for many Generations. If he was an active man he might soon make Proselytes of the whole Island. But I am informed he does not concern himself much about Religious matters. There are great numbers of fine commodious harbours all along the East side of the whole Long Island, but none on the West, which is the only fertile part of the Country. . . .

NOTE.—It was intended to publish, as an Appendix, Dr. Walker's valuable manuscript (No. 105, King's, Brit. Mus.) descriptive of the Outer Hebrides about the middle of the eighteenth century, but a copy is to appear in Vol. XXIV. of the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. Free use of the MS., however, has been made in the text.



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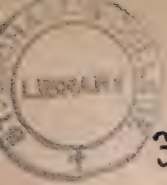
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ERRATA.

Page 105, line 11 :

For "son" of John of the Isles read "brother.

Page 206, line 16 :

For "John MacIan MacSheumais," read
"Donald MacIan Mhic Sheumais" (Donald, son
of John, son of James), which also read for
"Donald MacJames," line 22.

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